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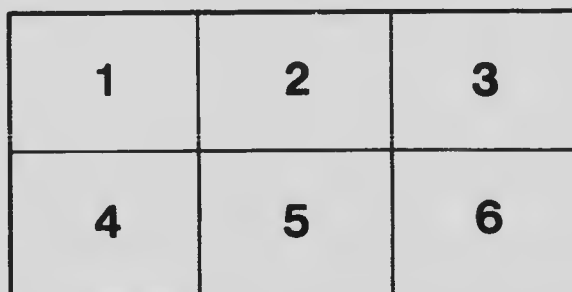
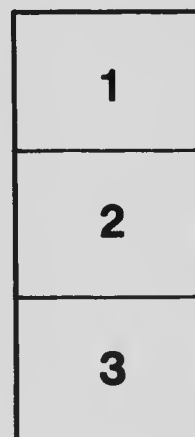
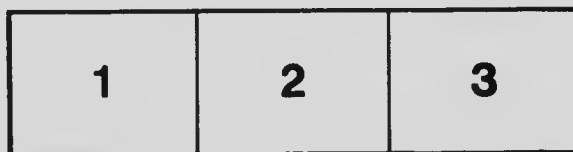
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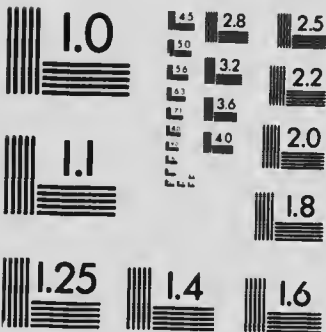
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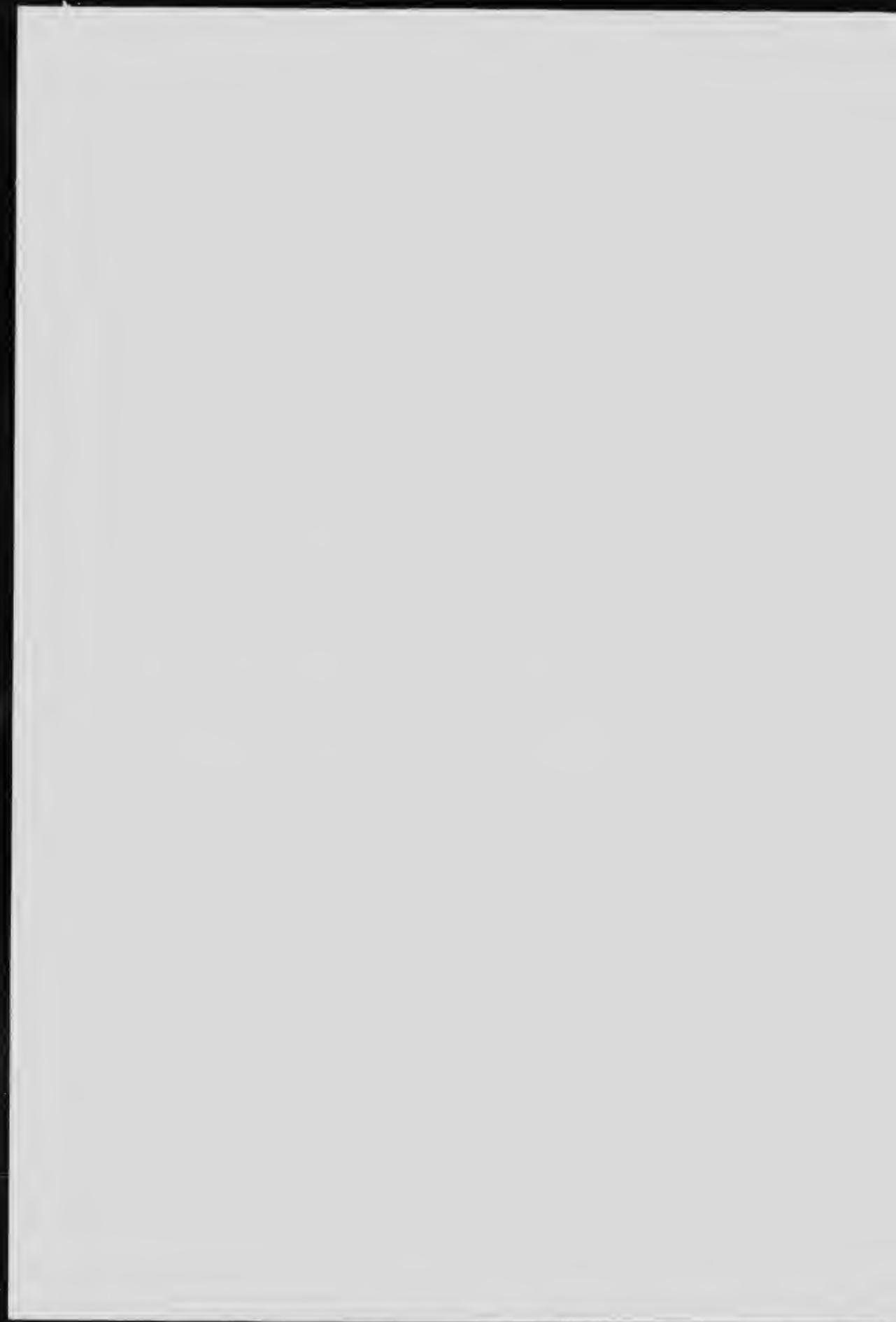
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ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME I

•The  Co. •

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY
POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY
THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY
AND NATURAL HISTORY
OF THE BIBLE

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FORMERLY ASSISTANT EDITOR OF THE 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA'

VOLUME I

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TO THE
MEMORY
OF
WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH



PREFACE

THE idea of preparing a new Dictionary of the Bible on critical lines for the benefit of all serious students, both professional and lay, was prominent in the mind of the many-sided scholar to whose beloved memory the present volume is inscribed. It is more than twelve years since Prof. Robertson Smith began to take steps towards realising this

Genesis of the Encyclopædia.

idea. As an academical teacher he had from the first been fully aware of the importance of what is known as Biblical Encyclopædia, and his own earliest contributions to the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* carry us as far back as to the year 1875. If for a very brief period certain untoward events arrested his activity in this direction, the loss of time was speedily made up, for seldom perhaps has there been a greater display of intellectual energy than is given in the series of biblical articles signed 'W. R. S.' which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* between 1875 and 1888. The reader who is interested in Bible study should not fail to examine the list, which includes among the longer articles BIBLE, CANTICLES, CHRONICLES, DAVID, HEBREW LANGUAGE, HOSEA, JERUSALEM, JOEL, JUDGES, KINGS, LEVITES, MALACHI, MESSIAH, MICAH, PHILISTINES, PRIEST, PROPHET, PSALMS, SACRIFICE, TEMPLE, TITHES, ZEPHANIAH; and among the shorter, ANGEL, ARK, BAAL, DECALOGUE, ELLI, EVE, HAGGAI, LAMENTATIONS, MELCHIZEDEK, MOLOCH, NABATEANS, NAHUM, NAZARITE, NINEVEH, OBADIAH, PARADISE, RUTH, SABBATH, SADDUCEES, SAMUEL, TABERNACLE, Vow.

Nor should the students of our day overlook the service which this far-seeing scholar and editor rendered to the nascent conception of an *international* biblical criticism by inviting the co-operation of foreign as well as English contributors. That names like those of Nöldeke, Tiele, Welhausen, Harnack, Schurer, Gutschmid, Geldner, appeared side by side with those of well-known and honoured British scholars in the list of contributors to the *Encyclopædia* was a guarantee of freedom from dangerous eccentricity, of comprehensiveness of view, of thoroughness and accuracy of investigation.

Such a large amount of material illustrative of the Bible, marked by unity of aim and consistency of purpose, was thus brought together that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* became, inclusively, something not unlike an *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The idea then occurred to the editor and his publishers to republish, for the guidance of students, all that might be found to have stood the test of time, the lacunae being filled up, and the whole brought up, as far as possible, to the high level of the most recent scholarship. It was not unnatural to wish for this; but there were three main opposing considerations. In the first place, there were other important duties which made pressing demands on the time and energy of

the editor. Next, the growing maturity of his biblical scholarship made him less and less disposed to acquiesce in provisional conclusions. And lastly, such constant progress was being made by students in the power of assimilating critical results that it seemed prudent to wait till biblical articles, thoroughly revised and recast, should have a good chance of still more deeply influencing the student world.

The waiting-time was filled up, so far as other occupations allowed, by pioneering researches in biblical archæology, some of the results of which are admirably summed up in that fruitful volume entitled *The Religion of the Semites* (1889). More and more Robertson Smith, like other contemporary scholars, saw the necessity of revising old work on the basis of a more critical, and, in a certain sense, more philosophical treatment of details. First of all, archæological details had their share—and it was bound to be a large share—of this scholar's attention. Then came biblical geography—a subject which had been brought prominently into notice by the zeal of English explorers, but seemed to need the collaboration of English critics. A long visit to Palestine was planned for the direct investigation of details of biblical geography, and though this could not be carried out, not a little time was devoted to the examination of a few of the more perplexing geographical problems and of the solutions already proposed (see e.g. *APHK*, below, col. 191 f.). This care for accuracy of detail as a necessary preliminary to a revision of theories is also the cause of our friend's persistent refusal to sanction the republication of the masterly but inevitably provisional article *BIBLE* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to which we shall return later. The reader will still better understand the motive of that refusal if he will compare what is said on the Psalter in that article (1875) with the statements in the first edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1880), in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article *PSALMS* (1885), and in the second edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892).

It is only just, however, to the true 'begetter' of this work to emphasise the fact that, though he felt the adequate realisation of his idea to be some way off, he lost no time in pondering and working out a variety of practical details—a task in which he was seconded by his assistant editor and intimate friend, Mr. J. S. Black. Many hours were given, as occasion offered, to the distribution of subjects and the preparation of minor articles. Some hundreds of these were drafted, and many were the discussions that arose as to the various difficult practical points, which have not been without fruit for the present work.

In September, 1892, however, it became only too clear to Prof. Smith that he was suffering from a malady which might terminate fatally after no very distant term. The last hope of active participation in his long-cherished scheme of a Bible Dictionary had well-nigh disappeared, when one of the present editors, who had no definite knowledge of Prof. Smith's plan, communicated to this friend of many years' standing his ideas of what a critical Bible Dictionary ought to be, and inquired whether he thought that such a project could be realised. Prof. Smith was still intellectually able to consider and pronounce upon these ideas, and gladly recognised their close affinity to his own. Unwilling that all the labour already bestowed by him on planning and drafting articles should be lost, he requested Prof. Cheyne to take up the work which he himself was compelled to drop, in conjunction with the older and more intimate friend already mentioned. Hence the combination of names on the title-page. The work is undertaken by the editors as a charge from one whose parting message had the force of a command.

Such is the history of the genesis of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which is the result primarily of a fusion of two distinct but similar plans—a fusion desired by Prof. Robertson Smith himself, as the only remaining means of realising adequately his own fundamental ideas. With regard to details, he left the editors entirely free, not from decline of physical strength, but from a well-grounded confidence that religion and the Bible were not less dear to them than to himself, and that they fully shared his own unpromisingly progressive spirit. The Bible Dictionary which he contemplated was no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archaeological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most adverse. The importance of the newer view of the Bible to the Christian community, and the fundamental principles of the newer biblical criticism, have been so ably and so persuasively set forth by Prof. Robertson Smith in his Lectures that his fellow-workers may be dispensed from repeating here what he has said so well already. ‘There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.’ Let us assume, then, that the readers of this *Encyclopædia*, whatever be their grade of knowledge or sphere of work, are willing to make an effort to take this widely extended land in possession.

Every year, in fact, expands the narrow horizons which not so long ago limited the aspirations of the biblical scholar. It is time, as Prof. Robertson Smith thought, to help students to realise this, and to bring the standard books on which they rely more up to date. It may seem hopeless to attempt this with an alphabetically arranged encyclopædia, which necessarily involves the treatment of points in an isolated way. By an elaborate system of cross references, however, and by interspersing a considerable number of comprehensive articles (such as, in Part I, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, CAINITES, DRAGON), it has been sought to avoid the danger of treating minute details without regard to their wider bearings. Many of the minor articles, too, have been so constructed as to suggest the relation of the details to the larger wholes. Altogether the minor articles have, one ventures to hope, brought many direct gains to biblical study. Often the received view of the subject of a ‘minor article’ proved to be extremely doubtful, and a better view suggested itself. Every endeavour has been used to put this view forward in a brief and yet convincing manner, without occupying too much space and becoming too academic in style. The more comprehensive articles may here and there be found to clash with the shorter articles. Efforts, however, have been made to mitigate this by editorial notes in both classes of articles.

It will also doubtless be found that on large questions different writers have sometimes proposed different theories and hypotheses. The sympathies of the editors are, upon the whole, with what is commonly known as ‘advanced’ criticism, not simply because it is advanced, but because such criticism, in the hands of a circumspect and experienced scholar, takes account of facts and phenomena which the criticism of a former generation overlooked or treated superficially. They have no desire, however, to ‘boycott’ moderate criticism, when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original

to say. An 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his more 'moderate' colleague, for probably he himself held, not very long ago, views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now, and the latter may find his precautionary investigations end in his supporting, with greater fulness and more complete arguments, as sound the views that now seem to him rash. Prof. Robertson Smith's views of ten years ago, or more, may, at the present day, appear to be 'moderate' criticism; but when he formulated them he was in the vanguard of critics, and there is no reason to think that, if he had lived, and devoted much of his time to biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned, and his precedence passed to others.

There are, no doubt, some critical theories which could not consistently have been represented in the present work; and that, it may be remarked, suggests one of the reasons why Prof. Robertson Smith's early *Encyclopædia Britannica* article, BIBLE, could not have been republished, even by himself. When he wrote it he was still not absolutely sure about the chronological place of P (Priestly Code). He was also still under the influence of the traditional view as to the barrenness and unoriginality of the whole post-exilic period. Nor had he faced the question of the post-exilic redaction of the prophetic writings. The fundamental principles of biblical criticism, however, are assumed throughout that fine article, though for a statement of these we must turn to a more mature production of his pen. See, for example, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*⁽²⁾, pp. 16 ff. (cp 1st ed. pp. 24 ff.), and notice especially the following paragraph on p. 17:—

'Ancient books coming down to us from a period many centuries before the invention of printing have necessarily undergone many vicissitudes. Some of them are preserved only in imperfect copies made by an ignorant scribe of the dark ages. Others have been disfigured by editors, who mixed up foreign matter with the original text. Very often an important book fell altogether out of sight for a long time, and when it came to light again all knowledge of its origin was gone; for old books did not generally have title-pages and prefaces. And, when such a nameless roll was again brought into notice, some half-informed reader or transcriber was not unlikely to give it a new title of his own devising, which was handed down thereafter as if it had been original. Or again, the true meaning and purpose of a book often became obscure in the lapse of centuries, and led to false interpretations. Once more, antiquity has handed down to us many writings which are sheer forgeries, like some of the Apocryphal books, or the Sibylline oracles, or those famous Epistles of Phalaris, which formed the subject of Bentley's great critical essay. In all such cases the historical critic must destroy the received view, in order to establish the truth. He must review doubtful titles, purge out interpolations, expose forgeries; but he does so only to manifest the truth, and exhibit the genuine remains of antiquity in their real character. A book that is really old and really valuable has nothing to fear from the critic, whose labours can only put its worth in a clearer light, and establish its authority on a surer basis.'

The freedom which Prof. Robertson Smith generously left to his successors has, with much reluctance, yet without hesitation, on the part of the editors, been exercised in dealing with the articles which he wrote for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The editors are well assured that he would have approved their conduct in this respect. Few scholars, indeed, would refrain from rewriting, to a large extent, the critical articles which they had produced some years previously; and this, indeed, is what has been done by several contributors who wrote biblical articles for the former *Encyclopædia*. The procedure of those who have revised our friend's articles has in fact been as gentle and considerate as possible. Where these articles seemed to have been destined by himself for some degree of per-

manence, they have been retained, and carefully revised and brought up to date. Some condensation has sometimes been found necessary. The original articles were written for a public very imperfectly imbued with critical principles, whereas now, thanks to his own works and to those of other progressive scholars, Bible students are much more prepared than formerly to benefit by advanced teaching. There is also a certain amount of a new material from Prof. Smith's pen (in two or three cases consisting of quotations from the MS of the second and third courses of Burnett Lectures), but much less, unfortunately, than had been expected.

Freedom has also been used in taking some fresh departures, especially in two directions — viz., in that of textual criticism of the Old Testament, and in that of biblical archæology. The object of the editors has been, with the assistance of their contributors, not only to bring the work up to the level of the best published writings, but, wherever possible, to carry the subjects a little beyond the point hitherto reached in print. Without the constant necessity of investigating the details of the text of the Old Testament, it would be hard for any one to realise the precarious character of many details of the current biblical archæology, geography, and natural history, and even of some not unimportant points in the current Old Testament theology. Entirely new methods have not indeed been applied; but the methods already known have perhaps been applied with somewhat more consistency than before. With regard to archæology, such a claim can be advanced only to a slight extent. More progress perhaps has been made of late years in the field of critical archæology than in that of textual criticism. All, therefore, that was generally necessary was to make a strong effort to keep abreast of recent archæological research both in Old Testament and in New Testament study.

The fulness of detail with which the data of the Versions have been given may provoke some comment. Experience has been the guide of the editors, and they believe that, though in the future it will be possible to give these data in a more correct, more critical, and more condensed form, the student is best served at present by being supplied as fully as possible with the available material. It may also be doubted by some whether there is not too much philology. Here, again, experience has directed the course to be pursued. In the present transitional stage of lexicography, it would have been undesirable to rest content with simply referring to the valuable new lexicons which are now appearing, or have already appeared.

With regard to biblical theology, the editors are not without hope that they have helped to pave the way for a more satisfactory treatment of that important subject which is rapidly becoming the history of the movement of religious life and thought within the Jewish and the Christian church (the phrase may be inaccurate, but it is convenient). Systems of Prophetic, Pauline, Petrine, Johannine theology have had their day; it is perhaps time that the Bible should cease to be regarded as a storehouse of more or less competing systems of abstract thought. Unfortunately the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament. It may not be long before a real history of the movement of religious life and thought in the earlier period will be possible. For such a history for the later period we shall have to wait longer, if we may infer anything from the doubtless inevitable defects of the best existing handbook of New Testament theology, that of the able veteran critic, H. J. Holtzmann. The editors of the present work are keenly interested in the subject at

present called 'Biblical Theology'; but, instead of attempting what is at present impossible, they have thought it better to leave some deficiencies which future editors will probably find it not difficult to supply. They cannot, however, conclude this section without a hearty attestation of the ever-increasing love for the Scriptures which critical and historical study, when pursued in a sufficiently comprehensive sense, appears to them to produce. The minutest details of biblical research assume a brightness not their own when viewed in the light of the great truths in which the movement of biblical religion culminates. May the reader find cause to agree with them! This would certainly have been the prayerful aspiration of the beloved and lamented scholar who originated this *Encyclopædia*.

To the contributors of signed articles, and to those who have revised and brought up to date the articles of Prof. Robertson Smith, it may seem almost superfluous to render thanks for the indispensable help they have so courteously and generously given. It constitutes a fresh bond between scholars of different countries and several religious communities which the editors can never forget. But the special services of the various members of the editorial staff require specific acknowledgment, which the editors have much pleasure in making. Mr. Hope W. Hogg became a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in 1894, and in 1895 became a regular member of the editorial staff. To his zeal, energy, and scholarship the work has been greatly indebted in every direction. In particular, Mr. Hogg has had the entire responsibility for the proofs as they passed in their various stages through the hands of the printer, and it is he who has seen to the due carrying out of the arrangements—many of them of his own devising—for saving space and facilitating reference which have been specified in the subjoined 'Practical Hints to the Reader.' Mr. Stanley A. Cook joined the staff in 1896, and not only has contributed various signed articles, which to the editors appear to give promise of fine work in the future, but also has had a large share in many of those that are of composite authorship and unsigned. Finally, Mr. Maurice A. Canney joined the staff in 1898; he also has contributed signed articles, and has been eminently helpful in every way, especially in the reading of the proofs. Further, the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance to the Septuagint*, who placed his unrivalled experience at their disposal by controlling all the proofs at a certain stage with special reference to the LXX readings. He also verified the biblical references.

T. K. CHEYNE.

J. SUTHERLAND BLACK.

20th September 1899.

PRACTICAL HINTS TO THE READER

Further Explanations.—The labour that has been bestowed on even minor matters in the preparation of this *Encyclopædia* has seemed to be warranted by the hope that it may be found useful as a students' handbook. Its value from this point of view will be facilitated by attention to the following points:—

1. Classes of Articles.—The following notes will give a general idea of what the reader may expect to find and where to look for it:—

i. *Proper Names.*—Every proper name in the Old and the New Testament canons and the OT Apocrypha (Authorised Version or Revised Version, text or margin) is represented by an article-heading in Clarendon type, the substantive article being usually given under the name as found in the AV text. *Adoraim*, on the same line as *ADORA* (col. 71), and *Adullamite*, three lines below *ADULLAM* (col. 73), are examples of space-saving contrivances.

ii. *Books.*—Every book in the OT and the NT canons and the OT Apocrypha is discussed in a special article—e.g. Acts, Chronicles, Deuteronomy. The 'Song of Solomon' is dealt with under the title CANTICLES, and the last book in the NT under APOCALYPSE.

iii. *General Articles.*—With the view, amongst other things, of securing the greatest possible brevity, many matters have been treated in general articles, the minor headings being dealt with concisely with the help of cross-references. Such general articles are: ABI AND AHI, names in AGRICULTURE, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCRAPHA, ARMY, BAKEMEATS, BREAD, CANON, CATTLE, CHRONOLOGY, CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, COLOURS, CONDUITS, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, DISPERSION, DIVINATION, DRESS.

iv. *Other Subjects.*—The following are examples of important headings:—ADAM AND EVE, ANGELS, ANTICHRIST, BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, CIRCUMCISION, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, CREATION, DELUGE, DEMONS, DRAGON.

v. *Things.*—The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is professedly a dictionary of things, not words, and a great effort has been made to adhere rigidly to this principle. Even where at first sight it seems to have been neglected, it will generally be found that this is not really the case. The only way to tell the English reader what has to be told about (e.g.) CHAIN is to distinguish the various things that are called, or should have been called, 'chain' in the English Version, and refer him to the articles where they are dealt with.

vi. *Mere Cross-references* (see above, 1, i.; and below, 2).

2. Method of Cross-References.—A very great deal of care has been bestowed on the cross-references, because only by their systematic use could the necessary matter be adequately dealt with within the limits of one volume. They have made possible a conciseness that attained at the expense of incompleteness, repetition of the same matter under different headings being reduced to a minimum. For this reason the articles have been prepared, not in alphabetical order, but simultaneously in all parts of the alphabet, and have been worked up together constantly and kept up to date. The student may be assured, therefore, that the cross-references have not been inserted at random; they have always been verified. If any be found to be unwarranted (no such is known), it must be because it has been found necessary, after the reference was made, to remove something from the article referred to to another article. The removed matter will no doubt be represented by a cross-reference (cp, e.g.,).

The method of reference employed is as follows:—

i. *Identification of Article.* (a) *Long Names.*—To save space long headings have been curtailed in citations—e.g., APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE is cited as APOCALYPTIC.

(b) *Synonymous Articles.*—Persons of the same name or places of the same name are ranged as 1, 2, 3, etc., under a common heading and cited accordingly. In other cases (and even in the former case when, as in ADNAH in col. 67, one English spelling represents different

PRACTICAL HINTS TO THE READER

Hebrew spellings (the articles usually have separate headings, in which case they are cited as i., ii., iii., etc., although they are not so marked. Usually geographical articles precede biographical, and persons precede books. Thus SAMUEL i., 2 is the second person called Samuel; SAMUEL ii. is the article SAMUEL, BOOK OF. If a wrong number should be found the reason is not that it was not verified, but that the article referred to is one of a very small number in which the original order of the articles had to be changed and the cross-reference was not detected. Thus in the article ALUSII the reference to BEREN ii., 1, ought to be to BEREN i., 1.

ii. *Indication of Place in Article Cited.* — Articles of any length are divided into numbered sections (§§ 1, 2, etc.) indicated by insets containing a descriptive word or phrase. As convenience of reference is the great aim, the descriptive phrases are limited to, at most, three or four words, and the sections are numbered consecutively. Logical subordination of sections, therefore, cannot appear. Divisions larger than sections are sometimes indicated in the text by I., II., etc., and subdivisions of sections by letters and numbers (*a, b, c, α, β, γ, i., ii., iii.*). References like (BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β) are freely used. Most of the large articles have prefixed to them a table of contents.

iii. *Manner of Citation.* — The commonest method is (see DAVID, § 11, (c) ii.). EZRA (*q.v.*, ii. § 9) means the article EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, § 9. Sometimes, however, the capitals or the *q.v.* may be dispensed with. CHAIN printed in small capitals in the middle of an article would mean that there is an article on that term, but that it hardly merits *q.v.* from the present point of view. In articles (generally on RV names) that are mere cross-references *q.v.* is generally omitted; so, *e.g.*, in ABADIAS in col. 3.

3. Typographical Devices. i. *Size of Type.* — (*a*) *Letters* — Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parenthesis, abbreviations (see below, 8), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. (*b*) *Numbers*. — Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8). In giving references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5₃) are used in respect of whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5₃).

ii. *Italics.* — Italic type is much used in citing foreign words. In geographical articles, as a rule, the printing of a modern place-name in italics indicates that the writer of the article identifies it with the place under discussion. For the significance of the different kinds of type in the map of Assyria see the explanations at the foot of the map. On the two kinds of Greek type see below, 4 ii. (*b*).

iii. *Small Capitals.* — Small Roman capitals are used in two ways: (1) in giving the equivalent in RV for the name in AV, or *vice versa*, and (2) in giving a cross-reference (see above, 2 iii.). On the use of small italic capitals see below, 4 ii. (*b*).

iv. *Symbols.* — (*a*) *Index Figures.* — In 'almost always' clear, *6* indicates footnote 6. In 'Introd.⁽⁶⁾', '(6)' means sixth edition. In 'D₂*2' means a later development of D (see below,).

(*b*) *Asterisk.* — B* means the original scribe of codex B. **anho* means that the consonants are known but the vowels are hypothetical. *v.* 5* means *v.* 5 (partly).

(*c*) *Dagger.* — A dagger † is used to indicate that all the passages where a word occurs are cited. The context must decide whether the English word or the original is meant.

(*d*) *Sign of Equality.* — *AALAR, 1 Esd. 5₃₆ AV = Ezra 2₅₉ IMMER, i., means that the two verses quoted are recensions of the same original, and that what is called Aalar in the one is called Immer in the other, as will be explained in the first of the articles entitled IMMER.

(*e*) *Sign of Parallelism.* — || is the adjective corresponding to the verb =. Thus *Aalar of 1 Esd. 5₃₆ AV appears as Immer in || Ezra 2₅₉.

(*f*) *Other devices.* — '99 means 1899. 1 Ch. 6 81 [66] means that verse 81 in the English version is the translation of that numbered 66 in Hebrew texts. √ is used to indicate the 'root' of a word.

v. *Punctuation.* — No commas are used between citations, thus: 2 K. 6 21 25 Is. 21 7. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided — *e.g.*, the father Achbor [1] is called 'Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,' and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called 'ben Achbor [1]'; one of the kings of Edom.'

4. Text-Critical Apparatus. — As all sound investigation must be based, not on the ancient

texts as they lie before the student, but on what he believes to be the nearest approach he can make to their original reading, the soundness of every text is weighed, and if need be, discussed before it is used in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

i. *Traditional Original Text*.—In quoting the traditional Hebrew text the editions of Baer and of Ginsburg have been relied on as a rule; similarly in the case of the New Testament, the texts of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort (see below,).

ii. *Evidence of Versions*.—The Vulgate (ed. Heyse-Tischendorf) and the Peshitta (ed. Lee and London Polyglott) and the minor Greek versions (Field, *Hexapla*; Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*) have been quoted quite freely; the testimony of the Septuagint has been attended to on every point.

In exceptional cases 'Holmes and Parsons' has been consulted; ordinarily Swete's manual edition (including the variants) and Lagarde's *Parv Prior* have been considered sufficient. In general (for the main exception see next paragraph) only variations of some positive interest or importance have been referred to. Almost invariably a quotation from the LXX is followed by symbols indicating the documents cited (thus *via* [BAL]). This does not necessarily imply that in some other MS or MSS a different reading is found; it is simply a guarantee that Lagarde and Swete's digest of readings have both been consulted. The formula [BAL] standing alone means that the editors found no variant in Lagarde or Swete to report. In the parts, therefore, where Swete cites κ or other MSS as well as BA, BAL includes them unless the context indicates otherwise; BAL might even be used where B was lacking. When BAL stands alone the meaning is everywhere the same; it is a summary report of agreement in Lagarde and Swete.

Proper names have been felt to demand special treatment; the aim has been to give under each name the readings of Lagarde and all the variants of B&A as cited in Swete. The commonest, or a common form for each witness is given at the head of the article, and this is followed at once or in the course of the article by such variants as there are. Where all the passages containing a given name are cited in the article, the apparatus of Greek readings (as in Swete and Lagarde) may be considered absolutely complete. In other cases, completeness, though aimed at, has not been found possible.

The distinction between declinable and indeclinable forms has generally been observed; but different cases of the same declinable form have not as a rule (never in the case of common nouns) been taken note of. Where part of one name has been joined in the LXX to the preceding or succeeding name, the intruding letters have usually been given in square brackets, though in some very obvious cases they may have been ignored.

When MSS differ only in some giving ι and others ϵ that is indicated concisely thus. ' $\alpha\beta\epsilon\alpha$ [B], $\alpha\beta\alpha$ [AL], becomes ' $\alpha\beta[\epsilon]\alpha$ [BAL]'. Similarly, $-\tau\alpha$, $-\tau\epsilon$ becomes $-\tau[\epsilon]\tau$.

A great deal of pains has been bestowed on the readings, and every effort has been made to secure the highest attainable accuracy. In this connection the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance* to the Septuagint, who has placed his unrivalled experience in this department at their disposal by controlling the proofs from the beginning with special reference to the LXX readings. He has also verified the biblical references.

Unfortunately, misprints and other inaccuracies—inaccuracies sometimes appearing for the first time after the last proof reading—cannot be avoided. Corrections of errors, however minute, addressed to the publishers, will always be gratefully received.

Some typographical details require to be explained:—

(a) In giving proper names initial capitals, breathings, and accents are dispensed with; they were unknown in the oldest MSS (see Swete, I p. xiii 2).

(b) The Greek readings at the head of an article are given in uncials, and the Vulgate readings in small italic capitals; elsewhere ordinary type is used.

(c) The first Greek reading is given in full; all others are abbreviated as much as possible. Letters suppressed at the beginning of a word are represented by a dash, letters at the end by a period. In every case the abbreviated form is to be completed by reference to the Greek form immediately preceding, whether that is given in full or not. Thus, e.g., ' $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, β . . . $\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, $-\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$.'¹ means ' $\alpha\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$, $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu$.' That is to say, the abbreviated form repeats a letter (or if necessary more) of the form preceding. Two exceptions are sometimes made. The dash sometimes represents the whole of the preceding form—e.g., in cases like $\alpha\beta\alpha$, $-\alpha$,—and one letter has sometimes been simply substituted for another: e.g., ν for μ in $\epsilon\mu$, $-\nu$. These exceptions can hardly lead to ambiguity.

(d) The following are the symbols most commonly quoted from Swete's digest with their meaning:—

¹ This is a misprint in the art. ABEL-SHITTIM. ' $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$,' should be ' $\beta\epsilon\lambda\sigma\alpha$ ', without the period.

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- = original scribe.
- 1 = his own corrections.
- a, b, c = other correctors.
- ab = first corrector confirmed by second.
- a¹b = a or b.
- a²b = b, perhaps also a.
- a(vi)d = prob. a.
- a vid = a, if it be a *con a fide* correction at all.

- D = testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation of D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, 1 p. xxiv).
- /¹il = readings inferred from the collation (*D*) *re silentio*.
- K^a = a corrector of K belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., 2 p. viii; cp 1, p. xxi).
- H¹da = *e.g.*, on Sirach 461, p. 471.
- K^ab = see Sw., 2 p. viii.
- K^ac = *e.g.*, Sir. 107, p. 663.

(e) The following are the MSS most commonly cited:—

- | | | | |
|---|--|------|--|
| K | Sinaiticus (see Swete, 1 p. xv). | F | Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, 1 p. xxvi). |
| A | Alexandrinus (Swete, p. xxii). | 87 | Cod. Chisianus (Swete, 3 xii). |
| B | Valicanus (Swete, 1 p. xvii). | Syr. | Cod. Syro. Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (3 xiii). |
| C | Cod. Ephraemi (Swete, 2 p. xli). | V | Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons; Swete, 3 p. xiv). |
| D | Cod. Cottonianus Genesios (Swete, 1 p. xxiii). | Q | Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, 3 p. vii). |
| E | Cod. Bodlerianus Genesios (Swete, 1 p. xxvi). | I | Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Swete, 3 p. ix f.). |

5. Proper Name Articles.—Proper name articles usually begin thus. The name is followed by a parenthesis giving (1) the original; (2) where necessary, the number of the section in the general article NAMES where the name in question is discussed or cited; (3) a note on the etymology or meaning of the (personal) name with citation of similar names; (4) the readings of the versions (see above, 4 ii.).

6. Geographical Articles.—The interpretation of place-names is discussed in the article NAMES. The maps that are issued with Part I. are the district of Damascus, the environs of Babylon, and Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia' (between cols. and). The last-mentioned is mainly designed to illustrate the non-Palestinian geography of the Old Testament. It is made use of to show the position of places outside of Palestine mentioned in Part I. which happen to fall within its bounds.

In all maps biblical names are assigned to sites only when the article discussing the question regards the identification as extremely probable (the degree of probability must be learned from the article).

The following geographical terms are used in the senses indicated:—

- Dūr, dair*, 'monastery.'
- Haj* (j), 'pilgrimage to Mecca.'
- Jebel* (j.), 'mountain.'
- Kufr, Kufir*, 'village.'
- Kān*, 'caravanserai.'

- Khirbet* (Kh.), 'ruins of —.'
- Nahr* (N.), 'river.'
- Tell*, 'mound' (often containing ruins).
- Wād* (W.), 'valley,' 'torrent-course.'
- Weli, weli*, 'Mohammedan saint,' 'saint's tomb.'

7. Transliteration, etc.—Whilst the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is meant for the student, other readers have constantly been kept in view. Hence the frequent translation of Hebrew and other words, and the transliteration of words in Semitic languages. In certain cases transliteration also saves space. No effort has been made at uniformity for its own sake. Intelligibility has been thought sufficient. When pronunciation is indicated—*e.g.*, Behēmōth, Leviāthān—what is meant is that the resulting form is the nearest that we can come to the original as represented by the traditional Hebrew, so long as we adhere to the English spelling.

In the case of proper names that have become in some degree naturalised in an incorrect form, that form has been preserved: *e.g.*, Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser. Where there is an alternative, naturally the closer to the original is selected: therefore Nebuchadrezzar (with *r* as in Ezek., etc.), Nazirite. Where there is no naturalised form an exact transliteration of the original has been given—*e.g.*, Asur-rēs-isi—and the component parts of Assyrian names are thus separated by hyphens, and begin with a capital when they are divine names.

In the case of modern (Arabic) place-names the spelling of the author whose description has been most used has generally been retained, except when it would have been misleading to the student. The diacritical marks have been checked or added after verification in some Arabic source or list.

On the Assyrian alphabet see BABYLONIA, § 6, and on the Egyptian, EGYPT, § 12. One point remains to be explained, after which it will suffice to set forth the schemes of transliteration in tabular form. The Hebrew h (ה) represents philologically the Arabic h and h, which are absolutely distinct sounds. The Hebrew spoken language very likely marked the distinction. As the written language, however, ignores it, ה is always transliterated h. The Assyrian guttural transliterated with an h, on the other hand, oftenest represents the Arabic h, and is therefore always transliterated h (in Muss.-Arn. *Dict.*, x. for ח), never h. There is no h in transliterated Assyrian; for the written language did not distinguish the Arabic h from the Arabic h 'g or', representing them all indifferently by 'g, which accordingly does not, in transliterated Assyrian, mean simply h but h or ה or h or ח or g. Hence *e.g.*, Nabū-nahid is simply one interpretation

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of Nabû-na'id. Egyptian, lastly, requires not only h, h, and h, like Arabic, but also a fourth symbol h (see EGYPT, §).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

ב	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	כּ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	פּ	צ	ק	קּ	ר	ש	שׁ	שׂ	ת	תּ	תׁ	תׂ
b	bh (b)	g	gh (g)	dh (d)	h	w, v	z	h	h	n	n	s	p	phi	k (q)	r	s	sh, ṣ	t	th (t)									
א	א	ב	בּ	ג	גּ	ד	דּ	ה	הּ	ו	וּ	ז	זּ	ח	חּ	ט	טּ	י	יּ	כ	כּ	ל	לּ	מ	מּ	נ	נּ	ס	סּ

Extra Arabic Consonants: ث, th, ṭ; ذ, dh, ḏ; ض, ḍ; ظ, z.

VOWELS.

'long'	'short'	very short	mere glide
Heb. ā ē ī ō ū	a e i o u	ā ē ō or a e o	ē or 'or'
Ar. ā ī ū	a (e)	i (e)	u (o)
Ar. diphthongs: ai, ay, ei, ey, ē; aw, au, ō.			

8. Abbreviations, Symbols, and Biographical Notes.—The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above 3 i. (a)) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and for the most part it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will be not unwelcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Jos., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezr., Neh., Est., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (i.e. 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Eccles., Baruch, cap. 6 (i.e. Epistle of Jeremy), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3₂₃), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thes., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Apoc. [or Rev.]. An explanation of some of the symbols (A, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. vx. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached; thus OTJC⁽²⁾ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions RP⁽²⁾, AOF⁽²⁾; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D₂, etc.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation. It is suggested that the *Encyclopædia Biblica* itself be cited as *EBI*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections: or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., Cant., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mic., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; : Esd., 4 Esd. (*see* 2 Esd. of EV). Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclesi., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (*see* Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3₂), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1-4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1-3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

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When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that this work be referred to as the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and that the name may be abbreviated thus: *Ency. Bib.* or *EBi*. It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections (§§); or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
| Abulw. | Abulwalid, the Jewish grammarian (b. circa 990), author of <i>Book of Roots</i> , etc. | AT, 1Tliche | Das Alte Testament, Alttestamentliche, Old Testament. |
| Acad. | <i>The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art</i> , London, '69 ff. | AT Unters. | Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen. See Winckler. |
| AK. | See AOF. | AV. | Authorised Version. |
| ALT. | Ancient Hebrew Tradition. See Hommel. | b. | ben, b'ne (son, sons, Hebrew). |
| Alt[est]. Unt. | See Winckler. | Bä. | Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipzig, '69, and following years. |
| Amer. Journ. of Phil. | American Journal of Philology, '80 ff. | Bab. | Babylonian. |
| A[mer.]Journ. | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (continuing <i>Hebraica</i> ['84-'95]), '95 ff. | Baed., or Baed. Pal. | Baedecker, <i>Palestine</i> (ed. Socin), (2), '94; (3), '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed. |
| Am. Tab. | The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= K ^B 5) | Baethg., or Baethg. Beitr. | Baethgen, <i>Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte</i> , '88. |
| Ant. | Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> . | BAG | C. P. Tiele, <i>Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte</i> , pt. i., '80; pt. ii., '88. |
| AOF | Altorientalische Forschungen. See Winckler. | Ba.NB. | Barth, <i>Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen</i> , i., '89; ii., '91; (2) '94. |
| Apocr. Anecd. | Apocrypha Anecdota, 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press. | Baraitha | See LAW LITERATURE. |
| Aq. | Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT. | BDB Lex. | [Brown, Driver, Briggs, <i>Lexicon</i> of the Old Testament, based on the <i>Lexicon</i> of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years. |
| Ar. | Arabic. | Be. | E. Bertheau (1812-88). In <i>K^GII</i> ; <i>Richter u. Kuth</i> , '45; (2) '83; <i>Chronik</i> , '54; (2), '73; <i>Isra</i> , <i>Nehemia u. Ester</i> , '62; (2), by Ryssel, '87. |
| Aram. | Aramaic. See ARAMIC. | Beitr. | Beiträge, especially Baethgen (as above). |
| Arch. | Archæology or Archæologie. See Benzing, Nowack. | Beitr. z. Ass. | Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv., i., '99. |
| Ar. Des. | Donghy, <i>Arabia Deserta</i> , '88. | Benz. HA. | I. Benzing, <i>Hebräische Archæologie</i> , '94. |
| Ar. Heid., or Heid. | <i>Reise arabischen Heidentums</i> . See Wellhausen. | | |
| Arm. | Armenian. | | |
| Ass. | Assyrian. | | |
| Ass. HWB | Assyrisches Handwörterbuch. See Delitzsch. | | |
| As. u. Eur. | W. M. Müller, <i>Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern</i> , '93. | | |

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- Kön.* . . . *Könige in KHC*, '99.
 Bertholet, *Stell.* . . . A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
 Bi. Gustav Bickell:
 Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '99 f.; f. 1, '77.
 Carmina VT metrica, '82.
 Dichtungen der Hebräer, '82 f.
 Kritische Bearbeitung der Ps., '90.
Bibloth. Sac. . . . *Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 ff.
BJ *De bello judaico*. See Josephus.
BL Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexikon*; Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69-'75.
 Boeb. S. Bochart (1599-1667):
 Geographia Sacra, 1646;
 Hieronymon, sive de Animalibus Scripturae Sacrae, 1663.
 Boeckh Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 4 vols., '28-'77.
BOR *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 ff.
 Böttch. Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '06-'08.
Böttg. Lex. Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.
BR *Biblical Researches*. See Robinson.
Bu. Karl Budde:
 Urgesch. . . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1-124), '85.
 Ri. Sa. . . . *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
 Sam. . . . *Samuel in SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
 Das Buch Hiob in HK, '96.
 Klagelieder und Hohelied in KHC, '98.
 Buhl See *Fal.*
Buxt. Syn. Jud. . . . Johann Buxtorf (1564-1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
Buxt. Lex. Johann Buxtorf, son (1599-1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.
c. cir. *circa*.
Calver Bib. Lex. . . . *Calver Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89-'93.
c. Ap. *contra Apionem*. See Josephus.
CH *Composition des Hexateuchs*. See Wellhausen.
Chal. Gen. . . . *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
 Che. T. K. Cheyne:
 Proph. Is. . . . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80-'81; revised, '89).
 Job and Sol. . . *Job and Solomon, or The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
 Ps. *The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
 OPs. *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (Bampton Lectures, '89), '91.
 Aids *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
 Founders . . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
 Intr. Is. . . . *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
B. SBOT. . . . *Band in SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
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Jew. Rel. Life . . *Jewish Religion: Life after the Exile*, '98.
CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 ff. See also Boeckh.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '03, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 ff. Pt. I, Phoenician and Punic inscriptions; pt. II, Aramaic inscriptions; pt. IV, S. Arabian inscriptions.
Class. Rev. . . . *The Classical Review*, '87 ff.
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 Rec. . . . *Revue d'Archéologie*, '85 ff.
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 Ezek. . . . *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '80.
 Eint. . . . *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, '01; '05, '09.
 Hist. . . . *History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
COT *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. See Schrader.
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Cr. Rev. . . . *Critical Review of Theological and Philological Literature* [ed. Salmon], '91 ff.
 D Author of Deuteronomy; also used Deuteronomistic passages.
 D₂ Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
Dalm. Gram. . . Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
 Worte Jesu Aram. Lex. . . *Die Worte Jesu*, 1, '98.
 Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, and Midrasch, Teil I., '97.
 Dav. A. B. Davidson:
 Job *Book of Job in Camb. Bible*, '84.
 Ezek. . . . *Book of Ezekiel in Cambridge Bible*, '92.
DB W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*⁽²⁾, 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
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de C. Orig. . . . Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the International Scientific Series.
De Gent. . . . *De Gentibus*. See Wellhausen.
Del. Delitzsch, Franz (1813-90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
 or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
 Par. . . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
 Heb. Lang. . . *The Hebrew Language viewed*

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	<i>in the light of Assyrian Research, '83.</i>	<i>HK.</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica.</i>
<i>Proh.</i>	<i>Prolegomena eines neuen hebr. gram. Wörterbuchs zum A.T., '80.</i>	<i>[K[as].]E[re].</i>	<i>Preparatio Evangelica. Chronicon.</i>
<i>Ass. HWB</i>	<i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, '90.</i>	<i>EV.</i>	<i>English version (where authorised and revised agree).</i>
<i>DIHM Ep. Denk.</i>	<i>D. H. Müller, Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien, '80.</i>	<i>Kw.</i>	<i>Heinrich Ewald (1803-78):</i>
<i>Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form.</i>	<i>Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 Bde., '96.</i>	<i>Lehrb.</i>	<i>Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache, '44; (2), '70.</i>
<i>Di.</i>	<i>Dillmann, August (1823-94), in KGH: Genesis, 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; (1), '82; (2), '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); Exodus and Leviticus, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80, 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97. Num., Deut., Josh., 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; Isaiah, (1), '90; (edd. 1-3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).</i>	<i>Gesch.</i>	<i>Geschichte des Volkes Israel: (3) 1-vii, '64-'68; E.T. (6) 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '60-'80.</i>
<i>Did.</i>	<i>Didache. See APOCRYPHA, § 31, 1.</i>	<i>Dichter</i>	<i>Die Dichter des Alten Bundes (2), '60 f.</i>
<i>Dozy, Suppl.</i>	<i>Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, '79 ff.</i>	<i>Proph.</i>	<i>Die Propheten, '40 f.; (2), '67 f.; E.T. '76 f.</i>
<i>Dr.</i>	<i>Driver, S. R.: '87.</i>	<i>Expos.</i>	<i>Expositor, 5th ser., '95 ff.</i>
<i>HT.</i>	<i>A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew, '74; (2), '81; (3), '92.</i>	<i>Exp[os]. T[imes].</i>	<i>Expository Times, '80-'90 ff.</i>
<i>TBS</i>	<i>Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, '90.</i>	<i>f and ff.</i>	<i>following (verse, or verses, etc.).</i>
<i>Introd.</i>	<i>An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, (1), '01; (2), '07.</i>	<i>FFP</i>	<i>Fauna and Flora of Palestine. See Tristram.</i>
<i>Par. Ps.</i>	<i>Parallel Psalter, '98.</i>	<i>Field, Hex.</i>	<i>F. Field, Origens Hexaplorum qua supersensitiva Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Veteris Testamentum Fragmenta ('75).</i>
<i>Deut.</i>	<i>Deuteronomy in The International Critical Commentary, '95.</i>	<i>F[er.]HG.</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historiarum Graecorum, ed. Müller, 5 vols., '44-'72.</i>
<i>Joel and Amos</i>	<i>in the Cambridge Bible, '97.</i>	<i>Fl. and Hanb.</i>	<i>F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, Pharm., Pharmacographia.</i>
<i>Lev. SBOT</i>	<i>SBOT (Eng.), Leviticus, assisted by H. A. White, '98.</i>	<i>Floigl, GA</i>	<i>Floigl, Geschichte des semitischen Alterthums in Tabellen, '82.</i>
<i>'Hebrew Authority' in Authority and Archaeology.</i>	<i>Sacred and Profane, ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.</i>	<i>Founders</i>	<i>Founders of Old Testament Criticism. See Cheyne.</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Isaiah, His Life and Times, in 'Men of the Bible,' (2), '93.</i>	<i>Fr.</i>	<i>O. F. Fritzsche (1812-96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in KGH.</i>
<i>Drus.</i>	<i>Drusius (1550-1616) in Critica Sacra.</i>	<i>Frä.</i>	<i>Sigismund Fränkel, Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, '80.</i>
<i>Du.</i>	<i>Bernhard Duhn:</i>	<i>Frankenb.</i>	<i>W. Frankenberg, Die Sprüche in KGH, '98.</i>
<i>Prof.</i>	<i>Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion, '75.</i>	<i>Frazer</i>	<i>J. G. Frazer: Totemism ('87). Golden Bough ('90); (2) in prep. Pausanias's Description of Greece (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).</i>
<i>Is.</i>	<i>Das Buch Jesaja in HK, '92.</i>	<i>Fund.</i>	<i>J. Marquart, Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte, '96.</i>
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Die Psalmen erklärt, in KHC, '99.</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>Greek Version, see above, p. xv, f. and TEXT AND VERSIONS.</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>Old Hebrew historical document.</i>	<i>GA</i>	<i>Geschichte d. Alterthums (see Meyer, Floigl).</i>
<i>E₂</i>	<i>Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.</i>	<i>GA</i>	<i>Geschichte Aegyptens (see Meyer).</i>
<i>EB⁽²⁾</i>	<i>Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., '75-'88.</i>	<i>GBA</i>	<i>Gesch. Babylonens u. Assyriens (see Winckler, Hommel).</i>
<i>Ebers, Aeg. BM</i>	<i>Georg Ebers ('37-'98), Aegypten u. die Bücher Moses, i., '68.</i>	<i>GASm.</i>	<i>George Adam Smith. See Smith.</i>
<i>Einl.</i>	<i>Einleitung (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.</i>	<i>G. IT</i>	<i>Reuss, Geschichte des Alten Testaments, '81; (2), '90.</i>
<i>Eng. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>The English Historical Review, '86 ff.</i>	<i>Gei. Urschr.</i>	<i>A. Geiger, Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums, '57.</i>
<i>Ent[st].</i>	<i>Die Entstehung des Judenthums. See Ed. Meyer.</i>	<i>Ges.</i>	<i>F. H. W. Gesenius (1786-1842): Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti, '35-'42.</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>English translation.</i>	<i>Gramm.</i>	<i>Hebräische Grammatik, '13; (20), by E. Kautzsch, '96; E.T. '98.</i>
<i>Eth.</i>	<i>Ethiopic.</i>	<i>Lex.</i>	<i>Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch, 12; (1) (Mühlau u. Volck), '90; (2) (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmermann), '95; (3) (Buhl), '99.</i>
<i>Eus.</i>	<i>Eusebius of Caesarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.): Onomasticon; 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'</i>	<i>Ges.-Bu.</i>	<i>Gesenius Buhl. See above, Ges.</i>

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ANI

<i>Gesch.</i>	<i>Geschichte</i> (History).	<i>Holz. Land.</i>	H. Holzinger, <i>Einleitung in den Hebräisch</i> ('94), <i>Genoss in the A.H.</i> ('98).
<i>GGd.</i>	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i> , '24 ff.	<i>Hommel.</i>	Fritz Hommel:
<i>GGV.</i>	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten</i> , '48 ff.	<i>III F.</i>	<i>Die alttestamentliche Überlieferung</i> , 11, <i>Ancient Hebrew Tradition</i> , '07.
<i>GI.</i>	<i>Geschichte Israels</i> . See Winckler.	<i>G.R.A.</i>	<i>Geschichte der Palästinens u. Assyriens</i> , '85 ff.
<i>Gi[ush].</i>	Ginsburg, <i>Massoretisch-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible</i> , '04, Introduction, '07.	<i>Hor. Hebr.</i>	Lightfoot, <i>Horæ Hebraicæ</i> , 1684.
<i>GJV.</i>	<i>Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes</i> . See Schürer.	<i>HP.</i>	Holmes and Parsons, <i>Letter Testimonium Graecum cum Latin.</i> Edition, 1708-1827.
<i>Glaser.</i>	Eduard Glaser:	<i>HPV.</i>	G. H. Gray, <i>Studies in Hebrew Proper Names</i> , '90.
<i>Skizze.</i>	<i>Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens</i> , '90.	<i>HPsm.</i>	Henry Preserved Smith, <i>Samuel in International critical commentary</i> .
<i>Gr.</i>	K. Grimm (1807-91), <i>Maccabees</i> ('53) and <i>Wisdom</i> ('60) in <i>K.G.H.</i>	<i>HS.</i>	<i>Die Heilige Schrift</i> . See Kautsch.
<i>Grä.</i>	Heinrich Grätz:	<i>HWB.</i>	Richard H. W. B. See also Dehnbach ('84).
<i>Gesch.</i>	<i>Geschichte der Juden</i> , i.-x., '74 ff.; <i>El i.-v.</i> , '01-'02.	<i>IJG.</i>	<i>Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte</i> . See Wellhausen.
<i>Ps.</i>	<i>Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen</i> , '82 ff.	<i>Intr[od].</i>	Introduction.
<i>Gr Ven.</i>	Versio Veneta. See <i>TEXT</i> .	<i>Intr. Is.</i>	<i>Introduction to Isaiah</i> . See Cheyne.
<i>GVI.</i>	<i>Gesch. des Volkes Israel</i> . See Ewald, Stade, etc.	<i>It.</i>	Italy. See <i>TEXT AND VERSIONS</i> .
<i>H.</i>	'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-26). See <i>LEVITICUS</i> .	<i>It. Anton.</i>	<i>Itinerarium Antonini</i> , Fortin d'Urban, '45.
<i>HA or Hebr. Arch.</i>	<i>Hebräische Archäologie</i> . See Ben-zinger, Nowack.	<i>J.</i>	Old Hebrew historical document.
<i>Hal.</i>	Joseph Halévy, 'The inscriptions in Kuppah sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Ymen' ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.	<i>J₂</i>	Later additions to J.
<i>MH.</i>	<i>Mittheilungen d'Épigraphie et d'Archéologie Semitiques</i> , '74.	<i>J[ourn.] A[m.]</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , '51 ff.
<i>Hamburger [KE]</i>	Hamburger, <i>Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud</i> , i., '70, (2) '92; ii., '83, suppl. '86, '91 ff., '97.	<i>J[ourn.] S[oc.]</i>	M. Jastrow, <i>Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Rabbi, etc., and Midrashim</i> , '86 ff.
<i>Harper, ABL.</i>	R. F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the A[Kuyunlik] collection of the British Museum</i> , '03 ff.	<i>Jastrow, Dict.</i>	M. Jastrow, <i>Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Rabbi, etc., and Midrashim</i> , '86 ff.
<i>HC.</i>	<i>Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament</i> , bearbeitet von H. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. A. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89-'91.	<i>J[ourn.] As.</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> , '53 ff.; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.
<i>Heb.</i>	Hebrew.	<i>IBL.</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis</i> , '90 ff.; formerly ('82-'88) called <i>Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.</i>
<i>Hebraica.</i>	Continued as <i>JSJ</i> (q.v.).	<i>I.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft</i> ('49-'05).
<i>Heid.</i>	<i>Reste arabischen Heidentums</i> . See Wellhausen.	<i>JDT.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie</i> , '56-'78.
<i>Herst.</i>	Kosters, <i>Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tydperk</i> , '03; Germ. transl. <i>Die Wiederherstellung Israels</i> , '95.	<i>JE.</i>	'The 'Prophetic' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.
<i>Herzog, RE.</i>	See <i>PKE</i> .	<i>Jensen, Kosm.</i>	P. Jensen, <i>Die Kosmologie der Babylonier</i> , '90.
<i>Het Herstel.</i>	See <i>Herst.</i>	<i>Jer.</i>	Jerome, or Jeremiah.
<i>Hex.</i>	<i>Hexamench</i> (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).	<i>Jon.</i>	Jonathan. See Targum.
<i>Hexap.</i>	See Field.	<i>Jos.</i>	Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), <i>Antiquitates Judaicae, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem</i> (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87-'04).
<i>HG.</i>	<i>Historical Geography of the Holy Land</i> . See Smith, G. A.	<i>J[ourn.] Phil.</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i> , i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '08), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '09), etc.
<i>Herob.</i>	See Bochart.	<i>JPT.</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie</i> , '75-'92.
<i>Hilgf.</i>	A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (<i>Einl.</i> , etc.), and ed. since '58 of <i>ZIT</i> .	<i>JQR.</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i> , '88-'89 ff.
<i>Hist.</i>	See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.	<i>JRAS.</i>	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i> (vols. 1-20, '34 ff.; new ser., vols. 1-24, '05-'92; current series, '93 ff.).
<i>Hist. Proph. Mon.</i>	J. F. McCurdy, <i>History, Prophecy, and the Monuments</i> : i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94), ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('90).	<i>JSBL.</i>	See <i>JBL</i> .
<i>Hi[tz].</i>	F. Hitzig (1807-75), in <i>K.G.H.</i> : <i>Pre-diger</i> ('47), <i>Isaiah</i> ('55), <i>Die kleinen Propheten</i> ('38; (3), '63), <i>Jeremias</i> ('41; (2), '66), <i>Alte Psalmen</i> ('35-'36; (3), '63-'65).	<i>KAT.</i>	<i>Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament</i> . See Schrader.
<i>HK.</i>	<i>Handkommentar zum Alten Testament</i> , ed. Nowack, '92 ff.	<i>Kau.</i>	E. Kautsch:
		<i>Gram.</i>	<i>Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen</i> , '84.
		<i>HS.</i>	<i>Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments</i> , '94.

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graphen des alten Testa-
ments*, '68 f.
- A.B.* . . . *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek,
Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten
in Umschrift u. Übersetzung*, 5
vols. (1, 2, 3a, 4, 5), '80-'96.
Edited by Schrader, in collabora-
tion with L. Abel, C. Bezold,
P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and
H. Winckler.
- Ke.* . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).
- Kenn.* . . . B. Kennicott (1718-83), *Vetus
Testamentum Hebraicum cum
varius lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776-
'80.
- K'G.* . . . *Kirchengeschichte*.
- K'GP.* . . . *Keilschriften u. Geschichtsforsch-
ung*. See Schrader.
- K'GH.* . . . *Kurzfassendes exegetisches Hand-
buch*. See Di, Hitz., Knob., Ol.
- K'GK.* . . . *Kurzfassender Kommentar zu den
heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen
Testaments sowie zu den Apo-
kryphen*, ed. H. Strack and
O. Zückler, '87 ff.
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Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 ff.
- Ki.* . . . Rudolf Kittel:
- Gesch.* . . . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols.,
'88, '92; Eng. transl., *His-
tory of the Hebrews*, '95-
'96.
- Ch. SBOT* . . . *The Book of Chronicles*, Critical
Edition of the Hebrew text,
'95 (translated by Bacon).
- Kim.* . . . R. David Kimhi, circa 1200 A.D.,
the famous Jewish scholar and
lexicographer, by whose exegesis
the AV is mainly guided.
- Kim[s].* . . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early
Arabia*. See W. R. Smith.
- K'l. Proph.* . . . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets).
See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.
- Klo[st].* . . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher
Samuelis und der Könige* ('87) in
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zur Restauration unter Esra
und Nehemia*, '96.
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- Kr.* . . . Kr. (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal
reading which the Massoretes
intended to supplant that in the
text (Kethib); see below.
- Kt.* . . . Kethib (lit. 'written'), a reading
in the MT; see above.
- Kue.* . . . Abr. Kuenen (1828-91):
- Ond.* . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek
naar het ontstaan en de
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- Lag.* . . . Paul de Lagarde ('27-'91):
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cryphi Syriace*, '61.
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the Book*, '50; new ed. '64.
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Robinson.
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däisches Wörterbuch*, '76-'89.
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u. Aethiopien*, '49-'60.
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Hebraica* (1684).
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(⁽⁴⁾, '74); *Philippians* (⁽³⁾,
'73); *Colossians and Phile-
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men*, '81.
- Lnc.* . . . See L.
- LXX or G.* . . . Septuagint. See above, p. xv f.,
and TEXT AND VERSIONS.
- Maimonides* . . . Moses Maimonides (1131-1204).
Exegete, author of *Mishneh
Torah, Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.
- Mand.* . . . Manlaean. See ARAMAE, § 10.
- Marq. Fund.* . . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israeliti-
scher u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.
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- Gram.* . . . *Kurzfassende Grammatik d.
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Histoire Ancienne des Peuples
de l'Orient (99 ff.).
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- MDIV** . . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, '95 ff.
- Merx** . . . A. Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).
- Mey** . . . Ed. Meyer:
- GA** . . . *Geschichte des Alterthums*; i., *Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* ('93).
- Entst[eh.]** . . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, '96.
- Meyer** . . . H. A. W. Meyer (1800-73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*.
- MGWJ** . . . *Monatschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, '51 ff.
- MII** . . . Mishnaic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.
- MI** . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHIA.
- Midr.** . . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).
- Mish.** . . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or *Seder*s thus:—i. *Zera'im* (11 tractates), ii. *Mo'ed* (12), iii. *N'dshim* (7), iv. *N'zikin* (10), v. *Kodshim* (11), vi. *Tohoroth* (12).
- Abolā zārā, iv. 8
Abolā, iv. 9
'Arakhin, v. 5
Babā Bahrā, iv. 3
Babā Kammā, iv. 1
Babā Me'shā, iv. 2
Bekhoroth, v. 4
Berakhoth, i. 1
Be'ā, ii. 7
Bikkurim, i. 11
Chagigā, ii. 12
Challah, i. 9
Chullin, v. 3
Demai, i. 3
'Eduyoth, iv. 7
'Erubin, ii. 2
Gittin, iii. 6
Horayoth, iv. 10
Kelim, vi. 1
Kerithoth, v. 7
Kethuboth, iii. 2
Kiddushin, iii. 7
Kif'aym, i. 4
Kinnim, v. 11
Ma'aser Sh'mu, i. 8
Ma'asereth, i. 7
Makhshirin, iv. 8
Makkoth, iv. 5
Megilla, ii. 10
Me'ilā, v. 8
Menachoth, v. 2
Middoth, v. 10
Mikw'oth, vi. 6
Mo'ed Katan, ii. 11
N'zir, iii. 4
N'darim, iii. 3
Nega'im, vi. 3
Nebia, vi. 7
Ohaloth, vi. 2
Orla, i. 10
P'ni, vi. 4
Pe'ā, i. 2
Pesachim, ii. 3
Rosh Ha(sh)shana, ii. 8
Sanhedrin, iv. 4
Shabbath, ii. 1
Shebu'oth, iv. 6
Shebu'oth, i. 5
Shekalim, ii. 4
Sota, iii. 5
Sukka, ii. 6
Ta'anith, ii. 9
Tamul, v. 9
Tebul Yood, vi. 10
T'mara, v. 6
T'moth, i. 6
Tohoroth, vi. 5
T'snin, vi. 12
Vadayim, vi. 11
Yebamoth, iii. 1
Yomā, ii. 5
Zabim, vi. 9
Zebachim, v. 1
- about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.
- Murray** . . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 ff.; also H. Bradley, '97 ff.
- Muss-Arn.** . . . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, '94-'99 (A-MAG).
- MVG** . . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, '97 ff.
- n.** . . . note.
- Nab.** . . . Nabataean. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- NB** . . . *Nominalbildung*, Barth; see lia.
- Nestle, Eig.** . . . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, '76.
- Marg.** . . . *Marginalien u. Materialien*, '93.
- Neub. Geogr.** . . . A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Palé-
stine*, '68.
- NIIB** . . . *Natural History of the Bible*. See Tristram.
- NIWB** . . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörter-
buch*. See Levy.
- no.** . . . number.
- Nö[ld]** . . . Th. Nöldeke:
- Unters.** . . . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments*, '69.
- Now.** . . . W. Nowack:
- II[eb.] A[rch.]** . . . *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie*, '94.
- Kl. Proph.** . . . *Die Kleinen Propheten* (in *HK*), '97.
- NT** . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.
- Ol[sh]** . . . Justus Olshausen:
- Ps.** . . . *Die Psalmen*, '53.
- Lehrb.** . . . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, '61 [incomplete].
- OLZ (or Or. LZ)** . . . *Orientalistische Literatur-Zei-
tung*, ed. Feiser, '98 f.
- Ond.** . . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*. See Kuenen.
- Onk., Onq.** . . . Onkelos, Onqelos. See Targ.
- Onom.** . . . See ON.
- OPs.** . . . *Origin of the Psalter*. See Cheyne.
- OS.** . . . *Onomastica Sacra*, containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), '87; the pagination of (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).
- OT** . . . Old Testament.
- OTJC** . . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. See W. R. Smith.
- P** . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.
- P2** . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.
- Pal.** . . . F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Pal-
ästina*, '96. See also Baedeker and Reland.
- Palm.** . . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- Pal. Syr.** . . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.
- PAOS** . . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, '51 ff. (printed annually at end of J.A.O.S.).
- Par.** . . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.
- Pat. Pal.** . . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, '95.
- PE** . . . *Præparatio Evangelica*. See Euse-
bius.
- PEFQ[u. St.]** . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund*
[founded '65] *Quarterly State-
ment*, '69 ff.
- PEEM[em.]** . . . *Palestine Exploration Fund Me-
moirs*, 3 vols., '81-'83.
- MT** . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until

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Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineure — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome; '81 ff.
 ET: Ancient Egypt, '83; Chaldea and Assyria, '84; Phoenicia and Cyprus, '85; Sardinia, Judea, etc., '90; Primitive Greece, '94.
- Pers. . . Persian.
 Pesh. . . Peshitta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd-3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace*, ed. S. Lee, '23, OF and NT, '24.
 W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*, '97.
- Ph., Phoen. . . Phoenician.
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 Preuss. Jahrb. . . *Preussische Jahrbücher*, '72 ff.
 Prim. Cult. . . E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, '71; (3), '91.
- Proph. Is. . . *The Prophecies of Isaiah*. See Cheyne.
 Prot. . . Prolegomena. See Wellhausen.
 Prot. KZ . . . *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i-xliii., '54-'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 ff.).
- PSBA . . . *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, '78 ff.
 PS Thes. . . Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*.
 Pun. . . Punic.
- R . . . Redactor or Editor.
 RJE . . . Redactor(s) of JE.
 RD . . . Deuteronomistic Editor(s).
 RP . . . Priestly Redactor(s).
 1-5R . . . H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, i.-v. ('61-'84; iv. (2), '91).
- Rab. . . Rabbinical.
 Rashi . . . i.e. Rabbenu Shelomoh Yishaki (1040-1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.
- Rec. Trav. . . *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. égypt. et assyr.* '70 ff.
 REJ . . . *Revue des Études juives*, i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.
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 Rev. . . *Revue*.
 Rev. Sém. . . *Revue sémitique*, '93 ff.
 Ri. Sa. . . *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel*. See Budde.
- Rob. . . Edward Robinson:
 BR . . . *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petraea, a journal of travels in the year 1838* (i.-iii., '41 = BK⁽²⁾, i.-ii., '50).
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- RS or Rel. Sem. . . *Religion of the Semites*. See W. R. Smith.
 RV . . . Revised Version (NT, '50; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).
 RWB . . . G. B. Winer (1789-1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, '20; (3), 2 vols., '47 f.
- Rys. . . Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.
 Saad. . . R. Sa'adya (Sē'adya; Ar. Sa'id), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); *Explanations of the hapax-legomena in the OT*, etc.
 Sab. . . Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.
 Sab. Denkm. . . *Sabäische Denkmäler*, edd. Müller and Mordtmann.
- Sam. . . Samaritan.
 SBAW . . . *Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
 SBE . . . *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 ff. [Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt*, '97 ff.
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 KGF . . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung*, '78.
 KAT . . . *D⁽²⁾ Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*, '72; (2), '83.
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- Sem. . . . Semitic.
- Sin. . . . Sinaitic: see ARAMAIC, § 4.
- Smend, *Listen* . . . Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.
- Smith . . . George Adam Smith:
- GASm. . . . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to (4), '96).
- HG . . . William Robertson Smith ('46-'94: *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, '81; (2), revised and much enlarged, '92; (Germ. transl. by Rothstein, '94).
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- St., Sta. . . . *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, '81-'88.
- GVI *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99.
- Abh. . . . *Studien und Kritiken*, '28 ff.
- St. Kr. . . . *Stadiasmus magni maris* (Marciannus).
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- Sym[m] . . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (circa 200 A.D.). See TEXT.
- Syr. . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 f.
- Tob. Pent. . . . *Tabula Pentingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.
- Talm. Bab. Jer. . . . Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gemāra. See LAW LITERATURE.
- T[ar]g. . . . Targum. See TEXT.
- Jer. . . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.
- Jon. . . . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.
- Onk. . . . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).
- ps.-Jon. . . . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.
- TBS *Der Text der Bücher Samuels*: see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*: see Driver.
- temp. . . . tempore (in the time [of]).
- T[extus] R[ec]e[ptus] . . . The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.
- Th[c] . . . Thenius, *die Bücher Samuels in KGH*, '42; (2), '64; (3), Lühr, '98.
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- Untersuch. . . . *Untersuchungen*. See Nöldeke, Winckler.
- Urgesch. . . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte*. See Budde.
- v. . . . verse.
- Var. Apoc. . . . *The Apocrypha (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.
- Var. Bib. . . . *The Old and New Testaments (AV) edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

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- Driver (OT), and R. L. Clarke, A. Goodwin, W. Sanday (NT) [otherwise known as the *Queen's printers' Bible*].
- Vet. Lat. . . Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.
- Vg. . . . Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible; OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.
- We., Wellh. . . Julius Wellhausen.
- De Gent. . . *De Gentibus et Familiis Judaicis in 1 Chr. 2 4 nunciantur Dissertatio* ('70).
- TBS . . . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* ('71).
- Phar. u. Sadd. . . *Die Phariseer u. d. Sadducäer; eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* ('74).
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- WF Wellhausen-Furness, *The book of Psalms* ('98) in *SBOT* (Eng.).
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- Wi. . . . Hugo Winckler:
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- Alt[est]. . . *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, '92.
- GBA . . . *Geschichte Babylonien u. Assyriens*, '92.
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- WMM . . . See *As. u. Eur.*
- Wr. . . . W. Wright:
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- WRS . . . William Robertson Smith. See Smith.
- WZKM . . . *Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 87 ff.
- Yākūt . . . The well-known Arabian geographical writer (1179-1229). *Kitab Mojam el-Bulān* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (*Jahrb. Geographisches Wörterbuch*, '66-'70).
- Z . . . *Zeitschrift* (Journal).
- ZA . . . *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie u. verwandte Gebiete*, '86 ff.
- ZÄ . . . *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde*, '63 ff.
- ZATW . . . *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, '81 ff.
- ZDMG . . . *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, '46 ff.
- ZDPV . . . *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins*, '78 ff.
- ZKF . . . *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, '84 f., continued as *ZÄ*.
- ZKM . . . See *WZKM*.
- ZKW . . . *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchliches Leben* (ed. Luthardt), i.-ix, '80-'89 ff.
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CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME I

*Arranged according to the alphabetical order of the signatures appended to their articles.
Joint authorship is where possible indicated thus: A. B. §§ 1-5; C. D. §§ 6-10.*

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MAPS IN VOLUME I

SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA	.	.	.	.	.	.	<i>between cols. 352 and 353</i>
PLAN OF BABYLON	.	.	.	.	.	.	" 414 and 417
DISTRICT OF DAMASCUS	.	.	.	.	.	.	" 987 f.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A

AALAR (אללר [B]). 1 Esd. 5:35† AV=Ezra 2:59, IMMER, 1; cp also **CHERUB**, 2.

AARON (אֶהֱרֹן, § 7; see also below, § 4, end; אֶהֱרֹן [BAL.], אֶהֱרֹן, [A]; אֶהֱרֹן). In the post-exilic parts of the OT (including Ezra, Neh., Ch., and for our present purpose some of the Psalms) Aaron is the ancestor of all lawful priests,¹ and himself the first and typical high-priest. This view is founded upon the priestly

1. In P. document in the Hexateuch, according to which Aaron, the elder brother of Moses, took a prominent part, as Moses' prophet or interpreter, in the negotiations with Pharaoh, and was ultimately, together with his sons, consecrated by Moses to the priesthood. The rank and influence which are assigned to him are manifestly not equal to those of Moses, who stood to Pharaoh as a god (Ex. 7:1). He does, indeed, perform miracles before Pharaoh—he changes his rod into a serpent which swallows up the rods, similarly transformed, of the Egyptian sorcerers; and with the same rod he changes the waters of Egypt into blood, and brings the plagues of frogs and lice—but the order to execute the marvel is in each case communicated to him through Moses (Ex. 7:1). It is Moses, not Aaron, who disables the sorcerers by rods (Ex. 9:8 f.), and causes the final destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (11:15-18). Through his consecration by Moses, Aaron became 'the priest' (so usually) or, as he is elsewhere called, 'the anointed priest' (Lev. 4:35; 16:15) or 'the high-priest' (Lev. 21:10; Nu. 35:25, 28). His sons, representing the common priests, act under him (Nu. 3:4). As high-priest he has splendid vestments, different from those of his sons (Ex. 28); he alone is anointed (Ex. 29:7²); he alone, once a year, can enter the holy of holies (Lev. 16). He is the great representative of the tribe of Levi; and his rod, unlike the rods taken to represent the other tribes, buds miraculously, and is laid up for ever by the ark (Nu. 17:6 f. [21 f.]). Within this tribe, however, it is only the direct descendants of Aaron who may approach the altar, so that Korah the Levite, when he claims the power of the priesthood, is consumed by fire from Yahwe (Nu. 16:35). Aaron occasionally receives the law directly from Yahwe (Nu. 18). Even his civil authority is great, for he, with Moses, numbers the people (Nu. 1:37), and it is against him as well as against Moses that the rebellion of the Israelites is directed (Ex. 16:2; Nu. 14:25-26; 16:1). This authority would have been greater but for the exceptional position of Moses, for in the priestly portions of Joshua the name of Eleazar (7:1, 11), the next high-priest, is placed before

the of Joshua. The 'priestly' writer mentions only one blot in the character of Aaron: viz., that in some way, which cannot be clearly ascertained in the present state of the text, he rebelled against Yahwe in the wilderness of Zin, when told to 'speak to the rock' and bring forth water (Nu. 20:1-13). In penalty he dies, outside Canaan, at Mount Hor, on the borders of Edom (7:22 f.).

As we ascend to the exilic and pre-exilic literature, Aaron is still a prominent figure; but he is no longer

2. In earlier either the high-priest or the ancestor of all legitimate priests. Ezekiel traces the

writers. origin of the priests at Jerusalem no farther back than to ZABOR (7:1, 1, § 3), in Solomon's time. Dt. 10:6 (which mentions Aaron's death, not at Hor but at Moserah, and the fact that Eleazar succeeded him in the priesthood) is generally and rightly regarded as an interpolation. In Mic. 6:4 (time of Manasseh?) Aaron is mentioned between Moses and Miriam as instrumental

3. In E. in the redemption of Israel. In the Elohist document of the Hexateuch (E) he is mentioned as the brother of Miriam the prophetess (Ex. 15:20; for other references to him see Ex. 17:12; 21:10; 24:13; Nu. 12:1); but it is Joshua, not Aaron, who is the minister of Moses in sacred things, and keeps guard over the tent of meeting (Ex. 33:11), and 'young men of the children of Israel' offer sacrifice, while the solemn act of sprinkling the blood of the covenant is reserved for Moses (Ex. 24:6). Aaron, however, seems to have counted in the mind of E as the ancestor of the priests at 'the hill of Phinehas' (Josh. 24:33) and perhaps of those at Bethel. At all events, the author of a section added in a later edition of E speaks of Aaron as yielding to the people while Moses is absent on Mount Horeb, and taking the lead in the worship of Yahwe under the form of a golden calf. The narrator, influenced by prophetic teaching, really means to attack the worship carried on at the great sanctuary of Bethel, and looks back to the destruction of Samaria by the Assyrians in 721 as Yahwe's 'visitation' of the idolatrous worship maintained in N. Israel (Ex. 32; see especially 7:34).

It is extremely probable that Aaron's name was absent altogether from the earliest document of the Hexateuch

4. In J. (J) in its original form. In it Aaron appears only to disappear. For example, according to our present text, Pharaoh sends for Moses and Aaron that they may entreat Yahwe to remove the plague of frogs; but in the course of the narrative Aaron is ignored, and the plague is withdrawn simply at 'the word of Moses' (Ex. 8:8-13 a 4-11 a). Apparently, therefore, the name of Aaron has been introduced here and there into J by the editor who united it to E (cp EXODUS, § 3 n.). If that is so, we may perhaps agree with Oort that the legend of Aaron belonged originally

¹ In 1 Ch. 12:27, if MT is correct, Aaron (AV AARONITES) is almost a collective term for priests said by the Chronicler to have joined David at Hebron. In 25:17† RV rightly reads 'Aaron'.

² On passages in P which seem to conflict with this, see the discussion and conclusions of P. in Lev. 8:12.

AARONITES

to the 'house of Joseph,' which regarded Aaron as the ancestor of the priests of Bethel, and that single members of this clan succeeded, in spite of Ezekiel, in obtaining recognition as priests at Jerusalem. So, doubtfully, Stade (*op. cit.* 583), who points out that no strict proof of this hypothesis can be offered,

As to the derivation of 'Aaron, Redshoe's ingenious conjecture that it is but a more flowing pronunciation of *hā'ar-n*, 'the ark,' is worth considering only if we can regard Aaron as the mythical ancestor of the priests of Jerusalem (*qnd hā'ar-n qnd .thū n*). See Lane, *De Gids*, Nov. 1871, p. 271.

See Pausanias; and esp. besides the works of Weil, Stein, and Kie, Oort's essay 'De Atrioniden' in *Thalysm.* 1890, 351 ff.

AARONITES, RV 'the house of] Aaron' אַהֲרֹנִיתִים
 תא אהרֹנִים [H], תאֹנִים א. [A], תאֹנִים יִתְּאֹנִים א. [I];
 יִתְּאֹנִים אֲהֲרֹנִים, 1st STRPT. AARON, 1 Ch. 12:27.
 See AARON, note 1.

ABACUC (*abacuc*), 4 Esd 1:4, 1:14. See **ABACHUK**.

ABADDON (אַבְדֹּן, but in Prov. 27:20 Kr. אֲבֹדֹן, by contraction) or marring, though the full form is also cited by Gal. for Kt. אֲבֹדֹן, אֲבֹדֹן אֶחָא [18A], but Job 31:12 ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΡΩΝ [18A], . . . ΛΕΡΩΝ [18C]; Rev. 9:11, ΑΒΑΔΔΩΝ [8A, etc.]; ΑΒΑΔΑ, [B etc.], ΑΒΒΑΔΑ, [some curs.]; etc.; אֲבֹדֹן; *PERDITION*, but Rev. 9:11 *ABADDON*, RV Job 20:6, Prov. 15:11 27:20; RV mg. Job 28:22 31:12, Ps. 88:11 [12], elsewhere *EV* DESTRUCTION; in Rev. 9:11 Abaddon is stated to be the Hebrew equivalent of ΑΠΟΛΥΩΝ (ΑΠΟΛΥΩΝ[8A]). Etymologically it means 'place of destruction.' We find it parallel to Sheol in Job 20:6 28:11; Prov. 15:11 27:20 (see readings above). In these cases RV makes it a proper name, either Abaddon or Destruction, as being parallel to the proper names Sheol or Death. In Ps. 88:11 [12] 'Destruction' is parallel to 'the grave'; in Job 31:12 the same term (in RV) is equivalent to 'utter ruin.' Thus Abaddon occurs only in the Wisdom Literature. There is nothing in the usage to indicate that in OT it denotes any place or state different from Sheol (q.v.), though by its obvious etymology it emphasises the darker aspects of the state after death. An almost identical word (אֲבִדָּן) is used in Leth. 25 (constr. אֲבִדָּן; 8) for 'destruction' in its ordinary sense as a common noun. In later Hebrew אֲבֹדֹן is used for 'perdition' and 'hell' (Eastrow, *Dict.* s.v.), and is explained in Targ. on Job 20:6 אֲבֹדֹן אֶחָא, house of perdition—i.e., hell. The Syriac equivalent word (ܐܒܕܕܐܢ) has the meaning 'destruction,' and is used to translate אֲבֹדֹן.

Rev. 9:11 mentions a king or angel of the abyss, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon and in Greek Apollyon ('*Ἀπολλών*, Destroyer), the *-on* being supposed to be a personal ending in Hebrew, as it is in Greek. This is, of course, poetic personification (cp Rev. 18:20, 21), and may be paralleled in the OT (Job 28:22; cp Ps. 104:15), and in Rabbinical writers (Schottgen, *Horae Hebr.*, *Apoc.* ix. 11, and *PAR.*^{5b} 3.7.). The identification with the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit is a mistake. Apollyon has become familiar to the world at large through the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but Abaddon may be said not to exist outside of the Apocalypse. W. H. R.

ABADIAS ($\Delta B \Delta \Delta \Delta C$ [BA]), 1 Ed. S₄₅⁺ = Ezra S₉.
 OIRADIAH, 11.

ABAGTHA (אבגתה, etymology doubtful, but see BIGVAI, BAGOVS; according to Ming. [*Faod* 71] the corresponding Gr. is **ABATAZA** [HSA], which [reading *abāṭara*] he regards as presupposing אבגתה *abagtha*; the 4th name in the list as it stands is

¹ K₀, *Hebr. Spr.*, loc. cit., ii, 473 γ, gives parallel contractions; cp BDB.

² On the several forms see *Pal. A/V* § 174.16-2, § 224.16.

ABARIM

ΖΑΘΟΛΘΑ [HN]. ΖΗΒΑΘΑΘΑ [A], a chamberlain of Ahasuerus (Est. 1:6). See LESTER, ii, § 3.

ABANA, RV **Abanah** (אֲבָנָה, 2 K 5:14 Kt. אֲבָנָה [Kt]; **ABANA**, BL. **apB.** [*tp* superscr.] B¹⁹).

ANAB, [H¹⁰⁰⁰g] : NAB, [A] : **ناب** : *ANAB*, 1), one of the 'rivers' (נהרות) of Damascus. The name, which occurs nowhere else, should probably be read AMANA (AV *ing*.) or AMANAH (RV *ing*.) ; see further AMANA, 2) ; in this form, as meaning 'constant,' it would be equally suitable to a river and to a mountain, though it was first of all given to the mountain range of Anti-Lebanus, from which near Zebedim, the Nahr Baradā ('the cold') descends to refresh with its sparkling waters the city and the gardens of Damascus¹. The romantically situated *Nahr Fijeh* (فجّه), a little to the S. of *Suk Haday Baradā* (the ancient Aklat), appears from its name to have been regarded as the chief source of the Baradā. It is not, certainly, the most distant one ; Ion it does, at any rate, 'supply that stream with twice as much water as it contains before it is thus augmented' (Baed. *Pal^{est}* 336). Close to it are the remains of a small temple, which was presumably dedicated to the river-god. The clear waters of the Nahr Baradā have a charm which is wanting to the Jordan through the greater part of its course. This explains Nauman's question in 2 K. 512, as far as the Amman is concerned. It is the fate of the Baradā to disappear in the swamps called the Meadow Lakes, about 18 m. to the E. of Damascus, on the verge of the desert. See PHARPAR, 7. 8. 6.

ABARIM, THE (אֲבָרִים): Ἀβαρίμ [BAL], -IN [BL], and phrases with πέραν [BAL], see below; Jos., Ἀβαρίη, literally 'Those on the other side'—i.e., of the Jordan—is employed by the latest documents of the Pentateuch (P and K) in the phrase, Mt. or Mts. of the Abarim, to describe the edge of the great Moabite plateau overlooking the Jordan valley, of which Mt. Nebo was the most prominent headland (—Nu. 27.12 R1, το ὄρος το ἐν τῷ πέραν [BA], τ. ὄ. . . π. [τῷ ὄρει/ὄρειον]; Dt. 32.43 (P[R1]), τ. ὄ. π. Ἀβαρίμ [H1], . . . τῶν [A], 'this Mt. of the Abarim, Mt. Nebo'; Nu 33.47 f. [P[R] in Euseb's similarity between the Moab plateau and the plains of Shinar, 'Mts. of the Abarim' (τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀβαρίμ, ὄρη α. [BAL]). In Nu 33.44 we find Jhe-abarim (AV [H]-ABARIM), 'heaps of the Abarim' (to distinguish it from the Ijim of Judah, Josh. 15.29; see IIM, 1), on the extreme SE. of Moab. Since the employment of the name thus confined to Moab occurs only in late documents, it is probably due to the fact that at the time these were written the Jews were settled only over against Moab. Josephus, too, uses the word in the same limited application (Ant. iv. 848, ἐν τῷ ὄρει: τῷ Ἀβαρί, and Eusebius (OS² 2164, Ἀβαρίη) so quotes it as employed in his own day. But there are traces in the OT of that wider application to the whole trans-Jordanic range which the very general meaning of Abarim justifies us in supposing to have been its original application. In Jer. 22.20 (RV), Abarim (AV 'the passages'); צַבָּרִים, dividing the word in two, τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης) is ranged with Lebanon and Bashan—that is to say, is probably used as covering both G' d and A. ab.;—and in the corrupt text of Ez. 31.1, 'the valley of the passengers,' as AV gives it (similarly RV), most probably should rather be 'a valley of [Mt.] Abarim' (צַבָּרִים for צַבָּרִים; so Hb., Co., Siegf., Bu.). If so, that extends the name to Bashan. Thus the plural noun Abarim would denote the E. range in its entire extent—being, in fact, practically equivalent to the preposition זָרָה (originally a singular noun from the

¹ Rev. William Wright, formerly of Damascus, states that 'the river whose water is not prized like the Abanias, distributes the Abana' (*Leisure Hour*, v 74, p. 284; so *Exposita*, Oct. 1856, p. 214). Is the name due to a confusion with Nahr Baniās (certainly not the ancient Abana)? No Abanias is mentioned in Porter's *Five Years in Damascus* or in Barton and Drake's *Unexplored Syria*.

ABBA

same root) There is no instance of the name earlier than Jeremiah. Lag. Nu. 2712 Dt. 3249 gives אֶרֶץ

As seen from W. Palestine this range forms a continuous mountain-wall, at a pretty constant level, which is broken only by the valley-mouths of the Yarmuk, Zerka or Jabbok, and Arnon. Across the gulf of the Jordan valley it rises with great impressiveness, and constitutes the eastern horizon (cp Stanley, *S.P.*; G.A.S.M., *II* 53, 519, 548). The hardly varying edge masks a considerable difference of level behind. On the whole the level is maintained from the foot of Hermon to the S. end of the Dead Sea at a height of from 2000 to 2000 feet above the ocean. The basis throughout is limestone. N. of the Yarmuk it is deeply covered by volcanic deposits, and there are extinct craters N.E. of the Lake of Galilee. Between the Yarmuk and the Wady Heslan, at the N. end of the Dead Sea, run transverse ridges, cut by deep wadies, and well wooded as far S. as the Zerka. S. of Wady Heslan rolls the breezy treeless plateau of Moab, indented in its western edge by short wadies rising quickly to the plateau level, with the headlands that are more properly the Mts. of Abarim between them; and cut right through to the desert by the great trenches of the wadies, Zerka, Mi'in, and Mojt or Arnon. For details see ASIATICK. PISCAL, BAMOCH BAAI, BETU-PEOR, MOAB, NETO, PISCAL, ZORUM, etc., with authorities quoted there. On Nu. 33 17 see WANDERINGS, § 11. G. A. S.

ABBA (ABBA [Ti. VII], i.e. אבא, Ab, 'father,' in the emphatic state), an Aram. title of God used by Jesus and his contemporaries, and retained by Greek-speaking Christian Jews. See Mk. 11.6 Rom. 8.3 Gal. 4.6; where in each case *ὁ πατήρ* is subjoined.

ABDA (8722), § 51, frequent in Phoen. and Aram. On the form cp. Renan, *KE/v.* 165 f. [82], and see NAMES, §§ 37, 51).

1. Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZEK. ii. § 6,
§ 15 [I] ar), Nob, II 17 αβδζα [κ' emg. sup], ιωηθδ [κ'] ιωθθδ [E],
ιω. [A], αβδζα [I.] = I Ch. vi 16, ΟΥΑΝΙΑΒ, 9 (p. 72).

ABDEEL (אַבְדֵּל, § 21, 'servant of God'), father of Shelniah, Jer. 34:26†. (Not in S.)

AEDI (אֵדִי, § 52, abbr. for 'servant of Yahwé'? cp Palm, אֵדִי, and see GRADUAT: אַבְדֵּי [1.]).

1. Father of Kish, a Levite under Hezekiah, mentioned in the genealogy of ERTAN [2. v.], 1 Ch. 6.44 [29] 2 Ch. 29.12: $\alpha\beta\delta[\epsilon]\zeta$ [B.M.].

2. One of the line EtAM [q.v. ii, 1], in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i, § 5 end), Ezra 10²⁶ ($\alpha\beta\delta[\epsilon]\alpha$ [B.S.A., .§ 1.]), = 1 Esd. 9²⁷ (RV OAUDUS, AV om., $\omega\alpha\beta\delta[\epsilon]\alpha\sigma$ [B.A.]).

ABDIAS (*ABDIAS*), 4 Esd. i. 39†. See OBADIAH, I.

ABDIEL (עבדיאל, §§ 21, 37, 'servant of God'; אבדעאל [B]; אבדאל [AL]), in genealogy of GAD, 1 Ch. 5:5f.

ABDON (עבדון, Ἀβδων [AL], see also below).

one of the four Levitical cities within the tribe of Asher; Josh. 21.39, 1 Ch. 6.74(59)†. The site has not been identified, but Guérin has suggested that of

'Abdēh, 10 m N. from 'Akka (Acre). The same city is referred to in Josh. 19:23, where עֲבָתָא (*AV*: Hb BRON; RV EUGEN) is a graphical error for אַבְדָּה.

RV 1.660X) is a graphical error for $\text{[} \overline{\text{ב}} \overline{\text{ע}}$. Abdon, which, in fact, some MSS. read (Josh. 21 30, $\delta\alpha\beta\delta\omega\nu$ [B]; 1 Ch. 6:74 [L], $\alpha\beta\alpha\rho\nu$ [B], om. L); Josh. 19:28, $\epsilon\lambda\beta\omega\nu$ [B], $\alpha\chi\rho\nu$ [AL]),

ABDON אֲבֹדֹן, § 77; dim. of EBED; אΒΔΩΝ [BAL.].

t. b. Hillel, one of the six minor judges (see JUDGES, § 1). After judging Israel eight years, he was buried at Pirathon in Ephraim, his native

ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH

place. He had forty sons and thirty grandsons, 'that rode on three-score and ten ass colts' (v. 10), was head of a large and wealthy family (cp. Judg. 5b), Judg. 12 c'est (Aapδeu [M.], v. 15 ω A); on Lw's conjecture that

- his name should be restored in 1 S. 12:11, see B. DAN, 1.
2. b. Shashak, a Benjamin (1 Ch. 8:20, ἀβιζακ [B]).
3. b. Iziel the father of Gabien; 1 Ch. 8:30 (αβιζακ [B]).
4. b. Iziel (αβιζακ [B]), αβιζακ [A].
5. b. Muthi, a son of King Josiah (2 Ch. 34:20, ἀβιζακ [B]), elsewhere called A. muthi (y. p. 2). 5. See L. DAN, 2.

ABEDNEGO (עֶבֶד נֶבֹּא or עֶבֶד נְנֹא, § 86; a corruption of עֶבֶד נְבֹ 'servant of Nebo,' which occurs in an Assyrio-Aramaic inscription, *COF*²126, 23).

אֲזַרְיָהוּ [BA 87]; **حذيه**; *ARDENAGE*), the count name given to Azariah [10], the friend of Daniel (Dan 17, etc.). On name see also N. R. A. M.

ABEL (אָבֶל, § 6; ABEL [ADL.]; *ABEL*, Gen. 4,

7 There are three phases in Jewish beliefs respecting Abel. The second and the third may be mentioned first. The catastrophe of the Fall shifted the mental horizon, and made a right view of the story of Abel impossible. Abel was therefore at first (as it would seem from P) neglected. Afterwards, however, he was restored to more than his old position by devout though uneducated students of Scripture, who saw in him the type of the highest sanctity, that sealed by a martyr's death (cp Kohler, *JQR* v. 113 '93). The same view appears in parts of the NT (Mt. 23:35 = Lk. 11:41; Heb. 11:4; 12:24; 1 John 3:12). God bore witness, we are told (Heb. 11:4), that Abel was righteous — i.e., a possessor of true faith.

and it was by faith that Abel offered $\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$ (ᾠδὴν $\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$) $\theta\epsilon\omega$. Hence Magee assumes that Abel had received a revelation of the Atonement (1, 11 *ment and Sacrifice*, 1, 50; 3). The original narrator (J), however, would certainly wish us to regard Abraham as the first believer; the story of Cain and Abel is an early Israelitic legend retained by J as having a profitable symbolism for his own time.

tendency. On this earliest phase of belief, see C MS, § 4 f.
Meaning of the name.—The Massorists understood Abel
(Ġbel) to mean 'a breath,' 'sanity' (cf. Ps. 39 6 [7]); but
the true meaning, both of Abel and of the collateral form Jaba-
must be something concrete, and a right view of the story
favors the meaning 'shepherd,' or, more generally, 'herdman.'
This is supported by the existence of a group of Semitic words,
some of which denote domesticated animals, while others are the
corresponding words for their herdsmen. Cp., e.g., Ass. *diblu*,
'Lam, camel, ass' (but some explain 'wild sheep'; see Mss. S.
Ann. v. 7); Arab. *halbil*, 'herdman' (used widely; see PS, s.v.); Ar. bil, 'camels,' *abbil*, 'camel-herd.' The attempt of
Lennormand (*Les origines*, i. 170) and, upon definitely, Sayce
of a nature-myth, Abel (= Bab ablu, 'son') being originally 'the
only son Tammuz, who was a shepherd like Jaba and Abel'
(Sayce), and whom Lennormand regards as, like Abel in early
theology, a kind of type of Christ, is adventurous. The name
'son' is insufficient as a title of Tammuz (*Abal nārāz*); and
there is nothing said of a turning for Abel's death. The
title of 'shepherd' applied to Tammuz in R 27 r is explained
by the following word 'lord' (= Jeremiaš, *Tammuz Anmud*,
50). In the *Festament of Mani* (ed. James) Abū plays
the part of Judge of the nether world, like the Jamā (Yama)
of the Aryans.

ABEL (אֵבֶל, §§ 89-100) occurs, apparently in the sense of 'meadow,' in the place-names dealt with in the following six articles. As a place-name it is to be

struck out of $\alpha\sigma\delta\epsilon\lambda$, where for $\Delta\Gamma$ **עד אבל הנדולה** (so also Pesh.) Θ^A reads $\epsilon\omega\sigma$ (ϵ . $\tau\omega\sigma$ [1.] $\Lambda\theta\eta\sigma$ $\tau\omega\sigma$

RV). Ew., We., and others further change the points so as to read: 'and a witness is the great stone.' Dr.

suggests as an alternative: 'and still the great stone, whereon'—etc. On Abel in 2 S. 20:18, see ABEL-BERIT-MACRAIL.

ABEL - BETH - MAACHAH, RV, Abel - Beth -

Maacah (2 S. 20:14; אֲבֵלָה וּבֵית מַעַח, 'to Abel and Beth-maacah,' RV 'unto Abel and to Beth-maacah') [many strike out the conjunction, but the places may have been different; cp 2 S. 20:15 L₁].

ABEL-CHERAMIM

2 K. 15:29 [BVL], ΕΙΣ ΑΒΕΛ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [H].
... ΒΗΘΜΑΧΑ [A]. κ. ΑΒΗΛΑ κ. ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [1.].
Cp 2 S. 20:15, אֶבְלָא וְבֵית בַּיְתָא. EV 'in Abel of Beth-
mau (heli), cp Αβελ της Βαιθμαχα [H], cp Α. της Βαιθμαχα [A], cp 27
Α. κ. Βαιθμαχα [1.]; 1 K. 15:20, ΕΙΣ ΑΒΕΛ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΒΑΙΘΜΑΧΑ [H], Αβελ
ουκου (sh) Μαχα [A], Αβελμαχα [1.]; 2 K. 15:20, ΕΙΣ ΑΒΕΛ
Αβελ κ. της Βαιθμαχα [H], Καβελ κ. της Βαιθμαχα [A], Αβελ κ. της
Βαιθμαχα [1.]; 2 S. 20:15 (on which see ARAM, § 5), אֶבְלָא
EV Αβελ, (27) Αβελ [H].

This place, mentioned, although in now mutilated
form Αβελ, by Tiglath-pileser III (cp Schr. *VOF*
on 2 K. 15:29), is the present *Abil*—called also *Abil el-
Kiamh* ('of the wheat') to distinguish it from *Abil el-Suk*
(see ABILENE)—a small village inhabited by Christians on
the *Ahkr Barighil*, on a hill 1074 ft. above the sea,
overlooking the Jordan valley, almost directly opposite to
Rimidi, and on the main road thence to Sidon and
the coast. It is a strong site, with a spring and a
(probably artificial) mound; below is a broad level
of good soil, whence the modern name. See Yākhūt
156; Robt. *IBP* 372 f. (who argues against *Abil el-
Mizraim*, a site 8 m. farther north); *PEF. Mon.* 1. 85 107;
Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 309, 315. In 2 Ch 16:1,
we have, instead of the Abel-beth-mamech of the
parallel passage (1 K. 15:23), ΑΒΕΛ ΜΑΙΜ (אֶבְלָא
מַיִם [A], -μαίμ [B], -μαίμ [1.]; cp Jos. *Ant.* vii.
121, Αβελμαίμ), or 'Abel of Waters,' a name suitable
for so well-watered a neighbourhood. On Judith 14:7,
where Pesh. reads Abelmeholah, and R. apparently Abelm-
maim, see BELMEN (cp also BERAI). On the ancient
history of the place see ARAM, § 5.

ABEL-CHERAMIM (אֶבְלָא כְרָמִים), 'meadow of vine-
yards,' § 103. ΕΒΕΛΧΕΡΑΜΕΙΝ [H]; ΑΒΕΛ ΑΜΠΕΛΑ-
ΝΩΝ [A]; Judg. 11:31 RV, the limit of Jephthah's
pursuit and slaughter of the Ammonites. Eus. and Jer.
(OS 2 225 961), Αβελ αμπελων, *Abel vinearum*) iden-
tify it with a village of their day, named Αβελ, 7 R.
m. from Philadelphia. This Abel may be any of the
many fertile levels among the rolling hills around
Amman, on which the remains of vineyards and of
terraces are not infrequent.

ABEL-MAIM (אֶבְלָא מַיִם), 2 Ch. 16:1, see ΑΒΕΛ-
ΒΕΤΘΙ-ΜΑΜΕΧΑΙ.

ABEL-MEHOLAH (אֶבְלָא מְהוֹלָה), i.e., 'dancing
meadow'; ΕΒΕΛΜΑΩΛΑ, ΑΒΩΜΕΗΛΑ, ΕΒΑΛΜΑ-
[B], ΑΒΕΛΜΑΟΥΛΑ, ΒΑΕΛΜΑΩ, [A]; ΑΒΕΛΜΕΟΥΛΑ,
-μαωλα [1.]; ΑΒΕΛΜΕΟΥΛΑ; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 137,
ΑΒΕΛΑ, the home of Elisha the prophet (1 K. 19:16),
and probably also of Abiel b. Barzilai 'the Meholahite'
(1 S. 15:1; 2 S. 21:1), is mentioned in conjunction with
Bethshean as defining the province of one of Solomon's
officers (1 K. 11:2). Gideon pursued the Midianites 'as
far as Beth-shittah towards Zorah as far as the border'
—lit. 'lip,' probably the high bank which marks the
edge of the Jordan valley proper—'of Abel-meholah, by
Tibbath' (Judg. 7:22). According to Eus. and Jer. (OS
97 11 227 35), Abelmahla (or Αβελμαελή) lay in the
Ghor, 10 R. m. to the south of Scythopolis (Bethshean),
and was still an inhabited village in their time, with the
name Bethaula, Βηθαυαλ (though they mention also
an *Ab. meia*, Αβελμαεία). This points to a locality at or
near the place where the *H. Milih*, coming down
from 'Am Milih, joins the Jordan valley.

ABEL-MIZRAIM (אֶבְלָא מִצְרַיִם) [see below], ΠΕΛΘΟΣ
ΔΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ [BVL]; so Pesh. Vg., Gen. 50:11 (H),
otherwise (cp 1:7) called GORSEN AVAD (גֹרְסֵן אַבָד);
ΑΛΩΝΙ ΑΤΑΛ [BVL], Α. ΤΑΛ [B^{vol}], Α. ΑΤΑΛ [D];
or 'the threshing-floor of the thorn-shrub' (EV 'of
ATAD,' see BRAMHAT 1), and said to be situated
'beyond Jordan' (cp 2: 10 J). It was there that Joseph
made a second mourning for his father, whence the

ABEL-SHITTIM

etymological play on the name (2: 11). After this,
Joseph and his brethren carried the embalmed body of
Jacob to Machpelah for burial, and then returned to
Egypt (2: 17, J and P). The words 'which is beyond
Jordan' (2: 10 J), however, cannot be accurate: the
original text of J must, it would seem, have been altered,
owing to a misreading or an editorial misunderstanding.
The circuitous route round the north end of the Dead
Sea has no obvious motive: had it really been meant,
something more would have been said about it (cp
Nu 11:25). For 2: 10, 'the Jordan,' J must have written
either 2: 10 J (less probably 2: 10 J), the most easterly
arm of the Nile (a frontier of Canaan, according to
Josh 13:1) or 2: 10 J, 'the stream'—i.e., the *Wady el-
Arish*, the usual SW. boundary of Canaan (cp Gen.
15:18, where J calls this Wady, not the S2 but the
27 of Egypt—i.e., 'the stream on the border of Egypt'
(Kautsch-Socini, on which see LXXV, RIVER OF).

The meaning of the narrative is this: At the first
Canaanite village (the first after the border had been
crossed) the 'great company' (2: 9) halted, while
Joseph and his fellow-Hebrews mourned in their own
way (cp 2: 18) in the very place where wedding and
funeral ceremonies are still performed in the Syrian
villages (Weitz.). The repetition of 'which is beyond
Jordan' must be due to the editor.

It is remarkable that Jer. (45: 8, 13), though he does not
question the reading 'beyond Jordan,' identifies *Arca Atath*
with *Archaia*—i.e., Βηθμαχα (G 55), which is certainly
on the west bank of the Jordan. Dillan is more consistently
conservative, and, followed by Sayce (*Orig. and Mon.* 27, 28),
finds in the trans-Jordanic Abel-Mizraim a testimony to the
Egyptian empire in Palestine in the pre-Mosaic age, proved by
the Amarna tablets. The exegetical difficulties of this view,
however, are insuperable.

As to the name Abel-mizraim it is not improbable that
its original meaning was 'meadow of Musri' (in N.
Arabia, see MIZRAIM), but that before J's time it had
come to be understood as meaning 'meadow [on the
border] of Egypt.' Cp Wi. *Akk. Forsch.* 34, and
see EGYPT, RIVER OF.

ABEL-SHITTIM (אֶבְלָא שִׁטִּים), § 100, i.e., 'the
meadow of the acacias'; Samar. omits the article; ΑΒΕΛ-
CATEIM [1.], Β. . . TTIM [A], -ΤΤΕΙΝ [1.], ΒΑΚΑ [B];
ABEL-SHITIM, Num. 33:49, or, more briefly, *Shittim*
(שִׁטִּים), 'the acacias,' CATEIM [B], -M [1.]; but
Nu. 25:1 CATEIM [F], -N [1.]; Josh. 2: 1 CATEIM [A],
ΕΞΑΤΤΕΙΝ [1.], 3: 1 ΕΚΑΤΤΕΙΝ [1.]; Mic. 6: 1 ΤΩΝ ΧΟΥ-
ΝΩΝ [BVL] (or ΧΑΙΝΩΝ? cp Sus. 54, in the Arabah
or Jordan basin at the foot of Mount Peor and opposite
Jericho). In the time of Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 84, v. 11) a town
named Abila (Αβίλα), rich in palm trees, occupied such
a site at a distance of 60 stadia (7½ R. m.) from the
river. Cp *B¹* iv. 7, 6, where it is described as near the
Dead Sea, and Jer. (Comm. on Joab), who locates it
6 R. m. from Livias. This seems to point to the
neighbourhood of *Khirbet el-Kefrin*, where the Wady
Kefrin enters the Jordan valley, and there are ruins,
including those of a fortress. It was at Abila, according
to Jos., that Moses delivered the exhortations of Dt.
The palm trees have disappeared, but there is an
acacia grove at no great distance (Tristram, *Conder*).
According to *KP²* v. 50, this is the Abul or 'Abel' men-
tioned among the places conquered by Thothmes III.

In Joab 3 [1] 2 222 should perhaps be treated as a
common noun and translated 'acacias' (so RV mg., and
Miri in *HS*: cp 222 222 222 [H 222]). At all events
the reference is not to Abel-shittim across the Jordan.
Some (We. Now.) think the name has been preserved
in the *Wady es-Sant* (see ELAM, VALLEY OF), but
the latter does not require the watering of which Joab
speaks; and he intends, rather, some dry gorge nearer
Jerusalem, perhaps (like Ez. 47: 12) some part of the
Kedron valley, *Wady en-Nar* (cp Dr. *ad loc.*; GASMI,
H¹ 511; also, for acacias on W. of Dead Sea, Tristr.
Land of Isr. 280, 298).

ABEZ

ABEZ RV Ebez (עֶבֶז: עֶבֶז [B], אֶבֶז [V], -wīc [L], אֶבֶז; Josh. 19.48f.),¹ one of the sixteen cities of Issachar. The site is unknown, but the name is evidently connected with that of the judge IZZAS (עִזָּא) of Bethlehem—i.e., the northern Bethlehem. This Bethlehem, it is true, is Zebulunite, while Ebez is assigned to Issachar; but the places must have been very close to each other, and the toponym, doubtless varied. Consider identification with *El Ebez*, 2 mi. from Beit Lahm, might suit as to position, but 'the white village' can have nothing to do with the old name.

W. R. S.

ABI (עֲבִי so Targ. Jon.; abbrev. of אֲבִיךָ הוּא; אֲבִי [B], אֲבִי [L]; Jos. 'אֲבִי' [B], daughter of Zechariah, wife of King Abaz, and mother of King Hezekiah (2 Ch. 18.18). In the parallel passage (2 Ch. 29.1) the name is given as אֲבִיחִי (עֲבִיחִי [B] see Swete), אֲבִיחִי [A], אֲבִי [L]; אֲבִי [A]; אֲבִי, but the probability is perhaps in favour of the contracted form in K. (So Gray, *HPA* 24.)

ABI. Names with. There has been much discussion as to the interpretation of the names compounded with *abi*, *abi* and some other words denoting relationship¹ (cp AMMI, HAMMI, etc.). Without assuming that this discussion is in all points closed (cp NAMES, § 41) the writer thinks it best to state the theory which he has himself long held, adopting certain points (with acknowledgment) from Gray's very lucid and thorough exposition, and then to consider the religious and archaeological aspects of the subject.

The question whether these names are sentences has long been answered by some critics in the affirmative, and the arguments of Gray (*HPA* 73-86)

put the student in possession of all the points to be urged. He also ably criticises the alternative view (viz., that the two elements in Abimelech, Ammiel, etc., are related as construct and genitive). It is usual to refer on this side to such Phoenician names as אֲבִיחִי, in which the term of relation is always fem. in names of women and masc. in those of men. But this is decisive only for Phoenician names, and even in their case only for names in אֲבִי and אֲבִי ('brother' and 'sister'). Compounds with *ab* ('father') are used indifferently of men and women in Phoenician, just as they are in Hebrew. In the latter case, therefore, at least, the term of relation cannot refer to the bearer of the name—i.e., cannot be in the construct state. No doubt in Ps. 110.4 Melchizedek (which suffers, along with other compound names containing a connective *i* [see below, § 3], from the same ambiguity as names containing a term of kinship) is understood as a construct relation, 'king of righteousness', and the phrase אֲבִי שָׁלוֹם—as we should certainly read in Is. 9.5 [6] for אֲבִי שָׁלוֹם²—obviously means for the writer 'glorious father' (i.e., glorious ruler of the family of Israel; cp Is. 22.21). It would seem, therefore, that in the post-exilic age some names of this type were so understood. But we must remember that in later times the original sense of a formation may be forgotten. Gray's main objections to taking *abi* etc., as originally constructs are as follows: (1) The theory will not account for names like Eliab, Joab, etc. Eliab clearly stands to Abiel as Elijah to Joel; in the latter case the

¹ On some possible but by no means clear instances of *am*, 'mother', in compound names, see Gray, *HPA* 64 n. 3.

² The interpretation of אֲבִי שָׁלוֹם as 'enveloping one' stands or falls with the interpretation of אֲבִי, 'Abimech' as 'father of graciousness', and of Abitab as 'father of goodness'. Though defended by reference to such names by Guthe (*Zukunftsbild* 188, 1178), it is now generally rejected in favour of 'perpetual father (of his people)', or 'father (i.e. producer) of booty'. But neither of these explanations gives a satisfactory parallel to 'prince of peace'. We must read אֲבִי שָׁלוֹם, 'Prince of peace', suggests a reminiscence of Abisalom, which the writer probably interpreted 'father of peace' (i.e., peaceful or prosperous) ruler.

ABI

genitive relation is excluded, inferentially it is equally so in the former. (2) The use of *ab* with a noun denoting a quality is a pure Arabism¹ which should not be lightly admitted, while such an interpretation as 'father of Yah' for Abijah is unlikely. (3) A woman's name like 'brother of graciousness' (Abimech) is inconceivable.² In favour of taking the names compounded with a term of relationship as sentences Gray urges that, though *ab*, *ab*, 'am' etc. all denote a male relative, the proper names compounded with them are used indifferently of men and women, while, on the other hand, nouns with *ben* (son) prefixed are used exclusively of men, the corresponding names of women having *bat* (daughter) for *ben*. He infers, therefore, that, while in the case of names in *ben* and *bat* the element denoting kindred refers to the bearer of the name, in the case of *ab* etc. it does not.

Assuming that these compound names are sentences, are there grounds for determining which of the two elements is subject and which is predicate? (1) In cases like Abijah, Abijah, only the first part can be regarded as indefinite³ and therefore is predicate. We must, therefore, render 'Yahwe is father,' etc. The same principle would apply to Joab, Joab (if these are really compounds). Quite generally, therefore, whenever one element is a proper name it must be subject.⁴

But (2) a divine proper name may give place to *sh* (god) or some divine title—e.g., Lord. Hence Abiel, Abimelech, will be best explained on the analogy of Abijah—i.e., 'God is father', 'the divine king is father'. Lastly (3) the divine name or title may give place to an epithet, such as *ram*, 'lofty'. Here the syntax is at first sight open to doubt. The usages of the terms of relationship in the cases just considered would suggest that *ram* in Abi-ram is subject; but the fact that *ram* nowhere occurs by itself designating Yahwe seems to the writer to show that it must be predicate. Abi-ram, therefore, means, not 'the exalted one is father,' but 'the (divine) father is exalted.' Cp ABONIRAM, ITORAM.

The question whether the connective *i*, which occurs in most of the forms, is the suffix of the first pers. sing., or an old ending, has been variously answered. Should Abimech, Abimech

3. Connective *i*. Should Abimech, Abimech be rendered 'my father (or my brother) is graciousness' (see Olshausen, *Lehrb. d. hebr. Spr.* § 277 e), or 'the (divine) father, or brother, is graciousness'? Gray well expounds the reasons for holding the latter view. Thus, there are certain forms in which *i* does not occur, e.g., Abram, Absalom, beside Abi-ram, Abi-ram. We also find Abiel beside Eliab. Lastly, the analogy of אֲבִיחִי (Jeremiah), אֲבִיחִי (Hezekiah), etc., favours the theory that the names before us contain utterances respecting the relation of a deity to all the members of the tribe or clan which worships him. To some this may appear a slight argument; but to the writer it has long been an influential consideration. An argument on the opposite side offered by Boscawen and Hommel will be considered later (see § 5).

It is not easy at first to appreciate, or even to understand, the conception which underlies compound names of this class. The representation of a god as the father of a tribe or clan may be less repulsive to us than the representation of him as a brother or as some other kinsman. Even a prophet does not object to the expression 'sons of the living God' (Hos. 1.10 [2]; see the commentators), but any one can see that to substitute some other relation

¹ Rare in ancient Arabic (see NAMES, § 43).

² It is if in modern Ar. *abu* is so used of a woman (see NAMES, § 43, third note).

³ This assumes that the connective *i* is not pronominal (see below, § 3).

⁴ The same principle will apply to other compounds containing, instead of a term of kinship, a title, e.g., as in MELCHIZEDEK (9.7), ABONIRAM, etc., or a concrete noun, as in URIAH.

ABIGAIL

is called Nahash (an error also found in **89**), and clearly produced by the proximity of that name in **27**; **89** gives the correct reading, 'Jesse' (*tseda*), and his husband is called 'the Ishmaelite' (so **MT**, *ʿisḥmaʿelīy*) [**B**], ~~אִשְׁמָאֵלִי~~, which, however, seems to be a corruption from the 'Jezreelite' (*ʿisḥmaʿelīy*) [**L**], *de Jezreel* [cf. **Rom** *de Jezreel*]; **Amitt** [**h**], *metas*, 'Ammoon or Jezreelless' (LS **27**), becomes in **B** *ʿisḥmaʿelīy* *q* *de ʿisḥmaʿelīy*. It is true, in **L** *h* *ch* *q*, 'Ishtar' is called 'the Ishmaelite' (*ʿisḥmaʿelīy*) [**B**], *ʿisḥmaʿelīy*, but this is plainly a conjectural emendation of the 'Jezreelite'; indeed his *ʿisḥmaʿelīy* [**h**], *metas*, 'Ishtar' is called 'the Ishmaelite' [**B**], *ʿisḥmaʿelīy* [**L**], *de Jezreel*. It was the Jezreelite situated in Judah (Josh. 15. 6), from which not only David's brother-in-law but also his first wife Ahinoam probably came (so **Marq.** **Fund.** 24, see **H. E. F. 11**, p. 24). T. K. C.

ABIGAIL (2817), RVF See ABIGAIL, 2

ABIHAIL (אֲבִיחַיִל, *s.* 45, 'the (dhyne) Lither is strength,' cp *Sib.* אֲבִיחַיִל and the S. Arabian woman's name, Ba hāl [Hommel, *IEIT* 320]; written אֲבִיחַיִל [Gk. Ba [in 2 and 4, Hommel] in the Ebers-Festschrift, 20]; cp *IEIT* 320 compares the same name with ה in S. Arabian inscriptions from Ghazir, 1906).

אֲבִיחַיִל is supported by Θ , אב[ח]ע[ח]א[ח] [BA1],
 ܐܒܝܚܝܠ, *ARH* III, *ARH* IV)

1. Father of ZERU (Nu. 3:5f, ἀδελφὰ [F])
 2. Wife of Abishai the Gathite (1 Ch. 2:24
 28 [G, B], [A], ἀδελφὰ [B], ἀδελφ[Α], ἀδελφ[Γ])
 3. A Goliath (1 Ch. 9:3f, υἱὸς ἑλίου [BA], ἀδελφ[Α]

4. Daughter of Eliah, David's brother, and wife of Eshbom (2 Ch. 11: 1, שִׁשְׁבַּי [Sh. Ba.] | שִׁשְׁבַּי [B], אֶת-שִׁשְׁבַּי [B] and], אֶת־שִׁשְׁבַּי [A], τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ [L, who reads אֶת־שִׁשְׁבַּי בֶּן־עֲלִיָּה]).

5. Father of Esther, whose name however is given as Aminadab by **𐎠𐎵** (Esth. 2:15-9:24), $\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon\{\mu\alpha\delta\alpha\beta\}$ [**𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠**], and $\delta\alpha\tau$ [**𐎠𐎵**])

ABIHU (אֲבִיחִי, § 44, 'my father is he'; אΒΙΟΥΔ [BAL], *cf.* אΒΙΟΥ 'ABICOYD [A in Ex. 62], אΒΙΟΥ. See NABAR AND ABIM.

ABIHUD (אַבִּיהוּד, § 45, 'the (divine) father is glory'), a name probably appearing in contracted form in **אֲבִיהוּדָה** and in **אֲבִיהוּדָה**, **אֲבִיהוּדָה**, **אֲבִיהוּדָה** (cf. **אֲבִיהוּדָה**), an almost certain connection of **אֲבִיהוּדָה** [EV 'everlasting father' in Is. 95, which, however, is to be treated as an Arabic *kuzen*, 'father of glory' (Che. 'Israh,' in *SBOT*); **אֲבִיהוּדָה** [B.M.]; **אֲבִיהוּדָה** (Benjamite in Ch. S.D.).

ABIJAH (אֲבִיָּהָא, אֲבִיָּהָה, § 44, 'Yahwe is father'; on names ending in יָהּ, יָהִי, see NAMES, § 24, אֲבִיָּהָא [BAL.]).

1. Son of Rehoboam by a 'daughter of Absalom' (see *Macc* II, 31), and for three years king of Judah (somewhere about 400 B.C.; see *CHRON* II, 23).

32). The writer of the 'epitome' in Kings (see Dr. *Introd.* 178) only tells us (1 K. 15: 57)⁴ that he continued his father's war against Israel, and that he

¹ A more sophisticated $r_0(A) \neq r(A)$ so invariably in the case of $A \otimes_{\mathbb{Z}} \mathbb{Q}$.

² Yet PA have a BOM (i.e., α_{BOM}) 5 times for Alajon. See AUMH, 100 pl.

²⁰ In QSM this name is regularly substituted for Abder of M.F. xv. l. x. 6. (A). See *Ann.*

David had died, that which was right . . . all the days of his

life." From all the days of his life (1 Ch. xiii. 20) and Jeroboam (so read) in accordance with their parents (in 2 Ch. xxi. 25) and Jeroboam is probably a late gloss from the margin. The note respecting the war between Abiah and Rehoboam seems to be derived from 2 Ch. xiii. where alone it is found.

ABILENE

I walked in all the sins of his father;¹ and, since the first of these notices is very possibly due to an interpolator, we may confine our attention to the second. Why then does the epistomist take this unfavourable view of Abijah? As Stade points out, he must have read in the Annals of the kings of Judah statements respecting this king which, if judged by the standard of his later day, involved impurity, such as that Abijah, unlike his son Asa, tolerated foreign worship. It is surprising to find that the Chronicler (2 Ch. 13) draws a highly eulging portrait of Abijah, whom he represents as delivering an earnest address to Jeroboam's army (for there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam) on the side of rebellion and schism, and as gaining a great victory over the Israelites, because he and his people 'rebel on Yahwē the God of their fathers'. This, however, is a late Midrash, and has no historical value. The Chronicler (or his authority) wished to emphasize the value of the true ritual, and did this by introducing an artificial episode into an empty reign. ¹ Bennett, *Chron.* 320 ff. (Pesh. always **לוי**; Jos. **לזא** in 1 K. 11: 15 ff., MT has two times the corrupt reading **לזא** **אויזא**,¹ **אזא**² [BA], **לזא** [L.])

2. A son of Jeroboam I, king of Israel, who died in his father's lifetime.³ The account of his illness is given in 1 K 14:1-9 (MT 69), and in another recension in 69: immediately after the narrative of Jeroboam's return from Egypt on the death of Solomon (1 K 12:4 R^gg, Swete, 131-13, 1-). If we accept the former version as original, we are bound to bring it down to the age which was under the influence of Dt., for the prophecy in 1 K 14:9-10 is in tone and phraseology closely akin to similar predictions in 14:1-4, 21:20-24, 2 K 9:7-11, the Deuteronomic affirmations of which are unmistakable. Nor is it possible to simplify the narrative without violence. The 69 version, on the other hand, con, without arbitrariness, be brought into a simple and very natural form. Jeroboam is not yet king. His wife, not being queen, has no occasion to disguise herself, and Mijch simply predicts the death of the sick child, without any reference to sins of Jeroboam which required this punishment. The writers who supplemented and expanded the older narrative were men of Judah; the original story, however, is presumably Israeliish. (See Kue. I, 200; St. G¹ 11, 350 n.; Wü. *AltUnters.* 12 ff.)

4. Wife of Bezor: $\alpha\beta$ ουδ [B], ου [A]).

5. Son of the prophet Samuel, 1 S. 8:2 (AV: AMIAU: *agm*)

6. The eighth of the twenty-four courses of *PROUSTAS* (*ΠΡΟΣΤΑΣ*)

that to which Zechariah, father of John the Baptist, belonged (Ch. 24 to AV; Aram. 24; Lk. 1:5† (AV; Aram. 1:5)).

8. Priest in Zerubbabel's band (see Ezekiel ii 8-9). See *Art.*

u. Privately signatory to the covenant (see *FRYER*, ii. § 66), Neh. 12
10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30.

[8].

ABIJAM (אֲבִיָּאָם), 1 K. 11 f. + See **ABIJAH**, 1

ABILENE (ΑΒΙΛΗΝΗ {BA; W. and IL.}, ΔΒΙΑ, [S¹, 1-1]), given in Lk. 3 as the tetrarchy of Lysanias, at the time when Christ's ministry began, was a territory round Abila (ΑΒΙΛΑ), a town of some importance in Antilbanus, and known to both Josephus and Ptolemy as Abila of Lysanias (Α. ἡ Ἀναταλίη), to distinguish it from others of the same name, especially Abila of the Decapolis (L¹, 3). The Antonine and Peutinger itineraries place it 18 R. M. from Damascus on the way to Heliodorus or Balbek, which agrees with that portion of the gorge of the Amanus! The present village, Sak Wady Barada, lies N. of it. There are remains of a large temple on the precipitous heights to the E. of this village, with ancient aqueducts and a Roman road.

¹ It is defined, however, by Jastrow, *J. Biol. Chem.* 114 (1934).

³ Josephus calls this son 'Othniel' (*J. War.* 1.11).

ABIMAEEL

tombs and other ruins on both sides of the river, but inscriptions have been discovered, one of which records the making of the road by 'a freedman of Eysmas the tetrarch,' and another its repair 'at the expense of the Abilemans.' Moreover, a Moslem legend places on the temple height the tomb of Abel or Nebi Halal, doubtless a confused memory of the ancient name of Abila, which probably meant 'meadow' (cp. AMI, AMI, BITH-MACHAL). The place was, in fact, still called *Abel es-Sab* by Arabic geographers (e.g. *al-Buhārī*, 14). The site is, therefore, *Abel es-Sab* (170 f.) and Porter, *Five Years in Syria*, 1: 101. There is a plan of the gorge (C) on the political maps of Palestine, see LXXIV.

ABIMAEEL (אֲבִימָאֵל, read as a native 'ep Sab, name אֲבִימָאֵל, 'a father is 'Ava, 'Ama, Hal. *ABD*, *ZD* 16, xxxv, 18-183, and see J. KAHN 11, 1 n. 1) **ABIMECH** [M.]; Bome, or wanting, a descendant of JOKAN (Gen. 10:22). **ABIMECH** [L.]; 1 Ch. 1:1. **ABIMECH** [L.]. Tribal connection uncertain, but see Glaser, *Studia*, n. 420.

ABIMELECH (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ, אֲבִימֶלֶךְ [B.M.], אֲבִימֶלֶךְ [B. Judg. 9:9], i.e., most probably, 'Melech (Mlk), the divine king, is father.' Abimelech and Abimelech occur as names of princes of Arad in the Annals of Ashurnipal (*AB* 11, 12 f.); the former name, which is evidently Canaanite, also belongs to the Egyptian governor of Tyre in the Amarna tablets.

1. A Philistine, king of GERAR (see below), Gen. 26:7-11, who, according to a folk-story in J, took Rebekah to be Isaac's sister, and reproved Isaac for having caused this mistake, and so very nearly brought guilt upon the Philistines. The same tradition is preserved in E (Gen. 26), but without the anachronistic reference to the Philistines. The persons concerned are Abimelech, king of Gerar, Abraham, and Sarah. The details are here much fuller, and the differences from J's narrative are striking. There is reason, however, to think that the narrative of E in its original form made no mention of Gerar. In this case the principalty of Abimelech was described by E simply as being 'between Kadesh and Shur' (omitting the following words). In J's account (Gen. 26) there are traces of a confusion between two Gerars, the more southerly of which (the true seat of Abimelech's principalty) was probably in the N. Arabian land of Mesir (for particulars on this region see MIZRAIM, § 2 [f.]). J's account also refers to disputes between the herdsmen of Abimelech and those of Isaac about wells, which were terminated by a covenant between Isaac and Abimelech at Beersheba (Gen. 26:17-33). The Elohist form of this tradition passes lightly over the disputes, and lays the chief stress on the deference shown to Abraham by Abimelech when the oaths of friendship were exchanged. The scene of the treaty is, as in J, Beersheba (Gen. 21:22-32). On Ps 34, title, see ACHISH.

2. Son of Jerubbaal (Gideon). His history, as related in Judg 9, is of very great value for the light which it throws on the relations between the Israelites and the older population of the land in this early period. His mother was a Shechemite, and at his father's death he succeeded, through his mother's kinsmen, in persuading the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem to submit to his rule rather than to that of the seventy sons of Jerubbaal. With silver from the temple-treasure of BATH-BERITH (7:1) he hired a band of braves and slaughtered his brothers, Jotham, the youngest, alone escaping, and was acclaimed king by the people of Shechem and Beth-millo, at the sacred tree near Shechem. From a safe height on Mt. Garizim, Jotham cried in the ears of the assembly his fable of the trees who went about to make them a king (see JOTHAM, 1), and predicted that the partners in the crime against Jerubbaal's house would destroy each

ABINER

other, a prophecy which was signally fulfilled. After a short time (three years, 9:22), the Shechemites rose against Abimelech.

Of the way in which this came about, and of Abimelech's vengeance, the chapter contains two accounts. According to the first of these (9:23-28, 30-31), an evil spirit from Yahweh sows discord between the Shechemites and Abimelech, who takes the city by a stratagem and totally destroys it. According to the other account (9:29-30), the insurrection is fomented by a certain Gaal, the son of Abimelech, who shrewdly appeals to the pride of the old Shechemite aristocracy against the Israelite half-breed, Abimelech. Abimelech, apprised of the situation by Zebul, his lieutenant in the city, marches against it, Gaal, at the head of the Shechemites, goes out to meet him, but is beaten and driven back into the city, from which he, with his partisans, is expelled by Zebul on this episode, cp. GAAL. Abimelech, carrying the war against other places² which had taken part in the revolt, destroys Migdal-Shechem (9:46-47, sequel of 17:1-2). While leading the assault upon Thebez he is mortally hurt by a mill-stone which a woman throws from the wall. To save himself from the disgrace of dying by a woman's hand, he calls on his armour-bearer to despatch him (9:54-55; cp. 1 S. 31:4).

Many recent scholars gather from the story of Abimelech that Israel was already feeling its way towards a stronger and more stable form of government. Jerubbaal, it is said, was really king at Ophrah, as appears from Judg. 9:24. His son Abimelech reigned not only over the Canaanites of Shechem, but over Israelites also (9:55). A short-lived Monastite kingdom thus preceded the Benjaminite kingdom of Saul (We., St., K.). This theory rests, however, on very insecure foundations. That Jerubbaal's power descended, if Abimelech's representation is true, to his seventy sons (9:2), not to one chosen successor among them, does not prove that he was king, but rather the opposite. Abimelech was king of Shechem, to whose Canaanite people the city-kingdom was a familiar form of government; that he ruled in that name over Israelite towns or clans is not intimated in the narrative, and is by no means a necessary inference from the fact that he had Israelites at his back in his effort to suppress the revolt of the Canaanite cities (9:43). Cp. GIDEON.

G. E. M.

3. 1 Ch. 18:6. A scribe's error for ABIMELECH. See ABIMELECH (note).

ABINADAB (אֲבִינָדָב, 'my father appertains,' see NABU, §§ 44, 46, or 'the father (i.e., god of the clan) is abundant,' cp. Ichonadab; אֲבִינָדָב [BNA], אֲבִינָדָב, [L.]).

1. David's second brother, son of Jesse; 1 S. 16:17-18, also 1 Ch. 2:13 (acc. [L.]). See DAVID, § 4 (a).

2. Son of Saul, slain upon Mt. Gilboa, according to 1 S. 31:2. The name Abinadab, however, is not given in the list in 1 S. 11:4. There may have been a mistake; Jesse's second son was named Menadab. So Marq. *Paral.* 25 (אֲבִינָדָב [B] i.e., JONADAB [9:1, 3]). 1 Ch. 8:33-34; also 1 Ch. 10:2 (אֲבִינָדָב [B] i.e., אֲבִינָדָב, [L.]).

3. Of Kirjath-jearim, in whose house the ark is said to have been kept for twenty years (1 S. 7:1 f.; 2 S. 6:1 f.; 1 Ch. 13:7). See ARK, § 5.

4. 1 S. 11, see BEN ABINADAB.

ABINER (אֲבִינֵר, 1 S. 14:5 f. AV mg.). See ABNER.

1. Judg. 9:21: 'Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should be subject to him? Were not the son of Jerubbaal, and Zebul his lieutenant, subjects of Hamor (the blue blood of Shechem)? Why should we be subject to him?' For other interpretations and emendations of this non-lexical verse, see Moore, *Indices*, 25.

2. On the statement (Judg. 9:2) that 'Abimelech ruled over Israel three years,' see Moore, *Indices*, 25.

3. Judg. 8:22 f. is considered under GIDEON. Cp. also Moore, *Ju. ges.*, 209 f.

ABINOAM

ABINOAM (אֲבִינוֹאָם, § 45, 'the (divine) father is pre-eminence,' cp Abin-um, El-naam; אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [BAL], אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [A in Judg. 1:2]; אֲבִינוֹאָם, father of Barak (Judg. 4:12, 13).

ABIRAM (אֲבִירָם, § 44, 'the Father is the High One,' cp Abi, NAMS WITH, § 2; אֲבִירָם [BA], אֲבִירָם [L], אֲבִירָם [A], another form of Abu-rum, which (Abu-rum) is a well attested Babylonian and Assyrian name (it occurs in a contract-tablet of the time of Malsin, 2321-2300 B.C., and in the Assyrian eponym canon under B.C. 677).¹ The second element in the name (-ram) is a divine title (cp 'Papas δὲ θεός, Hesyeh), but is also used, in the plur., of all heavenly beings (Job 21:22). Parallel Hebrew names are Abi-rum, Adon-rum, Jeho-rum, Malch-rum (see also ABRAHAM). Abir-um is the name of a petty Babylonian king under Asur-nasir-pal, and Malk-rum-um that of a king of Edom in the time of Semai herib (*OT* 195, 281).

1. A fellow conspirator of DATHAN (q.v.), Nu 16 (אֲבִירָם [A once], אֲבִירָם [F twice], Dt 11:6 Ps. 106:17 and (AV ABIRAS) Eccles. 45:1, 4 Mace. 2:17 אֲבִירָם [A]).

2. Eldest son of Hiel the Bethelite, who died when his father laid the foundation of Jericho anew; 1 K. 16:34 (ABIRAM; L om. verse), cp Josh. 6:26 (אֲבִירָם, T. K. C.).

ABIRON (אֲבִירֹן, Eccles. 15:14 AV, Se. ABIRAM, 1.

ABISEI (אֲבִישַׁי etc.), 1 Esd. 1:1. See ABISHUA, 2.

ABISHAG (אֲבִישָׁג, § 45, meaning obs. ur; אֲבִישָׁג [B], אֲבִישָׁג [M], אֲבִישָׁג [L]; אֲבִישָׁג [A] the Shunammite, David's concubine (1 K. 1:1-4), afterwards sought in marriage (2 S. 13:1) by ADONIJAH, 1.

ABISHAI (אֲבִישַׁי, § 45, written אֲבִישַׁי in 2 S. 10:1) and always [five times] in Ch., where moreover A omits final *i*; meaning doubtful, cp JESSE, AMASA, and for Lag's view see ABNER; אֲבִישַׁי [B], A om. אֲבִישַׁי [A], אֲבִישַׁי [A three times], אֲבִישַׁי [L, also seven times B, and three times A], אֲבִישַׁי [A, 1 Ch. 2:16], אֲבִישַׁי [A, 2 S. 3:3], אֲבִישַׁי [L, 2 S. 20:3], the brother of Joab, is mentioned immediately after the 'first three' and at the head of 'the thirty' in the list of David's worthies (2 S. 23:13 ff.; 1 Ch. 11:20 ff.; reading 'thirty' for 'three' with *SHOT* etc., after Pesh.). He was one of David's close associates during his outlawry, and was his companion in the visit to Saul's camp on the hill of Hachilah (1 S. 26:6). He was faithful to him in Absalom's rebellion (2 S. 16:9), commanded a third part of the army (2 S. 18:2), saved David's life when it was threatened by a Philistine (2 S. 21:16-17), and, according to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 18:5), slew 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt (but see JOAB, 1).

ABISHALOM (אֲבִישָׁלֹם, 1 K. 15:21 ff. See ABSALOM, 1.

ABISHUA (אֲבִישׁוּא, § 44, for view of Lag, see ABNER; 'the (divine) father is opulence?' cp MALCHISUR, and *Abi-shua*, Wi. *OT* 139 n. 3. See also Hom. *ITP* 101, 103 n. 209 n. 1, *ZDMG* xlv, 525 (1905).

1. A son of BELA (q.v. n. 2), 1 Ch. 8:4 (אֲבִישׁוּא [B], אֲבִישׁוּא [M], אֲבִישׁוּא [L], אֲבִישׁוּא [A]).

2. D. Phinehas, b. Eleazar, b. Aaron (1 Ch. 6:4, 15:17, 50:15), אֲבִישׁוּא [B], אֲבִישׁוּא [L], Ezra 7:5.

3. See Hommel, *PSR* I, vi, 212 (1911), Schr. *OT* 11, 187.

4. Fritsch and Maspero connect this name with Ab-sha, the Egyptian form of the name of the Asiatic chief represented in a famous wall painting at Beni-Hasan. But such evidence is wanting. See JOSEPH, 1, § 10, and cp WMM, xlv, n. 100 (1906 n. 2). Hommel (*ITP* 53) connects Ab-sha or Ish-sha with Abishua.

5. This presupposes אֲבִישׁוּא, a name for which there is no parallel in the OT, cp SAMSON, SICHAI.

ABNER

אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [BAL] = 1 Esd. 8:2, ABISUM [AV], i.e., אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [243, 248], RV ABISUM to Isaac [B], אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [A], אֲבִינֶעֱמָ [L]. Called Abisur in 4 Esd. 1:1 (Abisur [ed. Bously], Abisur [ed. Anb.]).

ABISHUR (אֲבִישׁוּר, § 44, 'the (divine) father is (as) a wall?' cp Saul, אֲבִישׁוּר, Asyr. *Abishur*; אֲבִישׁוּר [BA], אֲבִישׁוּר [L], אֲבִישׁוּר [A], b. Shammur the Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2:40, 11). Dorenborg (*AV* 1, 1880, p. 361) gives אֲבִישׁוּר as a Hittite divine title (Hitt. 1:1, 50). But the second part of Abi-shur may be a corruption of אֲבִישׁוּר; cp ABISHUM.

ABISUM, RV Abisur (אֲבִישׁוּמ [243 etc.], 1 Esd. 8:2, 1 Esd. 7:5, ABISHUA, 2.

ABITAL (אֲבִיטָל, § 45, 'my father is dew?' cp HAMUTAL; but should not these names be Abitub (אֲבִיטָב), Hamutub, cp ABITUB? A name com-

pounded with אֲבִי seems very improbable. אֲבִי and אֲבִי might be conformed in Palmyrene characters; *ABITAL*; wife of David, mother of Shephatiah; 2 S. 34, 1 Ch. 3:1 (אֲבִיטָל, THE GAB. [B], אֲבִיטָל [M], אֲבִיטָל [L]). In 2 Ch. 36:2, אֲבִיטָל reads אֲבִיטָל for HAMUTAL, the name of Jehoiakim's mother. T. K. C.

ABITUB (אֲבִיטָב, perhaps properly, as in versions, ABITUB, 'the (divine) father is good,' see NAMS, § 45; cp AMM. אֲבִיטָב; אֲבִיטָב [BAL]; *ABITUB*, b. Shalharaim (1 Ch. 8:11).

ABIUD (אֲבִיוּד [BA], אֲבִיוּד [N], i.e., Abihud, or Abihud, son of Zerubbabel, and ancestor of Joseph, husband of Mary (Mt. 1:13), see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 2 c.

ABNER (אֲבִנֶר, § 44, but in 1 S. 11:50 אֲבִנֶר; אֲבִנֶר [BAL], אֲבִנֶר [A five times], אֲבִנֶר [A twice], ABNER. Lag. *OT* 75, holds that Abner = אֲבִינֶר = 'son of Ner.' This is suggested by the form 'Abenner'; but cp אֲבִינֶר = *Pejeka*, אֲבִינֶר = *Bozoph*. 'Abner' or 'Abiner' might mean 'my (divine) father is (as) a lamp'. Captain of the host under Saul and under Ishbaal. As a late but well-informed writer states, he was Saul's first cousin (1 S. 11:50, cp 9), Ner the father of Abner and Kish the father of Saul being both sons of Abiel. The fortunes of Saul and Abner were as necessarily linked together as those of David and Joab, but tradition has been even less kind to Abner than to his master. Of his warlike exploits we hear nothing, though there was 'sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul' (1 S. 11:52), and tradition loved to extol the prowess of individual heroes. Even at the battle of Gilboa there is no mention of Abner, though it was a part of his duty, according to David, or at least an early narrator, to guard the sacred person of the king (1 S. 26:13). All that we hear of him in Saul's reign is that he sat next to the king at table (1 S. 20:25), that, according to one tradition, he introduced David to the presence of Saul (1 S. 17:57), and that he accompanied the king in his pursuit of David (1 S. 26:5 ff.). It was natural that upon Saul's death he should take up the cause of Ishbaal (DAVID, § 6). It suffices to mention here some personal incidents of that unhappy time. That Abner slew his pursuer Asahel (one of Joab's brothers) was, doubtless, not his fault but his misfortune. But his motive in passing over from Ishbaal to David was a shameful one. Ishbaal may indeed have been wrong in interpreting Abner's conduct to Rizpah, Saul's concubine, as an act of treason (cp 2 S. 16:2, 1 K. 2:22); but to give up the cause of the Benjamite kingdom on this account, and transfer his allegiance to David, was

1 In 1 S. 11:51 read אֲבִינֶר for אֲבִינֶר with Jos. *Ant.* vi. 6, 6, followed by Dr., Bu., Klo. The text of 1 Ch. 8:13, 9:39 should doubtless read, 'And Ner begat Abner, and Kish begat Saul' (see K. in note in *ITP*).

ABOMINATION

ignoble. The result was not what he had expected—the highest place under a grateful king. He had just left David with the view of procuring a popular assembly for the recognition of David as king of all Israel, when Joab entered, a lackey, and treacherously assassinated him beside the gate of Hebron (see STRAU, WILLIAM, partly perhaps from jealousy, partly in revenge for the death of Abiathar) (2 S. 3.30).

Abner's death was regarded by David as a national calamity. 'Know ye not,' he said, 'that a prince and a great man is fallen this day in Israel?' He ordered a public mourning for Abner, and himself sang an elegy over his grave, a fragment of which is preserved (2 S. 3.31-32); see POPE, ALFRED, § 4. iii. (b). The Chronicler gives Abner a son named JAASIEL (2 S. 3.30).

ABOMINATION, a word occurring over a hundred times in the OT as a rendering of four¹ somewhat technical expressions (sometimes paraphrased 'abominable thing,' etc.).

1. **שֶׂמֶט** (*semet*) occurs four times in exile and post-exilic writings (Lev. 17.14 [שֶׂמֶט], Lev. 7.18 *מִסְמָה*; 19.7 *מִסְמָה*; 15.17 [שֶׂמֶט], 'broth,' *λῶβον* . . . *μολογμένα*; Kt. שֶׂמֶט, 'scraps') is a technical term for sacrificial flesh become stale (*לֶחֶם עֵלֶיךָ* or *לֶחֶם עֵלֶיךָ* in Ez. [BAQ]), which it was unlawful to eat. See SACRIFICIAL. In the last passage WRS regarded *שֶׂמֶט* as carrion, or flesh so killed as to retain the blood in it (AS² 343 n. 3).

2. **רָעָה** (*ra'ah*), also confined to exile and post-exilic writings² (Ez. 8.10, Lev. 7.21, 11.42, 15.17, *רָעָה* [BAQ]), is a term for what is taboo. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

3. **שִׁכְלָה** (*shikhlah*, variously rendered *שִׁכְלָה*, *שִׁכְלָה*, *שִׁכְלָה*, etc.), a much commoner word, of the same form as (1), and from the same root as (2), occurring once in the present text of Hos. 9.10, is freely used (over twenty times), chiefly from the Exile onwards, as a contemptuous designation of one of images of deities or of foreign deities themselves. See below, ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION AND IDOL, § 2 f.

4. **שִׁכְלָה** (*shikhlah*; *שִׁכְלָה*), a word of uncertain etymology frequently occurring from Dt. onwards (esp. in Ezek.), is by far the commonest of these terms. It designates what gives offence to God (Dt. 12.1) or man (Pr. 22.27), especially the violation of established custom. The former usage is the more common; it applies to such things as rejected cults in general, Dt. 12.1 (see IDOL, § 2 f.), child-sacrifice (Jer. 32.35), ancestral worship (Ez. 43.8), images (Dt. 27.15), imperfect sacrificial victims (Dt. 17.1), sexual irregularities (Ezek. 22.1), false weights and measures (Dt. 25.16), etc. The latter usage, however, is not rare (esp. in Prov.). Thus J tells us eating with foreigners (Gen. 43.1), shepherds (46.14), Hebrew sacrifices (Ex. 8.2 [22]), were an abomination to the Egyptians (see EGYPT, §§ 19, 31).

ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, THE (το βδελύγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως), an enigmatical expression in the apocalyptic section (Mt. 24.15-26) of the discourse of Christ respecting His ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ. Mt. 24.15 = Mk. 13.14. The passage containing the phrase runs thus in Mt.—'When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing (ἐστὶς) in the holy place (let him that readeth understand), then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains.' The reference to Daniel, however, which is wanting in Mk., is clearly an addition of Mt. (cp Mt. 2.2; 14, etc.), and Mark's ἐστὶς (masc.),

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being more peculiar than Matthew's ἐστὶς (neut.), is to be preferred. Both reports agree in inserting the parenthetical appeal to the trained intelligence of the reader, which, being both natural and in accordance with usage in an apocalyptic context, it would be unreasonable to set aside as an 'ecclesiastical note' (Alford). There is an exact parallel to the clause in Rev. 13.7 (cp 17.9), 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,' and a parallel of sense in Rev. 2.7 13.9: 'He that hath an ear (or, if any man have an ear), let him hear,' i.e., let him understand (as 1s. 33.6); the best commentary on which is a *terzina* in Dante (*Inf. 9.100-1*, 'O voi, che avete gl' intelletti sani,' etc.). In fact, the whole section is a *μυστήριον*, not of the class in which Jesus delighted (Mt. 13.13), nor expressed in his highly original style, and is easily separable from its context. It is probably (apart from some editorial changes) the work of a Jewish writer, and was inserted to adapt the discourse, which had been handed down (itself not unaltered) by tradition, to the wants of the next generation.

Some light is thrown upon it by the 'little apocalypse' in 2 Thess. 2.1-12, which evidently presupposes an eschatological tradition (see ANTI-CHRIST). It is there explained how the *παρουσία* of Christ must be preceded by a great apostasy and by the manifestation of the 'man of sin,' whose *παρουσία* is 'with lying signs and wonders,' and who 'opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the sanctuary (*ναὸς*) of God, setting himself forth as God,' but whom 'the Lord Jesus will slay with the breath of his mouth.' The resemblance between the two Apocalypses is strong, and we can hardly avoid identifying the 'abomination of desolation' in Mt. and Mk. with the 'man of sin' in 2 Thess. 'That the one stands and the other sits in the sanctuary constitutes but a slight difference. In both cases a statue is obviously meant. The claimant of divinity would not, of course, be tied to one place, as it was believed that by spells a portion of the divine life could be communicated to idols, so that the idol of the false god was the false god himself. In both cases, too, there is a striking resemblance to the *θημᾶ* of Rev. 13, the second of whom, indeed, is said to be represented by an image which can speak, trickery coming to the help of superstition (Rev. 13.15). In fact, the 'abomination' or 'the man of sin' is but a humanised form of the original of these *θημᾶ*—viz., the apocalyptic dragon, who in his turn is but the Hellenised version of the mythical dragon Typhon, which was destroyed by the Babylonian light god (see CRYSTON, § 2). We can now recover the meaning of τῆς ἐρημώσεως. The 'abomination' which thrusts itself into the 'holy place' has for its nature 'desolation'—i.e., finds its pleasure in undoing the divine work of a holy Creator.¹

But why this particular title for the expected opponent of God? It was derived from the first of the great apocalypses. In Dan. 9.27 11.31 12.11, according to the exegetical tradition in G, mention is made (combining the details of the several passages) of an apostasy, of an 'abomination of desolation' (or 'of desolations') in the sanctuary, of a time of unparalleled tribulation, of resurrection, and of glory. That the original writer meant 'abomination' to be taken in the sense described above, and the appended qualification to be rendered 'desolating' or 'of desolation,' cannot indeed be said. **שִׁכְלָה** as used in Daniel means 'image of a false god' (cp 1 K. 11.5; 2 K. 23.15), and the most natural rendering of **שִׁכְלָה** and (if the text be correct) **שִׁכְלָה** or **שִׁכְלָה** is 'appal-

¹ It is also used in 1 S. 13.4 for **שֶׂמֶט**, the word rendered 'stank' in 2 S. 10.6 (AV).

² But in 1s. 33.6, Dubin and Cheyne read **רָעָה**; so also Sam. and some MSS. at Lev. 7.21. In Lev. 11.42 ff. we may point **רָעָה**, and in 1s. 33.6 read **שֶׂמֶט** (with G, Co.).

¹ It is no objection that in 1 K. 21.3 the *ἐρημώσεως* is referred to the hemming in of Jerusalem by Roman armies; cp Jos. *Jud.* 5.11, where the passages in Dan. are explained of the desolation by the Romans. The true meaning must be decided by Matthew and Mark, where nothing is said of injuries from invaders. The memory of the experiences of 70 A.D. suggested to Luke a new interpretation of the traditional phrase.

ling.¹ The phrase appears to be an intentional alteration of אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיִם (*Elōhē šāmayim*), 'heaven's lord.' That this was a current title of Zeus may be inferred from the Surae of 2 Macc. 6.2, where the temple at Jerusalem is called by the emissary of Antiochus 'the temple of *he'el shemai*' (see Nestle, *Z. f. N. T.* iv, 248 [84]); cp his *Abrahamism in Materialism*, 35 f.; G. Hoffmann, *Die ein phon. Inschr.* 1889, p. 29; Bevan, *Daniel*, 1931. The author of Daniel (whose meaning is correctly given by *H P*) contemptuously says, 'Call it not "heaven's lord," but "an appalling abomination"'; and the object to which he refers is an image of Olympian Zeus, which, together with a small *καρπός*, the agents of Antiochus set up on the great altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) of burnt offerings. The statement in 1 Macc. 1.59 is not destructive of this theory, for altars and idols necessarily went together, and the phrase of the Greek translator of the Hebrew original in 1.51 (ἡ δὲ ἑστία ἐρημώσεν; cp τὸ δὲ ἑστία, 67) might be used equally well of both or of either.² All this, however, had been forgotten when the apocalyptic section in Mt. 21 and Mk. 13 was written.

Another (a highly plausible) interpretation of the little evangelical apocryph-e is given by Spitta (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 493-497), who thinks that it was written in apprehension of the erection of a statue of Caligula in the temple (see Schur, *Hist.* ii.). This implies that τὸ δὲ ἑστία ἐρημώσεν means the statue of a historical king who claimed to be the supreme God, which, considering the nature of the context, is improbable, and is not supported by the use of the Hebrew phrase in Daniel. It is, no doubt, highly probable that apocalyptic writers regarded the mad Caligula as a precursor of the expected embodiment of the principle of 'lawlessness' (*ἀνομία*, 2 Thess. 2.7); but, without putting some violence on their inherited eschatological phrases, they could not have said that he was ἐρημώσεν or ἀνομία in person. For, after all, a Roman emperor could not be a purely destructive or lawless agent. Spitta's view, however, is preferable to that of Weiss, who, appealing to 1 k. 21.20, understands the 'abomination' to be the Roman armies; and to that of Bleek and Alford, who explain it of the desecration of the holy place by the Zealots (Jos. *BJ* iv. 36-8). For the criticism and exegesis of the difficult passages, Dan. 9.27-11.31, see the commentary of Bevan and the translation and critical notes in Kau, *HS*; cp also Van Leunep's treatise on the seventy year-weeks of Daniel (Leicht, 1888), where it is proposed, on amply sufficient grounds, to change the impossible קָרַן קָרַן (9.27) into קָרַן, 'and instead thereof.' The greatest problem is how to explain or rather correct קָרַן קָרַן; in קָרַן קָרַן (11.31), for קָרַן we should perhaps read קָרַן, or delete קָרַן as a gloss on 9.27. There is a similar problem in 8.13.

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1. Name, etc. Hebrew, and seems to be another form of *ABRAM* (7.7), due probably to a misunderstanding of an early orthography.¹ In J and P, however, the latter is represented as the original name, which was changed at a critical point in the patriarch's life into Abraham (Gen. 17.5. P, where the etymology is a mere word-play; on J's narrative, see Frapp, *Gen.* 53). It is only from the time of Ezekiel

¹ See Kö, *Fid.* 482.

² Ges., Bert., Lit., Gratz, and others explain the 'abomination' of a statue of Zeus; Hitz., Hilentfeld, Bleek, Kue., of an altar. The insertion of the didactic story of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image slightly confirms the former view.

³ Himmelfahrt, manifesting that א in the Minae (S. Arabian) alphabet represents a (5) or, in some cases, h. The same peculiarity (for א) characterizes the Malabar, the Hebrew, and the Samaritan script. אַבְרָהָם, therefore, was originally pronounced Abram (Hommel, *Das graphische א im Minaeischen*, 22-3). WMM (*Is. u. Eur.* 309 n. 3) finds an Egyptian proper name B-r-g-ro-mau = Baal ram.

(see Ez. 33.24)¹ that Abraham was revered by the Jews as their greatest ancestor; cp Is. 41.8 f. 51.12 63.16 Neh. 9.7 f. 2 Ch. 20.7 30.6 Ps. 47.9 [1-10] 50.42 Ecclus. 14.9 1 Macc. 2.57 12.21 Mt. 1.23. Lk. 16.13 19.9 Jn. 8.55 159. Acts 7.2 13.26 Rom. 4.1, 6.16 11.17 14.5. 2.3, cp Gal. 3.7-9. But to give time for this general reverence to have arisen, we cannot help supposing that the name and, in some form, the story of Abraham were current in certain circles considerably earlier. Local traditions respecting him doubtless existed before the glory of the southern kingdom departed, and these traditions form the basis of the composite אַבְרָהָם or 'family history' of Abraham (P for a special reason substitutes Terah) contained in Gen. 11.27-25.13. That these traditions are legends, and not historical records of the times which the 'family history' appears to describe, is certain (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE). But that in their present setting they are much more than legends needs to be not less firmly held. They have been purified both by abridgment and by expansion; and, since the fusion of the original and of the added elements is by no means complete, it is not impossible to study the one from the point of view of prehistoric research, and the other from that of the history of religion. Let us, then, briefly consider these two questions: (1) What did the Abraham narratives of Genesis mean to their first editors and readers? and (2) may any of them be regarded as containing a historical element?

1. The first question can be readily answered. Abraham to J and E is not so much a historical personage as an ideal type of character.

2. Story of J and E. This theory alone will account for the 'dreamy, grand, and solemn' impres-

sion which this patriarch makes upon us. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators. A school of writers (for J and E are not merely individuals) devoted themselves to elaborating a typical example of that unworldly goodness which was rooted in faith and fervently preached by the prophets. That typical example was Abraham, who might, with a better right than the old Babylonian king, Hammurabi, have called himself the prophet of the heaven-god, and indeed is actually recognised by the Pharaoh (Gen. 20.7 f.) as a prophet of Elohim. The 'dreaminess' which has been noticed in him is caused by his mental attitude. The Mohammedans appropriately call him 'the first Moslem.' He goes through life listening for the true *ḥikma*, which is not shut up in formal precepts, but revealed from time to time to the conscience; and this leaning upon God's word is declared to be in Yahwe's sight a proof of genuine righteousness (15.6 f.). The *Pirqe Aboth* (c. 5; cp *Ber. rabb.*, par. 56) reckons ten trials of Abraham's faith, 'in all of which he stood firm'; but this simply marks the intense Jewish reverence for the father of the faithful. The word קָרַן, 'he tried,'

occurs only once in the narratives (Gen. 22.1), but from the first the faith of Abraham was tried like gold in the fire. He marries a woman who is 'barren' (11.30 18.11 f. both J; 15.2 f. JE). He leaves his home at the divine bidding to seek an unknown land (12.1 f.). As the climax, he is commanded to offer up the child of promise as a sacrifice (22.1-13 f.). It is characteristic of the pre-exilic age that this privileged life presents no reverses of fortune (contrast Job). But prosperity does no moral harm to Abraham. He retains a pure and disinterested philanthropy, which would even, if possible, have saved wicked Sodom (18.23b-32a, a late Yahwistic passage).² Once, indeed, he appears as trusting in an arm of flesh, and defeating mighty kings (Gen. 14.1-17);

¹ This is the earliest mention of Abraham outside the Hexateuch; for Is. 29.22 Jer. 33.26 Mic. 7.20 belong to passages inserted after the Exile.

² See We. *CH* 20.27 f.; *The Elements of the Hex.* i. 26; Frapp, *Gen.* 15-50.

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but this unique narrative, so flattering to the pride of the later Jews, is evidently a fragment of a post-exilic midrash on the life of Abraham.¹ It even contains a specimen of the mystic reckoning called 'gematria,' the number 318 in 1111 being suggested by the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer,² of which it is the numerical equivalent, just as it is stated in the Haggada that Abraham served God from his third year, because עקב אשר שבעת עקב (2218) is equivalent to 172 (he was 175 when he offered up Isaac, according to the Midrash Tanchuma), and as the 'number of the beast' in Rev. 13:18 is 666 (or 616).

The narratives of P differ, it is true, in some respects from those of J and E. This writer, who is a lover of

3. Story of P. gradual, orderly progress, even in the history of revelation, represents the migration into Canaan as having been planned, without any express divine command, by Ferah (Gen. 11:31), and admits no theophany before that in Abraham's ninety-ninth year (17:1). He introduces, also, some important modifications into the character of the patriarch. The friendly intimacy between Yahweh and Abraham has disappeared; when Yahweh at length manifests himself, Abraham falls upon his face (17:3, 17). A legal element, too, finds its way into his righteousness, the rite of circumcision having been undergone, according to P, by Abraham and all the males of his household. Still, it may be said of P as truly as of his predecessors that he regards Abraham as the greatest of men, and exhibits him as the pattern for Israelish piety. With this object in view, he has no scruple in dealing very freely with the traditional material. Since all things are best at their beginnings, he asserts that the ancestor of Israel was all, and more than all, that his own sober imagination can devise. Later writers attempted to supply his deficiencies. Even in the OT we have a strange reference in Is. 29:22 (post-exilic) to dangers incurred by Abraham, which agrees with the hints dropped in the *Book of Jubilees* (i. 12), and points the way to the well-known legend of the furnace of Nimrod. Not less did the enigmatical war-chronicle in Gen. 14 stimulate later writers. Nicolaus of Damascus, the court historian of Herod the Great, related (Jos. *Ant.* i. 72; cp Justin, 362) that Abraham came with an army out of Chaldaea and reigned in Damascus, after which he settled in Canaan; he adds that there still exists a village called *Ἀβραμὸν ὀλκισίς* (see HOBART). The only Biblical trace of such a story is in Gen. 15:2, where, however, 'Damascus' appears to be a gloss (see ELI ZUR, 1). It is held in Ew. (*Hist.* i. 312) to assume on such a basis that Damascus was a traditional link in the chain of the Hebrew migration. More probably the stories were invented by the Jews of Damascus (who were a numerous body) to glorify the national ancestor. The Moslems took up the tradition with avidity (see Ew. *Loc.*), and still point to the village of Berza, or Berzat el Hilal ('the marriage-tent of Abraham'), one hour N. from Damascus, where the marriage of the patriarch furnishes the occasion of an annual festival (Weiz. *ZDMG* xvii. 105 [1883]).

2. What historical element (if any) do these narratives contain? The Abraham traditions are twofold. Some belong exclusively to the great patriarch; others are also attached to one or another of his successors. The latter we can disregard: the foundation of the sanctuaries of Shechem and Bethel has a better traditional connection with Jacob (Gen. 33:18-20, 28:11-22), and that of Beer-sheba with Isaac (26:24 f.), while the

story of the imperilled wife has at least as good (or as bad) a claim to be connected with Isaac (26:1-11). There remain—(a) the migration from Harran or from Ur Kasdim; (b) the close affinity between Abraham and Sarah, Abraham and Hagar (and Keturah), Abraham and Lot; (c) the abode and burial of Abraham near Hebron; and, underlying all these, (d) the existence of an ancestor of the people of Israel bearing the name of Abraham or Abram. Let us first briefly consider (c) and (d).

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1. Existence of Abraham and connection with Hebron. The tradition, as it stands, is doubtless inadmissible. So much may be conceded to that destructive criticism which, denying that the old reverence for the story of Abraham has any justification, would throw that story aside as an outworn and useless myth. But the view taken by the patient reconstructive criticism of our day is that, not only religiously, but even, in a qualified sense, historically also, the narratives of Abraham have a claim on our attention. The religious value is for all; the historical or quasi-historical for students only. In the present connection it is enough to say (but see further HISTORICAL LITERATURE) that, since Abraham may be a genuine personal name, it cannot be unreasonable to hold that there is a kernel of tradition in the narratives. Hebrew legend may have told of an ancient hero (in the Greek sense of the word) bearing this name and connected specially with Hebron. This supposed hero (whose real existence is as doubtful as that of other heroes) cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel, for the name Abraham has a different linguistic colouring from the two latter. It was natural, however, that when HERODOTUS (i. 171) became Israelish the southern hero Abraham should be grouped with the northern hero Jacob-Israel, and that the spirits of both heroes should be regarded as having a special connection with their people, and even as entitled to a kind of national cultus (cp II of AENEAS), which, though discouraged by the highest religious teachers, has left traces of itself both in early and in late books, and is characteristically Semitic.³ The cultus was no doubt performed at Machpelah, on the possession of which P lays such great stress (i. 23); but that the traditional hero was actually buried there cannot be affirmed. Even among the Arabs there is hardly one well-authenticated case of a tribe which possessed a really ancient tradition as to the place where the tribal ancestor was interred.⁴

ii. Relation of Abraham to Sarai, Hagar, Lot.—With regard to (b) it should be noted that, though an assertion of relationship may be literally correct, it may also merely mean that two particular tribes or peoples have been politically connected. If, with Robertson Smith, we may regard Sarah as a feminine corresponding to Israel, we may take the marriage between Abraham and Sarah (or rather Sarai) to symbolise the political fusion between a southern Israelish tribe and non-Israelish clans to the south of Hebron (see, however, SARAU, i. § 2). The relationship between Abraham and Hagar may also have a political meaning, for the close intercourse, and at times political union, between Egypt⁵ and Palestine and parts of Arabia is well attested. The story of the separation between Abraham and Lot⁶ may

¹ It is unnecessary to discuss here P's account of the origin of circumcision (see CHAIKIN, § 4), or the story of the dedication of the four kings in Gen. 14 (see above, § 2), or the birth and subsequent offering up of Isaac (see EXCURSUS, § 1 f.).

² See 18, 2813 (I saw Lublin), 18, 6817 Jer. 31:13, cp Lk. 10: 10, 18, 20, and cp Che. *Ant.* 18, 352 f. For parallel Arabian belief, see Goldziher, *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* 1914, p. 339 ff., and for the later Jewish belief in the powers of the fathers, see 2 Mac. 1:13 f., and Talmudic references in Castelli, *II Mesora*, 1: 4 f.

³ WRS *Ktn*, 18.

⁴ We assume provisionally that Hagar is correctly regarded, from the point of view of the original tradition, as an Egyptian. See above, 102; HUBERT, and especially MACKAY, § 2 (6), 111 ff.; LAMM-RON, § 2.

⁵ On the details of the story, cp WRS *Ktn*, 14 f.

¹ Much confusion has been caused by the uncritical use of circumlocution (see Che. *Expositors*, 137 ff.). That the writer of Gen. 11:11 had a press, directly or indirectly, to Babylonian sources for some of his statements is denied by none. But this does not make him a historian. See Kue. *Her.* 143, 344; We. *CHD* 20; F. Mey. *Q. A. I.* 125 f. and cp CHAIKIN, LAMM-RON, MELCHUNGER, § 4.

² So, long ago, Hitzig, following Ber. *rabbi*, par. 43.

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be but a foreshadowing of the separation between Israel and Moab and Ammon; but, if Lot is to be explained by Lotan (the eponym of an Edemite clan, Gen. 36 20-25) the asserted relationship between Abraham and Lot accords with the theory of the original non-Israelitish character of Abraham.

iii. *Connection with Harran or Ur.*—As to (a), even if we reject the theory of the migration of a clan called after Abraham from Harran or Ur Kasdim, it does not at once follow that the tradition is altogether unhistorical. Not only Abraham, but the wives of Isaac and Jacob also, are declared to have come from Harran. This cannot be a baseless tradition. Critics, it is true, are divided as to its historical value, nor can we discuss the matter here. But there is, at any rate, as Stade admits, nothing *a priori* improbable in the view that certain Hebrew clans came from the neighbourhood of Harran to Palestine. The fluctuation of the tradition between Harran and Ur Kasdim need not detain us (see special articles). Both Harran and Ur were seats of the worship of the moon-god under different names, and we can well believe that at some unknown period the moon-worship of Harran affected the Hebrew clans (cp SARAI, i. § 2, MULCAH, i.). For what critic of to-day can venture to assume that it was repugnance to this worship, and in general to idolatry (cp Josh. 24 2 f.),¹ that prompted the Hebrew clans to leave their early homes? Surely this asserted religious movement is a specimen of that antedating of religious conditions which is characteristic of the OT narrators, and was copied from them by Mohammed. First, the insight of Isaiah is ascribed to Moses; then, as a this were not wonderful enough, it is transferred to Abraham. But how recent is the evidence for either statement, and how inconsistent is the spiritual idealism ascribed to Abraham with sound views of historical development! Instead therefore of speaking of 'that life of faith which historically began with Abraham' (H. S. Holland, *Lux Mundi*, 41), should we not rather say 'that life of faith which, though germinally present from the earliest times, first found clear and undoubted expression in the writings of the prophets and in the recast legends of Abraham'?

Hommel's ambitious attempt to prove the strictly historical character of the Abraham narratives from the Arabian personal names of the dynasty of Hammurabi is, critically regarded, a failure. The existence in early Semitic antiquity of personal names expressing lofty ideas of the divine nature in its relation to man has long been known, though it is only in recent years that such names have been discovered so far back in the stream of history. But hitherto scholars have with good reason abstained from inferring the extreme antiquity of Hebrew narratives in which similar names occurred, because the age of these narratives had necessarily to be first of all determined by the ordinary critical methods, and the existence of such a phrase as 'in the days of Amraphel' (Hammurabi) proves only that the writer may have been acquainted with documents in which events of this period were referred to, not that his own narrative is strictly historical.

For the later Haggadic stories concerning Abraham see Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüd. Sage*, 1854; Hamburger, *RE für Bib. u. Talm.* (s.v. 'Abraham'); also Grünbaum, *Neue Beitr. zur sem. Sagenkunde*, 1803, pp. 80-131 (Jewish and Mohammedan legends); and, especially, a late apocryphal book called *The Testament of Abraham* (*Testis and Studies*, Cambridge, 1862), which presents perhaps the finest imaginable glorification of the character of the patriarch. All that he needs is to see the retributions

¹ The words, 'and worshipped other gods,' belong to R. But the sense of the earlier narrators is correctly given (cp. Gen. 31 25 f.). And, of course, Israel's point of religious departure must, considering primitive circumstances, have been in some sense polytheistic (cp Reinach, *REJ* xv. 311 [187], Boscawen, *The Migration of Abraham*, 20 f.).

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of heaven and hell that he may learn (like Jonah) to have pity on sinners (see APOCRYPHA, § 11). For the archaeological aspects of the life of the patriarch see Tomkins, *Studies on the Times of Abraham* ('78; second ed. '97). The best critical literature is cited by Ki. *Hist.* i. 1; add to his list Hal. *KEJ* xv. 161 ff. ('87); *Rev. Sem.* i. 1 ff. ('93); Renan, *Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, i. (1887); and reviews of Renan by Renach, *KEJ* xv. 302 ff., and by WRS, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* in. 128 f. ('88). Renan's statements that the Abraham of Genesis is the type of an Arab sheikh, and that the ancient Hebrews, represented by Abraham, worshipped a 'patriarchal, just, and universal God,' from whom the worship of Yahweh was a falling away, are fantastically erroneous. For Nöld. view that Abraham and Sarah are divine names, see his essay on the patriarchs in *Im neuen Reich*, 1871, p. 508 ff., and on the other side Baethg. *Beitr. z. sem. Rel.-gesch.* 154 ff. See also EDOM (§ 2; supposed divine character of Abraham) and HORATH (his connection with Damascus).

T. K. C.

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM (Lk. 16 22 f.). See HADES.

ABRAM (אַבְרָם, § 41, Gen. 11 27-17 50 1 Ch. 1 27 Neh. 9 7 f.; אַבְרָם [BADL], but אַבְרָם [A twice in Gen.], אַבְרָם [A once in Gen.; B in Ch. and B* vid. NL in Neh.; אַבְרָם; אַבְרָם], i.e. probably, in the mind of the priestly writer (Gen. 17 1), 'high father' (patriarch), to which the name Sarai, it taken as another form of SARAI [q.v.], would be a suitable companion. If, however, the name ABRAM be a genuine traditional one, it will be related to ABIRAM [q.v.], as ABNER [q.v.] is to ABINER, and be explained similarly (cp ABRAHAM, § 1).

ABRECH (אַבְרֵחַ, Gen. 41 43 f., 'Then he made him ride in the chariot next in rank to his own, and they cried before him Abrech. So he set him over all Egypt' (Kau. *HS*). The passage occurs in E's (or E2's) version of the appointment of Joseph to be grand-vizier, and the strange word Abrech greatly puzzled the ancient interpreters. G¹ gives καὶ ἐκάρουεν . . . ἐκάρου; the Targumim אַבְרֵחַ, אַבְרֵחַ, while

Pesh., omitting אַבְרֵחַ, paraphrases אַבְרֵחַ אַבְרֵחַ [cp 45 8 Pesh.], and Vg. *clamante proclame ut omnes eum eo gressu flecterent*. Jerome himself, however (*Quaest. in Gen.*), remarks, 'Mihi videtur non tam praece sive adgenitio . . . intelligenda, quam illud quod Hebraei tradunt, dicentes "patrem tenerrum," . . . significante Scripturā quod iuxta prudentiam quidem pater omnium fuerit, sed iuxta aetatem tenerrimus adolescens et puer.' So, in fact, the Midrash (*Per. rabba*, par. 90) and the two later Targumim (as an appendage to 'father of the king') expressly interpret, and in *Rab. Bathra*, 41 we even find this justified by the combination of אַבְרֵחַ and אַבְרֵחַ. In *Jubiles* 40 7 (Charles) the form is Abner, i.e. Abner ('God is a mighty one,' or, being an imaginary form, 'mighty one of God').

The different views of modern scholars can only be glanced at here. Luther is content with *Landesvater*, EV with 'low the knee.' RV mg. adopts the view that the original word was 'similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to kneel' (so Bentley, Briggs, Chabas). The Mas. vocalisation, however, is guesswork, and the Hiphil of אַבְרֵחַ occurs only once again (Gen. 24 11), and then in the sense of 'to cause (the camels) to kneel down.' If we look at the context, we shall find reason to doubt whether any outward display of reverence at all (prostration would be more natural than kneeling) can be meant by Abrech. An official title is what the context most favours, not, *ho. c.*, such a title as 'chief of the wise men' (ap-rēx-u); but rather 'great lord,' or some other equivalent to 'grand-

¹ Harkavy, *Ms.*, mars-avril 1870, pp. 161-165. Le Page Renouf's explanation (*PSB.* i. xi. 5 ff. [188]), 'thy command is our desire' (ad-ru-rēk), i.e., 'we are at thy service,' is much less suitable to the context.

ABRONAH

vizer.' No such title including the letters b-r-k is quoted from the pure Egyptian vocabulary; but may it not be really a loan-word? This might account for the fact that Abrech is passed over in G. It is well known that from the fifteenth century onwards there was close intercourse between the Egyptians and the Semitic peoples, and that many technical words were borrowed from the latter. This being the case, it appears reasonable to connect Abrech with the Ass.-Bab. *abarakku* (fem. *abarakkutu*), which is applied to one of the five highest dignities in the empire.¹ Schröder, who once opposed this view (*OTL* 1. 139), now thinks that the Amarna discoveries (1888) have made it much more probable; and Brunnow has expressed the opinion that 'the Assyrian *ab-rak-ku* seem undoubtedly to be the prototype of Abrech'² (private letter). In spite of Dillmann's peremptory denial (1892), it has become very difficult to think otherwise. We might, indeed, correct the word out of existence; but Ball's text (*SBOT*) is hardly an improvement except in the substitution of the *אבנ* of the Sam. text (cp G Pesh.) for *אבנ*, which is justified by the context, and had already been made by Geiger (*Urschr.* 493). T. K. C.

ABRONAH, *Abbronah* (עֲבְרוֹנָה), one of the stages in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33.14 f.; P; *עֲבְרוֹנָה* [10]. *עב.* [A1.]). See WANDERINGS §§ 12, 14. On *אֲבְרוֹנָה* [10] in Judith 24, see *ABRONA*.

ABSALOM (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, § 45, or—less correctly, as Nold. thinks—as in 1 K. 15.11 אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, *ABISHALOM*, *ABISHALOM*; probably 'the [divine] father is peace,' cp *Yahwe-shalom* Judg. 6.24, a title of Yahwe, but not Ps. 129.7: *אַבְעֻשָׁלוֹם* [11], and in 2 S. 3.3, and 1 Ch., also 1.). *-עא.* [A, 2 S. 18.15], *-עא.* [L; but in 1 K. 2.28 *סολωμῶντος*, where also *אַבְעֻשָׁלוֹם*; *אַבְעֻשָׁלוֹם* [A], 2 S. 18.15; Jos. *אַבְעֻשָׁלוֹם* and *אַבְעֻשָׁלוֹם*; *ABSALOM*) was David's third son, his mother being Maacah, daughter of Tahmai, king of Geshur (7.7, 2). Born at Hebron, he grew up at Jerusalem, the idol of his father, and popular from his manly beauty and his winning manners. This tragic history is faithfully recorded by an ancient and well-informed writer in 2 S. 13-18.

We first hear of him in connection with the outrage on his sister Tamar by her half-brother Amnon, whom David out of weak-minded affection for his first-born (2 S. 13.21, *עֲמֹן*), omitted to chastise. Absalom soothed his sister, and silently bode his time. Then, after two years, he lured Amnon with the oilier princes to a feast of sheep shearing on Absalom's estate at Baal-hazor (see HAZOR, 2), and at a concerted sign his servants slew Amnon during the banquet. The next three years Absalom passed in exile in Geshur (7.7, 2), till Joab, knowing that the king pined for the fugitive, contrived by the help of a 'wise woman' from Tekoa to bring him back. The form of the parable (2 S. 14.5-7) may belong to the 'wise woman,' but the ideas which it suggested came from Joab. Why was the king so willing to mitigate the custom of blood-vengeance for a stranger, and so hard towards his own son? We die, and are like water spilt on the ground; but God spares the life of him whose thoughts are bent on the restoration of the banished (2 S. 11.4 with Ewald's emendation). The king gave way to this gentle pressure, and allowed his son to come back to Jerusalem, but refused to see him for two whole years. Nor would Joab take any further step, till the impetuous prince set his barley field on fire, and, when Joab came in person to complain, declared that death was better than con-

¹ Friedr. Del., *Heb. in the light of Assyrian Research* (1883), p. 25 f.; cp *Par.* 225; *Ass. Hitt.* 12. This brilliant suggestion was temporarily adopted by the present writer (*Jord.* 12th Apr. 1934), who has, since the Amarna discoveries, returned to it.

² So also Sayce (*Acad.* 7th May 1892; *Crit. Mon.* 214 f.), but with an interpretation which needs fuller evidence.

ABSALOM

tinued disgrace. He had his way. The king kissed him and restored him to full favour.

Four years followed (2 S. 15.7, L. Pesh. and Jos.; MT *עֲרָבָא* '40') during which Absalom prepared men's minds for coming events. He let his hair grow enormously long (2 S. 11.6), in token, as Robertson Smith thinks (*RS* 2. 484), of the sacredness of his person, though the ordinary view that it was merely a proof of vanity possesses the recommendation of simplicity. He rode in a chariot with horses (then scarcely known in Israel) and was accompanied by a guard of fifty men. He made every sutor's cause his own, and lamented aloud that his power did not match his desire to help (2 S. 15.1-6). At last he fired the train which had been so long and so carefully laid. On pretence of a sacrificial feast, he withdrew to Hebron, accompanied by 200 men, doubtless needy dependents, who followed him in ignorance of his plan. Here, at the old capital of Judah, amidst a people who were still unaccustomed to their absorption in a larger state, he raised the standard of revolt. Abithophel, a man of southern Judah, he made his principal counsellor; Amasa, Absalom's cousin, also from Judah, took command of the troops (cp GESHUR, 2). But an appeal was also made to the centrifugal forces always at work in the N. tribes, for, as he set out for Hebron, the rebel prince sent men through the land of Israel. At the sound of the trumpet these were to proclaim the accomplished fact, 'Absalom has been made king in Hebron.'

David, once the darling of the nation, was compelled to fly from the capital. Absalom is quickly entered it, and gave that public sign of his accession to the throne which the crafty Abithophel recommended. The number of his counsellors was now increased by the addition of Hushai, 'David's friend' (on the epithet see HESITAN, whose flattery he failed to see through). In reality Hushai only pretended to join the rebels. His object was twofold—to frustrate the counsel of Abithophel, and to betray Absalom's plans to the priests, Zadok and Abiathar. These trusty friends of David were to communicate with a maid, and she was to impart her knowledge to two sons of the priests, who waited to bear it to the king. This counterplot attained its end, Abithophel, who knew how deceptive was the popular enthusiasm, wished Absalom to 'strike David before there was time for second thoughts' (WRS). But Hushai persuaded the pretender to wait, and so David, who was informed of all that happened at Jerusalem, safely crossed the Jordan and established himself at Mahanaim, once Ishbaal's capital.

Thence, in three divisions, David's army sallied forth, and in the neighbouring forest (see EPHRAIM, WOOD OR) the rebel troops were routed. In the flight Absalom's head (hair?) Heb. *עֲרָבָא*, cp 2 S. 14.6) was caught in the branches of a terebinth tree, and his mule left him hanging between heaven and earth. 'Not for a thousand shekels' would the soldier who saw him hanging have taken his life. How could he venture to disregard the king's charge to watch over the young man Absalom? If he had treacherously attempted Absalom's life, would not the king have found it out, and would not Joab himself have stood aloof? But Joab, who felt his courage called in question (2 S. 18.14, *עֲרָבָא*; see Ba. *SBOT*), with an emphatic denial of the statement, plunged three javelins into Absalom's body. The corpse of the ill-fated prince was flung into a pit, and the soldiers cast stones upon it, that the restless spirit might trouble them no more.¹ Meantime the old king was waiting at the gate of Mahanaim. The pathetic story of his broken-hearted grief at hearing the news of his dearly loved son's death is enshrined in all memories.

Such was the close of the sad tragedy which opened with the barbarous outrage upon Tamar. Just eleven years had passed since that event, so that if Absalom

¹ See Tylor's *Prim. Cult.* ii. 22.

ABUBUS

was about twenty when he took up his sister's cause, he must have died a little over thirty. Apparently his three sons died before him (2 S 14:27-18:18). On his 'daughter,' see TAMAR, 3, and MAYA VII, 4, 4. The notice respecting Absalom's monument in 2 S 18:18 is not very clear, perhaps owing to some confusion in the text of vv. 17-19 (so Klo.). It is evidently parenthetical, and reminds the reader that Absalom had a suitable monument erected, according to Klo.'s reading, by David) in the King's Vale (see SHAVEH, 1, MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). The building close to Jerusalem, now known as Absalom's tomb, is of very late origin, as its Ionic pillars prove.

2. Father of Manthias (1 Macc. 11:70; Ἀθανάσιος [AV], Ἀθανάσιος [K]). Zöckler proposes to read 'Jonathan' for 'Manthias' here; or else to read Manthias in 1 Macc. 13:11 also.

3. Father of Jonathan (1 Macc. 13:11; Ἀθανάσιος [AVK]), probably the same as (2).

4. An ambass. to Tyrians, 1 Macc. 11:47 (Ἀνθιστάσιον [M], ἀνθιστάσιον [K]). Possibly also to be identified with (2).

ABUBUS (ABYBOS [ABV]; אבובוס, cp HIRSHAL, 1 Ch. 7:14 Kt.; אבובוס), father of Ptolemy, captain of the plan of Jericho, and son-in-law to Simon the Maccabean (1 Macc. 16:11, 13).

ABYSS, THE (Η ΑΒΥΣΣΟΣ), the term substituted in RV of NT for the 'deep' and the 'bottomless pit' of AV; see Lk. 8:31; Rom. 10:7; Rev. 9:1 f. 11:17 17:8 20:1 f. In the second of these passages, by an inexact use of the term, 'the abyss' is equivalent to Sheol; 'over the sea' in Dt. 30:11 is taken to mean 'over the world-encircling ocean into which the "rivers" of the underworld (Ps. 134[3], Ps. 135[3]) discharge themselves to "the place where all flesh wanders" (1 Cr. 3, Sheol; Ezech. 17:6). Elsewhere it means the deep-placed abode of the "dragon" or devil, of the "beast" his helper, and of the δαίμονια, —whether this abode be taken to be the 'deep (tchôm) that concheth beneath' (Gen. 1:9 RV), or the 'waste place' with 'no ornament above and no foundation of earth beneath,' by which the fire-filled chasm was thought to be bordered (Ezech. 5:12; cp 21:27). The former view is in accordance with OT usage, the *tchôm* of MT and the ἀβύσσος of G being the flood or ocean which once engulfed the earth, but is now shut up in subterranean storerooms (Ps. 33:7); and it is favoured by the use of θάλασσα in Rev. 13:1 as synonymous with ἀβύσσος. But the latter is more probably right in the Apocalypse, which agrees with Ezech. in asserting the existence of a lake of fire, destined for the final punishment of the devil and his helpers. This fiery lake is not in either book technically called 'the abyss'; in Ezech. 10:13 the Greek has τὸ χάος τοῦ πυρός, and in 21:7 διακοπὴν εἶχεν ὁ τόπος ὡς τῆς ἀβύσσου. The angelic overseer of this region is Uriel, who is described in Ezech. 20:2 (Gizeh Gk.) as ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ τάρταρου. 'Tartarus' occurs also in Job 41:23, G, in the phrase τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου [BNV], which, being used in connection with Leviathan, is doubtless to be taken of the subterranean abode of Yahwe's enemy, the dragon (see DRAGON, § 4 f.). Cp τάρταρος, used of the fallen angels, 2 Pet. 2:4.

ACACIA (אַקָצִיָּה), Ex. 25:5 etc., RV. See SHITTAN TREE.

ACATAN (ΑΚΑΤΑΝ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:32 AV = Ezr. 8:12, HAKKATAN.

ACCABA (ΑΚΚΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:6 RV = Ezra 2:46, HIGAB.

ACCAD (אַכַּד, אַכַּדָּא [M], אַכַּד [D]; אַכַּד; אַכַּד is one of the four cities mentioned in Gen. 10:10 as forming the beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod in the land of Shinar or Babylonia. In the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Akkad is most frequent.

1 If a Hebrew original could have been supposed for 2 Macc. 1:24, accada might have represented a transliteration of part of a participle of אָכַד (cf. πεμψέμενος follow).

ACELDAMA

quently met with in the title *Jugal Kingis* (*Uruk*), which is rendered in Semitic by *har (mitu) Sumur u (mitu) Akkad*. This title, which implied dominion over the whole of Babylonia, was borne from the earliest times by the Babylonian kings, and was adopted by those kings of Assyria who conquered Babylon (cp BABYLONIA, § 1). The Akkad referred to in Gen. 10:10 has been identified by some with the ancient city of *Agadê* which was situated in northern Babylonia and attained a position of supremacy over the rest of the country under Sargon I. about 3800 B.C. This identification, however, is entirely hypothetical, and is based only on the superficial resemblance of the names.

ACCARON (ΑΚΚΑΡΩΝ [A*]), 1 Macc. 10:29 AV = RV EKKRIN (9:29).

ACCHO, RV Acco (ἄκχο), Judg. 1:31 and (see UMMATH) Josh. 19:31; see PROLEMAIS.

ACCOS (ΑΚΧΩΣ [A], ΑΚΧΩΣ [N], ΑΚΚΗ [V]); same as HAKKOZ [9:31], grandfather of Eupodemus; 1 Macc. 8:17 f.

ACCOZ (ΑΚΧΩΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:6 AV = Ezra 2:46 RV, HAKKOZ, 1.

ACCUSER (ΚΑΤΗΓΩΡ [Ti., W & H following A], ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ [BN, etc.]). The form of word found in the best texts is simply a Hellenized form (κατήγορος) of the common word ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΟΣ. For Rabbinic usage see e.g. Buxt. *Z. i. i.*, Rev. 12:10 f. See SAHAN, §§ 6 (3) 7.

ACELDAMA AV; RV Akeldama (ΑΧΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ [Fisch. A, etc.], ΑΧΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ [90 lat.], ΑΚΕ, [B followed by W & H], ΔΑΙΜ, [D], ΑΧΕΛΔΑΜΑΧ [d]), the name according to Acts 1:19 of a field bought by Judas Iscariot for some unknown purpose. The vet. Lat. of Mt. 27:7 applies the name (not, as in the Gk. MSS., merely in translation, but in the original) also to a field bought by the priests of Jerusalem to bury strangers in.

MS. evidence is so overwhelmingly in favour of some such form as Akeldamach that the RV is quite unjustified in rejecting it, especially when it corrects the *c* into *k*. Acts 1:19 states that in the language of the dwellers at Jerusalem this name meant 'the field of blood' (χρῶμα αἵματος).

כַּחַל דְּמָאָה (*châl demâh*), however, is obviously 'the field of the blood,' an impossible expression. Klostermann has therefore argued with great acuteness (*Probleme im Apokalypse*, 1-8 [83]) that כַּחַל (DMKH) is one word—viz., the well-known Aram. root 'to sleep.' All we have to do, then, is to understand it of the sleep of death, a usage known in Syr. and 'field of sleep' will mean cemetery, which, as Mt. tells us, was what the priests meant to make of the potter's field. Klostermann's argument is very strong—it is certainly natural to suppose that the name originated in some fact known to the people at large, as the transformation of a potter's field into a burying place would be—and his view was adopted by Wendt (Meyer² *ad loc.*). But we have no instance of a noun כַּחַל so used, and *ch*, *χ*, may = *κ* (cp *ωσπερ* [Lk. 3:20, BN, etc.], *כִּי*; *Σειραχ*, Sirach 3:14, Sirach). Hence, whatever may have been the real origin of the name—we can never know—its form was probably כַּחַל דְּמָאָה (Dalm. *Gram.*, 161 and 105 n. 1 respectively), 'the field of blood' (so Dalm. 161 n. 6; Arn. *Mey. Jesu Mutterstrasse*, 49 n. 1). On the questions who bought the field and why it was called Akeldama see also Acts, § 14. Cp JUDAS, 9.

Tradition which goes as far back as to the fourth century has placed Akeldama on a level overhanging the Valley of the Son of Hinnom on the NE. slope of the Hill of Evil Counsel, —a tradition which rests precariously

on Jer. 18:6, where the situation of the potter's house in Jeremiah's day is thought to be indicated. Potter's

1 On this form see Dalm. (*Gram.*, 304 n. 2), Kau. (*Gram.*, 8).

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G. A. S. U. W. H.

In the NT we hear of only three towns of Achaia—ATHENS, CORINTH, and CECROEAE;—but the Salutations of the two Corinthian Epistles (esp. 2 Cor. 1:1) ἐν ὄλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ imply other Christian communities in the province. In 1 Cor. 16 is the 'house of Stephanas' is called the 'first-fruits of Achaia' (ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας). In this place, for 'Achaia' we should expect 'Corinth'; for, according to Acts 17:34, Dionysius the Areopagite and other Athenians must have been the first-fruits of teaching in the province of Achaia. In Rom. 16:5, where, according to the Text Rec., Epiphanus is spoken of as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, the best texts read Ἀσία; [Ti. W & H, following B&N, etc.]. The charity of Achaean converts is praised in 2 Cor. 9:2 Rom. 15:26; but the reference may be merely to the church at Corinth (cp 2 Cor. 8:10).

ACHAN (עָכָן, Josh. 7), called **Achar** (עָכָר, i.e., 'troubled'—, cp OCRAN, עֲכָרָן) in 1 Ch. 27 and **ACHAR** [Ach. Bousij] in 4 Esd. 7:57 [107] RV. S's readings are

אָאָפּ [BF and (except Josh 7:1, אָאָנ) L], אָאָנ [V; but אָאָפּ in Josh 7:24 (cf. 25)]; the son of Cuthah, Zabdi, Zerah b. Judah, who unlawfully took possession of one of the 'devoted' spoil of Jericho (see BHS¹). His taking of a taboo had involved the whole host in guilt (KS²⁰ 162), and the community had to free itself of responsibility by destroying not only Achan but also his whole family (Josh. 7). This is quite in accordance with primitive notions (KS²⁰ 421), although our present text is due to later insertions (vv. 24 f.). With the variety in the form of the name is to be connected the word-play in Josh 7:25. (Cf. AKMU, I.

2 b. Michal, a courtier of King Josiah (2 K 22:12, 14; Jer. 26:2, M¹ and Theod. in Q mg. [BAS ont.]; Jer. 36:12, ἀρχιβασις [B⁸⁷], βασις [S^{8*}], ἀρχιβασις [Q]); in 2 Ch. 31 so named Amnon (2 Ch. 34 (αρχιδόμου [B], αρχιδων [M]).

Of the allusions, that in 11:18 is wanting in the It.; those in 11:13 and 11:10 are absent from the 'Chaldee' and Heb. texts; while the Vg. omits all save that in 11:13 (*A. hier*)—perhaps the allusions were felt to have little to do with the story of Tobit.

Greek variants of the name are $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (14 in 6), $\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (once in $\kappa\omicron\iota$), $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota[\epsilon]\kappa$ (8 in 14 ro), $\alpha\chi\epsilon\alpha\pi$ (κ^* in 11 s), $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\omicron\iota$, cp II. *Achiaris*, and in 14 ro *Achilar*. The equivalent Hebrew would be פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם and Meissner has pointed out that Pesh. has פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם for פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם in 1 Ch. 65. The name remains obscure however. Pesh. has פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם 'Chadd.' Hg., פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם Hg. פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם: Vg. *Achior*, and Pesh. in 12 f. פֶּשֶׁתַּיִם.

¹ 'Anzüge aus syrischen Arten persischen Matlyer,' in *1. handl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, T. no. 3, p. 182.

ACHIAS

In the romance the forms are **سماہ** : **حیقاہ** [cod. Sach.];
سماہ [cod. in Brit. Mus.].

Published texts: (1) Semitic: Arabic, A. Galliani, *Contes arabes*, 2 vols. (Lyon, 1909); Ar. and Neo-Syriac, M. Lehnarski from ex-slaves, *Legende syriacque*, 2 vols. (L. Heftes 4, 1 Teil, with German text; 1911); English transl. of Syrian comp. with Ar. and Neo-Syriac, E. E. Rich, *Contemp. Narr. Manch. 9th*, p. 166; cpals. version (1911); Arabic Nights, e.g. Sir R. C. Burton, *101 Arabian Nights* (Lond. 1885); (2) Slavonic: Russian, *Азбука* (three parts), C. H. Gomul, *Das Buch der weisen Thibetophen*, 1891, 434; (3) Slavonic: Germ. transl. by J. B. Bylandt, *Leits der Thibetophen*, (4) Armenian, printed as Constantinople, in 1778, 1781, and 1786; (5) *The Story of Araks*, by A. de Beare, Harris, and Lewis, Camb. 1858 (the text: Armen., Syriac, and Arab. texts and transl.; Slav. and Eth. transl.) appeared as these texts were being passed for press.

These sheets were being passed for press.
 Dismissal: Bruno Meissner, *cf. Hb. 48* (17-19734); Jagi
 (*op. cit.* 107-111). Ernst Kuhn (*ib.* 4794-95); Lindburski (*ib.*
 31); Bickell, *Athenaeum*, 22nd Nov. 1897, p. 790, and 24th
 Jan. 1898, p. 123; (*cf.* also 20th Nov. 1897, p. 711, and 27th
 Nov., p. 750); J. R. Harris in *Story of a Thicker* (see above), pp.
 vii-xxviii.

2. King of Media' (Tah. 1415 [K]; H. 1416). NFRU-
CHANEZZAR (P. [B]) = ANASERUS (id. [A]). See TABIT,
Book 16.

ACHIAS (*A. Mias*), 4 Esd. 1 et. See **ANJAH**, I.

ACHIM (אַחִים [Aḥīm]). - N. AḤIN, - HN [Δ etc.], AḤIM [N^h etc.], cp אַחִים אֲנִיכָא AḤIM, AḤI, 1135 [BNA], and = אֲחִי, J AḤIN, Gen. 46 to [A*^{ms}], 1 Ch. 21:17, 22 [B], a name in the ancestry of Joseph (Mt. 1:14). See GEN ALOGUES OF JESUS, § 2 c.

ACHIOR (אַחִיּוֹר [BNA], § 44), in the romance of JEHOIAD (q.v.), 'captain of all the sons of Ammon.' Having dared to warn Holofernes of the danger of attacking the Israelites, he was handed over to them to share their fate on the expected triumph of the Assyrian arms (65 ff.). He was hospitably received, and ultimately became a Jewish proselyte - no doubt to the great edification of Jewish readers of the story.

In some versions of John his name takes the place of that of ADRIANUS (p. 72) an error due to the similarity of δ and α in Syriac.

ACHIPHA (ACHIBA [15]), α -15d,53d RV = 127.0
250, 114 KIPHA

ACHISH (אַחִישׁ, אַחִישׁי [BA], אַחִי [L]), a Philistine, son of Muech (1 S. 27: 1) or Maachah (1 K. 2: 30 f.; אַחִישׁי [A]); a king of Gath, with whom David and his band took refuge from the persecution of Saul (see DAVID, § 5). He is described as a credulous man whom David found it easy to deceive, representing that his raids against Bedouin tribes were really directed against the Jafahites and their allies, and taking care not to leave any of his captives alive to reveal the truth to Achish. At Ziklag, which had been assigned to him as his place of residence, David lived as a freebooter in vassalage to Achish for a year and four months (only four months). The confidence, however, with which his suzerain regarded him was not shared by the Philistine lords, who prevented upon Achish to dismiss David from his army when starting to meet Saul at Gilboa. See 1 S. 27: 1-28: 29 ff., a connected passage of date prior to 800 (*SBo* 1). In another passage (1 K. 2: 35 f.), where the execution of Simei [?] is accounted for by his having gone to Gath in search of some runaway slaves, it is said that the fugitives went to Achish. No doubt the same king is meant (son of Muech, 2: 30) though the reference to Achish has the appearance of being a later ornamental insertion made in oblivion of chronology.

To a very much later writer (see 1.8.21.10-15 [11-16]) the account in 1.8.27-29 seemed to reflect on David's patriotism. He therefore devised an entertaining and unobjectionable story, in the style of the *Madras*, which he hoped would supplant the no longer intelligible historical tradition. According to him, David went alone, and was compelled to feign madness for safety.

¹ According to information received from Mr. F. C. Conybeare, there are two Armenian versions, the earlier of which appears to be in some respects more primitive than the Syriac. There is also, probably, a Georgian version.

ACHSAH

till he could escape. The author of the title of Ps. 34 accepted this story, but by mistake (thinking of Gen. 20a) wrote 'Abimelech' for 'Achish' ($\alpha\chi\iota\sigma$ [BARK], $\alpha\chi\epsilon\mu$ [U], *Achimelech*; Pesh. quite different).

ACHITOB ($\Delta\chi_{\text{CHITOB}}$ [B]), 1 Essd. 82 = 4 Essd. 114
 $\Delta V = 1.2 \text{ eV}$, ΔH_{CHITOB} , 2.

ACHMETHA (Ἀχμέτη), Ezra 6 24, the capital of Media, see ECHATANA.

ACHOR (אָחֹר, ἄχωρ [BAL.]), a valley on the N. boundary of Judah (Josh. 15:7), which, as we may infer from Josh. 7:1 Εἰμαχώρ [BAL.] combined with Hos. 2:15 [7], led up from Jericho into the highlands of Judah. In Is. 65:6 it represents the E. portion of Canaan on this side the Jordan. To an Israelite its name naturally suggested gloomy thoughts. Hosea promises that in the future, when Israel has repented, the evil omen shall be nullified, and a much later prophetic writer (Is. 7:2c.) that the valley of Achor shall become a resting-place of flocks. Early legend connected the name with the sin of Achan the 'troubler' of Israel (Josh. 7:24-26) /A/. Many (e.g. Grove, very positively, in Smith's *Ditt.*) have identified the valley with the Wady el-Kelt, which leads down through a stupendous basin in the mountains to the plain of the Jordan, and, as to nomadic observers, dark and dismal. This valley, however, is scarcely lifeless enough to be Achor, for its slender torrent-stream rarely dries up. It is also scarcely broad enough; it would never have occurred to the most ecstatic seer that flocks could be down in the Wady el-Kelt. Some other valley must be intended. According to the *OS* (217:25 89:34) the valley was to the N. of Jericho, and its old name still clung to it. This cannot be reconciled with the statement in Josh. 7:2c. respecting the N. boundary of Judah.

ACHSAH (אֲחִישָׁה, § 71, 'anklet'; אַחְסָה [B], אֲחִישָׁה [A]), according to Josh. 15:16-19, and (אַחְסָה [B], אַחְסָה [Bibb.-A]) Judg. 1:2-15 (cp. 1 Ch. 2:49); **AV** **Achsa.** אֲחִישָׁה [1-], a daughter of Caleb, who offered her in marriage to the conqueror of Kirjath-sepher. She was won by his younger brother Othniel. At her petition, because her home was to be in the dry southland (Negeb), Caleb bestowed upon her certain covered waters (called the Upper and the Lower Golith (see below). The simple grace of the narrative holds us spell-bound; but we must not, with Kittel (*Hist.* 1:299), pronounce the story historical on this account. That some clan should have been named after individuals is not inconceivable; but it is most improbable that we have any true traditions respecting the fortunes of such possible individuals, and it would be throwing away the lessons of experience to admit the life-likeness of a narrative as an argument for its historicity. According to analogy, Achsa must represent a Kenizite clan, allied in the first instance to the Calebites of Hebron, but also, very closely, to the clan settled at Debir and called Othniel; and the story arose in order to justify the claim of the Achsa clan to the possession of certain springs which lay much nearer to Hebron than to Debir (so Prof. G. F. Moore, on Judg. 1). That the cause is amply sufficient, can hardly be denied (cp. the Beersheba and Rehoboth stories in Genesis). It only remains to discover the right springs. We know where to look, having identified Debir with the highest degree of probability. And our search is rewarded. In all other parts of the district the water supply is from cisterns; no streams or springs occur. (But about seven miles (Conder) N. of *ed-Dihiriyeh* (the true Debir), and near Van de Velde's site for Debir (*Ah. ed-Dihbeh*), are beautiful springs worthy of being Achsa's prize), which feed a stream that runs for three or four miles, and does not dry up.¹ The springs, which are fourteen, are in three groups,

¹ *PEF Mem.* 3302; see also *GASm. Hist. Geog.* 279 (cp p. 78), who speaks of only two springs.

ACHSHAPH

and the two which are nearest to the head of the valley may be presumed to be the Upper and Lower Goliath. The identification is certainly a valuable one. See, further, GOLIATH-MAIM.

ACHSHAPH (אֲחִישָׁפַח, i.e. 'sorcery'; אֲחִישָׁפַח [B].

אֲחִישָׁפַח [V], אֲחִישָׁפַח [L]), one of the unknown sites in the book of Joshua. It lay, according to B, on the border of the Aserite territory (Josh. 19.25; אֲחִישָׁפַח [B]). Its king (i.e. the same Achshaph is meant) joined the northern confederation under Jabin, king of Hazor (11.1; אֲחִישָׁפַח [V], אֲחִישָׁפַח [L], [אֲחִישָׁפַח] אֲחִישָׁפַח [L]); and shared the defeat of his allies (12.2-4. Rob. (Hk 4.33) connects it with the modern Kesaf, a village near the bend of the river Litany where there are some ruins of uncertain date; this identification would suit Josh. 11.1 but not 19.25. Mispéro, on the other hand, followed by WMM (Ls. n. *Eur.* 154, cp 173), identifies Achshaph with the *Aksap* of the name-list of Thotmes III (K¹ 20.5.49). In this part of the list, however, there are names of localities in the region of Jerzeel, which is outside the land of Asher. Flinders Petrie (*Hist. of Isr.* 2.36) connects Aksap with 'Asefeh, 9 m. SSW. of Jebel, which is hazardous. At any rate there were probably several places noted anciently for their sorceries and therefore called Achshaph. The form אֲחִישָׁפַח (see above) has suggested a most improbable identification with Haifa (*PEF Mem.* 1165). The statement of Eus. in *OS*, 218.4 ff. (אֲחִישָׁפַח) is geographically impossible.

ACHZIB (אֲחִזִּיב; probably 'winter-torrent').

1. A town of Judah in the Shephelah, mentioned with Keilah and Maresah, Jos. 15.41 (אֲחִזִּיב א. אֲחִזִּיב [B], אֲחִזִּיב [V], אֲחִזִּיב [L]), also Mic. 1.11f, where אֲחִזִּיב, losing the intended paronomasia, renders 'the houses of Achzib' *oikoi paraitois*. The name becomes אֲחִזִּיב in Samit. text, Chazbah; אֲחִזִּיב [AEL.] in Gen. 38.5f, where the legend presupposes that Chazib is the centre of the clan of Shelah; and since in 1 Ch. 4.22f 'the men of Coreb' (אֲחִזִּיב; אֲחִזִּיב [AEL.]); but אֲחִזִּיב [B], cp אֲחִזִּיב = Socoh are said to belong to the same clan, we may safely recognise COZABA (so RV; AV CTOZABA) as another form of the same name. The

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name may perhaps linger in *Am el Kesbeh*, between Yarmuk (Jarmuth) and Shuweikh (Socoh), but to the E. of both (So GASM, after *PEF Mem.* 336). Consider's identification of Cozaba with the ruin of Kuweiziba 2½ m. N.E. of Halbul towards Hebron (*PEF Mem.* 333) is therefore superfluous. Build wisely counts the proposal to identify it with Kussab SE. of Tell el-Hesi (*Dial.* 192).

2. A Canaanite town, 9 m. to the north of Aecho, like which city it was claimed but not conquered by the tribe of Asher, Josh. 19.24 (אֲחִישָׁפַח [B], אֲחִישָׁפַח [V], אֲחִישָׁפַח [L], אֲחִישָׁפַח [L], Judg. 1.31 (אֲחִישָׁפַח [B], אֲחִישָׁפַח [V], Sennacherib mentions Akzib and Akku together in the Taylor inscription (K¹ 20.688). Achzib (Arām. *Achzib*) is the Bethgaza, *Ḥadḡma*, of *OS*, 251.2217, the *Ḥadḡma* (*H* 1.14), *Ḥadḡma* (*L* 1.12), where it is said to have been also called *Ḥadḡma* of Jos., the modern *es-Zib*.

ACIPHA (אֲכִיפָא [B]), 1. Est. 5.11f AV = Ezra 2.51, *Ḥakipha*.

ACITHO (אֲכִיזָו [V]), Judith 8.1. RV, *Antib* (7.7.4).

ACRA (אַקְרָא [AVP], Mac. 1.31 etc. AV 'stronghold', RV 'citadel'. See JERUSALEM.

ACRABBIM (אַקְרַבִּים, Josh. 15.31, RV *AKRABIM*.

ACRE (אֲכִרָא, *ακρεος* in Is.; for *α* in *α* Sam. cp *W. Dr. ad Is.* 1.5.1, 1.5.11 etc. AV *ing*, RV. The Heb. word seems to denote the amount of land which a span or Yoke [*g.*] of oxen could plough in the course of a day (cp below); perhaps, like the Egyptian *ḥpwp*, it ultimately became a fixed quantity (cp Now. *Isr.* 1.202). Even at the present day the fellahin of Palestine measure by the *faddan* (Syr. *faddana* 'yoke'; cp *DDP* 170), cp also Lat. *jugum*, *jugurum*. The term is not restricted to arable land, being applied in Is. *Is.* to a vineyard. Winckler, however (*IOF*, 2nd ser., 2.9), derives *aced* from Bab. *gamidu* (= *galku*) to weigh, properly to measure off, which is at any rate barely possible, and attempts to show that *aced* in Is. can denote only a liquid measure (which is by no means obvious). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

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CONTENTS

The 'We' sections distinct in character from rest of book (§ 1); Inaccuracies (§ 2); 'Tendency' (§§ 3-7); 'Journey Record' (§ 8 f.); Other Sources (§ 10 f.); Trustworthiness (§§ 12-14); Authorship (§ 15); Date (§ 16); Blass's hypothesis (§ 17 f.); Religious Value of Acts (§ 18); Literature (§ 20).

Apart from scanty notices supplied by the NT epistles, this book is our only source for the history of Christianity during its first thirty or thirty-five years. The question of its trustworthiness is, therefore, of fundamental importance.

The sections in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (16.6-17.20

1. The 'We' sections or Journey Record.

5-15 21.1-23 27.1-28.16) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book. In the sections named, the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with almost every unimportant detail (20.13 21.2 f. to 28.11, etc.); outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so minutely in 2 Cor. 11.24 f. cp 23 (Acts 14.16 22.23 f.). Even had the writer of the book as a whole (assuming him to have been a companion of Paul) been separated from the apostle—remaining behind, e.g., in Macedonia during the interval between 16.17 and 20.5—he would surely afterwards have gathered the powerful details from eye-witnesses and embodied them in his

book, instead of satisfying himself with such extraordinarily meagre notes as we have in 18.21-23 20.1-3 or 16.4-8. Even were he following an old journal, he could never have passed over so many important matters in silence simply because they were not to be found in his notes. Further, he contradicts the Epistle to the Galatians so categorically (see GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO, § 5 f., and CONSTITUTION OF JERUSALEM) that, if we assume his identity with the eye-witness who writes in the first person, we are compelled (see below, § 6) to adopt one of two courses. We must either make Galatians non-Pauline or pronounce the writer of Acts as a whole to be a 'tendency' writer of the most marked character—hardly less so than a post-apostolic author who should have simply invented the 'we' sections. To suppose that the 'we' sections were invented, however, is just as inadmissible as to question the genuineness of Galatians. If the sections had been invented, they would not have been so different from the rest of the book. We must therefore conclude that the sections in question come from a document written by an eye-witness, the so-called 'we' source, and that this was used by a later writer, the compiler of the whole book.

It is upon this assumption of a distinct authorship for

¹ On title see below, § 3 n.

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the two sections that we are best able to pass a comparatively favourable judgment on the compiler's selection from historical facts in other parts of the book. But there is one change from which he cannot be freed, viz., that he has followed the method of retaining the 'we' without change. In the case of so capable a writer, in whom hardly a trace can be detected, either in vocabulary or in style, of the use of documents, this fact is not to be explained by lack of skill, such as is sometimes met with in the Mediaeval chroniclers. The inference is inevitable that he wrote what has actually happened, that the whole book should be regarded as the work of an eye-witness. An analogous case is to be found in the 'I' taken over from the Memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 7:27-8:34; Neh 1:1-7:5; 12:1-13:31; also in Job 1:1-38, and in *Proterogospel from Jer.*, 1:1-3). Just as Ezra 10 and Neh 8, as well as the sections just mentioned, must be held to rest on those Memoirs, although modified and with the 'I' dropped out, so in Acts we may assume much other matter to have been drawn from the source from which the 'we' sections are derived. Any attempt, however, to assign to this source whole sections of the book not having the 'we', and to use the conclusion so gained as a proof of the trustworthiness of everything thus assumed to belong to it, must be postponed until this trustworthiness has been investigated by the means otherwise at our command.

In this investigation we begin with certain obvious inaccuracies, first of all with those which cannot be traced to the influence of any tendency.

2. Inaccuracies uninfluenced by tendency.

Let us take the manifestation of Christ to Paul near Damascus. According to 22, his companions see the light from heaven but do not hear the voice of Jesus; according to 9 they hear the voice but see no one and drop a fall down; according to 26:12-18 they fall down prostrate with Paul, but it is he alone who sees the heavenly light, and hears the voice. This last account, moreover, represents him as having received at the time a full explanation of what had occurred; according to 22, however, he did not receive the explanation until afterwards, through Ananias.

Further inconsistencies of statement are to be found when we compare the explanation of the departure from Jerusalem in 20:1-6 with that in 22:17-21; the account in 10:44-46 with that in 11:13-14; the explanation of the offering in 21:26-26 with that in 21:27-27; the account in 21:31-31; 22:29-31; 23:27 with 28:15, according to which Paul was, in Jerusalem, a prisoner of the Jews and not as yet of the Romans; the occasion of the appeal to Caesar in 25:1 with that in 28:17. The liberation of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi (16:23-34) is not only a very striking narrative with resemblances to what we read in Euripides, *Phaëdra*, 430-441, 1:2-3, 1:6-7; but, as regards *Phaëdra*, 430-441, 1:2-3, 1:6-7, and as regards Acts 16:23-34, in Lucian, *Lucian*, 27:1-3, but is scarcely reconcilable with 1 Thess. 2:2, where Paul's God was in any measure due to an occurrence of this kind.

So much for inaccuracies that cannot be attributed to any tendency on the part of the writer. There are others, and these of much greater importance, which can only be so explained. Before discussing these, let us ascertain clearly what the tendency of the writer is.

Every historian who is not simply an annalist must have 'tendency' in the wider sense of that word.

3. Tendency of the book.

His trustworthiness is not necessarily affected thereby. Indeed, it has actually been urged by one of the apologists for Acts, as an argument for the trustworthiness of the book, that it was designed to be put in as a document at the trial of Paul, and was written entirely with this view—a position that cannot, however, be made good. Now, it is clear that the book does not profess to be a history of the first extension of Christianity, or of the Church in the apostolic age; it covers really only a small portion of this field. It is equally certain that the title *ᾠδὴς* (τῶν) ἀποστόλων does not express the purpose of its

author, who relates hardly anything of James and John, and of none of the apostles mentions nothing but the names. Neither is the book a history of Peter and Paul, for it tells also of John of both the Jameses, of the deacons, of Stephen, Philip, Apollos, and others. Nor is it a history of the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, for the founding of the Roman Church is not described but presupposed (28:16), and all that has any interest for the writer is the arrival there of Paul (19:22-23). It is often supposed that the aim of the book is expressly formulated in 1:1, and that the purpose of the author was to set forth the spread of Christianity from Jerusalem, through Samaria, and to the ends of the earth. This is much too inadequate to account either for the difference in scale of the various narratives, sometimes so minutely detailed and sometimes so very vague, or for their marked divergences from actual history.

It is, therefore, no prejudice on the part of critics, but the nature of the book itself, that leads us to ascribe tendency to the writer. Only (1) we must not, with the Tübingen School, consider it 'concomitant.' According to this view, Acts was an attempt from the Pauline side, by means of concessions to bring Judaism to a recognition of Gentile Christianity. A reconciliation of the two was thus to be effected in face of the danger that threatened both, from Judaism on the one side and from state persecution on the other. This cannot have been the purpose. Acts is much too harsh towards non-Christian Jews, for whom Christian Jews continued to retain a certain sympathy (22:17-21; 18:17-19; 21:27-28; 23:12-13, etc.); besides, most of the details which it gives have no relation to any such purpose. The main point on which the supposed reconciliation turns, the Apostolic Decree (15:23-29), is to be explained otherwise (see *COHEN ON JERUSALEM*, § 10). (2) On the other hand, the book is not a mere apology for Paul. If it were, much of its contents would be unsuitable to the enumeration of the conditions required in an apostle (1:1-2), which were not fulfilled in Paul; it does not even give such a view of the personality of Paul as the facts known to us from the epistles demand (see below, §§ 7, 14). There remains only (3) one other possible view of the author's tendency. His aim is to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism, and he seeks to do this by means of an account of the origin of Christianity. The apostles, including Paul, are the historical foundation of Christianity, and 4:12-14, where we are told that all Christians were of one heart and soul, may be regarded as forming a motto for the book.

A whole series of denumerable inaccuracies becomes comprehensible when viewed as resulting from this tendency. Paul never comes into conflict with the original apostles or their followers as he does in Gal. 1:7-9; 2:12; 2 Cor. 10:11-13; 11:13-15; 12:1-4.

The one misunderstanding (Acts 15) that arises is cleared away by the original apostles; the attempt to enforce the circumcision of Titus (Gal. 2:1-5) may, the whole personality of Titus is just as carefully passed over in silence as are the dispute with Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11-21; see *COHEN ON JERUSALEM*, § 9) and the Judaizing plots to impose on the Galatians and Corinthians another Gospel, that of circumcision (Gal. 1:6-9; 5:12-13), and another Christ (2 Cor. 11:4-5). Apart

It is not to be inferred from the absence of the article from the title in good MSS (*ᾠδὴς ἀποστόλων* [B]) that the author meant to say that it was with the acts of only some of the apostles that he proposed to deal; for it would be very strange that he should admit such an incompleteness in the very title of his work. The article before *ἀποστόλων* is omitted because *ᾠδὴς* is without it; and that is so simply because such is the usual practice at the beginning of books (cp. Mt. 1:1; Acts 1:1, and see Wiesner, § 104, 10). Since therefore no form of the title can be assigned to the author of the book, we conclude that the title must date from the time when the book was first united with others in one collection—its first occurrence is in the last third of the second century (Mss. Fragm. Tert. Clem. Al.). The simple *ᾠδὴς* [et] *ἀποστόλων* (Crisostomus, *Origenes*, etc.) is meaningless as an original title, and intelligible only as an abbreviation.

¹ *Abrie, Bib. Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1863, pp. 84-134.

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from the Gentiles, who seldom show hostility to Paul (13:45; 17:17-18; 18:12-13; 19:35-40; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18). It is not without understanding the end of the story (1:1-2) that Paul meets with difficulties (13:45; 18:12-13; 19:35-40; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18). For further illustrations of the operation of this tendency in the writer, cf. Acts 13:45 and 18:12-13.

On the other hand, Paul brings forward nothing whatever in which the original apostles had not led the way. Far from going beyond them at all, he appears to be entirely dependent on them.

His journey to Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (Gal. 1:22-23) are parallel to the journey of the apostles (Acts 13:1-3; 14:25-28; 15:36-41; 18:18-21; 20:1-6; 21:1-14). This is not to say, however, that Paul is a mere follower of the apostles, but that he is a true apostle, and that his journey is a true apostolic journey. The primitive church, so completely and as a consequence of apostolic principle, followed the reception of the apostles, the Christian community without his being subjected to the requirements of the Mosaic law, as is related in 14:1-18, the apostle is that led to the Council of Jerusalem, and never again have (passing up).

Again, when at Paul's times in a strange city, he seeks (as we should expect) to find a synagogue, first of all with the synagogue, and then the proselytes who might be found for him, he could not find any in the Gentiles. Our view agrees also with Rom. 10:1-4. According to Acts, however, in almost every place where Paul preaches himself with his message, to the Gentiles as distinct from the Jews, he has to purchase anew the right to do so, by first of all preaching to the Jews at a synagogue, and by then (13:45; 18:12-13; 19:35-40; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18). The only exceptions to this rule are Berea (17:10-12), Ephesus, Lystra, and Antioch (13:45; 14:12; 18:12; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18), where the narrative passes at once to a public singular incident, and towns so summarily dealt with as Lystra and Berea (14:12-13; 18:12-13; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18), along with Iconium, where Gentiles are brought to Christianity through the sermon in the synagogue (14:1-18). In 28:12-13, in order to make the right to preach to the Gentiles dependent on the relation of the gospel to the Jews, the very existence of the Christian church, already, according to 28:12, to be found in Rome is ignored. Such a dependence of Paul's work in mission to the Gentiles on the department of the Jews, and that too in every individual city, is quite irreconcilable with Gal. 1:22-23, and with the motives which the author himself holds in Acts 13:45-48, 18:12-13, as well as with 19:35-40, 20:13-17.

After the appearance of Jesus himself to Paul near Damascus, the apostle has yet further to be introduced to his work by human agency, the first instance being by Ananias (9:10-17; 22:1-21), and subsequently (11:1-3) by Evodius (12:1-3), a member of the original church, and this happens after the church of Antioch, the first Gentile Christian church, and Paul's first important congregation, had already been founded by Christians from Jerusalem (13:26-41). Both of these statements are contradicted by Gal. 1:1-2; the latter of them also by the order in which Syria and Cilicia are taken in Gal. 1:21. Moreover, at the Council of Jerusalem (15:1-35) Paul has only to give in a report and to accept the decisions of the primitive church.

The tendency we have pointed out throws light also on the parallel (which is tolerably close, especially where miracles are concerned) between the acts and experiences of Peter and of Paul.

Both begin by healing a man lame from birth (3:6-10; 14:8-10), and go on to the cure of another sick man (9:34-35; 28:23-24); they heal many men at once, both directly (5:9-10; 28:23-24) and indirectly (5:15; 19:12), besides doing signs and wonders generally (2:43; 5:12; 14:15-17; 19:12); both bring a dead person to life (9:34-35; 20:10-12); both perform a miracle of judgment (5:12; 13:6-11); both, by the laying on of hands, confer the gift of the Holy Ghost (8:14-17; 19:1-7), and in doing so, also impart the gift of tongues (10:44-46; 19:6); both have a vision corresponding with one experienced by another man (10:1-6; 19:1-7); both are miraculously delivered from prison (5:17-18; 16:23-24); both are scourged (16:23-24; 26:1-2); both decline divine honours in almost identical words (16:25-26; 21:17-18; 26:23-24).

The life of Paul included many more incidents of this kind than that of Peter; but from what we have already observed we can understand how the author's wish not to allow Peter to fall behind Paul must have influenced the narrative. Still, he has by no means wholly sacrificed history to his imagination, and this has been so, he would certainly have brought his narrative into much closer agreement with his own ideals. He has not, for example, introduced in the case of Peter, as in that of Paul, a stoning (14:16), or threats against him (9:23; 29:11-13), or an exorcism (16:16-18). And in like manner the omission of many of the items enumerated in 2 Cor. 11:22-27 may be explained, at least in part, by the supposition that he had no intimate knowledge about them. He has, it would seem, at least in the main,

continued to matter preserve the fiction merely of a selection and putting it into shape.

b. Subsidiary tendencies.

There is first the *political* tendency, the desire to say as little as possible unfavorable to the Roman civil power.

In the Third Gospel we already find Luke declaring that he finds no fault in Jesus, and he has the assurance confirmed by the Lord, who in the other Gospels is not mentioned at all, in connection with the exaltation of Jesus. Luke declares this over that he will release Jesus, and he is prevailed upon to pass adverse sentence only by the insistence of the Jews (13:35-36). In Acts (which has even been regarded by some as an apology for Christianity intended to be laid before Gentiles; see above, § 10), the first assaults of Peter and Paul are Roman others (19:13-17), where it is the Roman authorities who definitely declare Paul to be no political criminal as the Jews would have it (18:12-13; 19:35-40; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18). It is by them also that he is put to death in more than one instance, at any rate, to be conspired (18:12-13; 19:35-40; 20:13-17; 21:27-31; 24:13-17; 26:10-11; 28:17-18).

When this political tendency is recognised, the conclusion of the book becomes intelligible. Otherwise it is a riddle. Even if the author meant to do so, and still a *repositio* *Agar* (third treatise), which is pure conjecture, he could not suitably have ended the *de repositio* *Agar* (second treatise) of otherwise than with the death of Paul, that he did not survive. Paul is even less likely than that he was otherwise interrupted at this point of his work. When we take account of this political tendency, however, in forbidding him to die (*de repositio*), it really is skilfully devised. The very last word, thus, says something favourable to the Roman authorities, and, in order not to efface this impression, the writer leaves the death of Paul unmentioned.

2. Secondly, he has in his mode of narration an *aesthetic* as well as a political tendency; he aims at being graphic.

This end is promoted very specially by the use, and the details, otherwise purposeless, appropriate to the journey, but it is also very much in the way of 4:12 that, without having any claim to be regarded as historical, contribute to the enlivening of the picture. If the primitive Christian community (see below, § 10), also of the specific (see § 10), and particularly by the miracle-narratives, which in almost every case where they are not derived from the 'we' statement (see § 10) are characterised by touches of remarkable vigour (10:1-6; 11:1-3; 12:1-3; 13:1-3; 14:1-3; 15:1-3; 16:1-3; 17:1-3; 18:1-3; 19:1-3; 20:1-3; 21:1-3; 22:1-3; 23:1-3; 24:1-3; 25:1-3; 26:1-3; 27:1-3; 28:1-3).

The total influence of all these tendencies not having been so great as to lead the author wholly to disregard the matter supplied to him by tradition, it has often been supposed possible to affirm that he had no such tendencies at all. The inaccuracies of the book are in this case explained simply by the assumption that the writer was not in possession of full information, and that, in a naive yet still unbiassed way, he first represented to himself the conditions of the apostolic age, and afterwards described them, as if they had been similar to those of his own.

When the conflict of tendencies in the primitive Christian Church had already been brought to an end. Certain it is that in his unquestioning reverence for the apostles, it was impossible for him to conceive the idea of their having ever been at variance with one another. On the other hand, it cannot possibly be denied that he must at the same time have either passed over accounts that were very well known to him or completely changed them. It is hard to understand how any one can airily say that to this writer, a Paulinist, the Pauline epistles remained unknown. Paradoxical as it sounds, it is certainly the fact that such a lack of acquaintance would be more easily explicable had he been a companion of Paul (a supposition which, however, it is impossible to accept; see above, § 1) than it is on the assumption that he lived in post-apostolic times. It is not probable, though not probable, that Paul might sometimes have been unable to communicate his epistles to his companions.

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before sending them out. But a companion of Paul would at least be acquainted with the events which are recorded in the epistle. If we are not prepared to declare the whole use of the Pauline epistles to be spurious, and their sentiments about the events to which they allude unhistorical, there is no way of acquitting the writer of Acts from the charge of having moulded history under the influence of 'tendency'. Only this tendency must be understood as being simply a consistent adherence to the view of the history that he had before he studied his sources.

The tendencies of the author, once established in regard to points where his historical inaccuracies admit of definite proof from a trustworthy source, one may perhaps found on them presumptions in regard to matters that admit of no such control. Did Paul circumcise Timothy (16:1-2)? Since Timothy's mother is called a Jewess, and Paul held the principle laid down in 1 Cor 9:20, it is impossible to deny categorically that he did. Nevertheless, it remains in the highest degree improbable, especially after Paul had, just before (Gal 2:1-10), so triumphantly and as a question of principle, opposed the circumcision of Titus. The difficulty of the case is not much relieved even by the supposition that the circumcision happened *before* the Council of Jerusalem, and only on account of the Jews of that place (16:1) and therefore, notwithstanding the statement of the same verse, not with a view to the missionary journey. Again, did Paul take a Nazirite vow? We leave 18:18 out of account, since the text does not enable us clearly to decide whether that assertion concerns Paul or Aquila, and since a Nazirite could shave his head only in Jerusalem. In 21:23-26, however, Paul is represented as having taken such a vow, not only without waiting for the minimum period of thirty days required by traditional law (21:27-24:16, cf. Jos. *Ant.* 15:4 [§ 313]; Num. 6:1-21; see NABH 111), but also, and above all, with the expressly avowed purpose of proving that the report of his having exempted the Jewish Christians of the Diaspora from obligation to the ceremonial law was not true, and that he himself constantly observed that law (cp 28:17). This would, for Paul, have been simply an untruth, and that, too, on a point of his religious conviction that was fundamental (Gal 1:11-12; Rom 10:4, etc.). Just as questionable, morally, would it have been had he really described himself, especially before a court of justice (23:6, cp 21:21-26:5-8, 28:17), simply as a Pharisee, asserted that he was accused only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and held his peace about his Christianity.

In view of the tendencies that have been pointed out, there is, unhappily, some room for the suspicion that the author has not held himself bound to appropriate the 'we' source in its integrity. This is indeed made antecedently probable by the fact that he has —

8. The Journey Record: *or*, its treatment.

— only in the Pauline Gospel passed over much that lay before him in his sources, and that the sections of the Journey Record actually adopted supply for the most part only superficial notices of the stages passed, or miracle stories. And just in proportion to the freedom of the latter from legendary embellishments (16:6-17; 20:6-17; 28:16-31), and to their credibility even in the eyes of those who wholly reject the supernatural (although, of course, the narrators thought them miraculous), must be our regret at every instance in which the Journey Record has been set aside, or even in which its words (as has been conjectured to be sometimes the case; see above, § 1) are not reproduced exactly.

This free treatment of the Journey Record increases the difficulty of ascertaining who was its author. Had the record been adopted intact, we should have

been certain that it was not composed by any of those who appear among the companions of Paul in the sections where the narrative 'we' does not occur. But this means of solution is

9. A. Its author.

out of the question. And if the source came into the hands of the author of Acts as (let us say) an anonymous document, or if, in the interest of greater vividness, he had the 'we' without regard to the person originally meant, he may also at the same time have spoken of the writer of the Journey Record in the third person, even when he was otherwise following the document. Yet 20:5 is a strong indication that by the 'we' he does not wish us to understand any one at least of the seven mentioned in the immediately preceding verse. Thus the text at all events gives nowhere any ground for thinking of Timothy, who, moreover, is mentioned in 17:14, 18:5 in the third person. If we are to regard the record as coming from Silas, the author of Acts must have used it without the 'we' and, in a very fragmentary way indeed, for long periods during which, according to his own statement (15:41; 16:10-15; 17:1-18:1), Silas was with Paul. This, though not quite impossible, is very unlikely. Moreover, Silas is never again mentioned in Acts after 18:5; neither, from the same period, that of Paul's first stay in Corinth (2 Cor 1:10-12), is he again mentioned in the Pauline Epistles; and in 1 Pet 5:12, he appears by the side of Peter. Whoever attributes the Journey Record to Titus must in like manner assume that much of it has been either not used at all or used without the 'we'. For Titus was with Paul at the time of the Council of Jerusalem (Gal 2:1), and continued to be his companion at least during the latter part of the three years' stay at Ephesus, as also during the subsequent stay in Macedonia (2 Cor 2:13; 7:6-8; 10:14; 12:18-19). Besides, the writer of Acts would use a work of Titus somewhat unwillingly, for he completely suppresses his name (see above § 4²). Still, if so valuable a writing by Titus had been really available, the author of Acts would scarcely have completely neglected it.

If it is thus just possible that Titus wrote the Journey Record, it is perhaps still more conceivable that it was written by Luke. In this way we should best be able to explain how, ever since the time of the Minoritica Fragment and Hrekenius (*Abh. Hebr.* iii, 114), the entire book of Acts as well as the Third Gospel came to be ascribed to him. It is true that in the Pauline Epistles, the first mention of Luke is in Col 4:14; Phil 24:1; 2 Tim 4:11. In other words, not before Paul's imprisonment and the closing years of his life. Nevertheless, he may have been one of Paul's companions at an earlier period, if we are allowed to suppose that he occupied a subordinate position. The most suspicious fact is that, whilst Luke (see 1:1, 11), if we may trust Col 4:14, was, like Titus (Gal 2:1), unemancipated, the writer of the Journey Record not only uses Jewish specifications of date (Acts 16:13; 20:6; 27:9), and goes to the synagogue or the Jewish place of prayer (16:13), but also includes himself (16:17) among those who taught there (*ἡδωκότες*, 16:30), must not be pressed, as it may rest on an error on the part of the speakers; cp 16:17). We must thus, perhaps, abandon all attempt to ascribe the Journey Record to any known companion of Paul.

Other sources for Acts, in addition to that just mentioned, have long been conjectured; e.g. a Barnabas source for chap. 13¹. Here the naming over again of Barnabas and Saul, and the omission of John Mark (13:1), notwithstanding 12:25, are indeed remarkable, as are also

¹ Add to this that, if 2 Tim. 4:10 is to be taken as accurately preserving an incident in Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea, it could hardly have been Titus that accompanied Paul to Rome (Acts 27:28). The notices in the epistle to Titus are too untrustworthy to serve as a foundation for historical combinations.

² It is just as incorrect to suppose that he is named in Acts 18:7 as it is to identify him with Silas.

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the circumstance that, apart from 11 vs 12 vs 15 vs 25, it is precisely in these two chapters that Barnabas is often (13 vs 27 14 vs 4; contrast 13 vs 40 vs 11 vs 20) mentioned before Paul, and that it is only here (14 vs 14) that Paul (with Barnabas) is called an 'apostle' (see APOSTLES).

Of primary importance would be the establishment of sources for chaps. 1-12.

Many traces of distinct sources can be detected. In addition to what is said under CHAPS. SIXTEEN VI, and under CHAPS. XVII or XVIII, §§ 1-3, two themes had been long recognised as running through the speech of Stephen: viz. refutation of the idea that the blessing of God depended on the possession of the temple (7 vs 48 vs 50), and renunciation of the people against the divine will (7 vs 51 vs 53). The stoning of Stephen, moreover, is narrated twice (7 vs 54 and 10 vs 40), in every confusing way, and his burial does not follow till 8 vs 2, after the mention of the great persecution and the flight of all the Christians except the apostles (8 vs 1 vs 3). The persecution is resumed, but, as in 8 vs 1, only Saul is thought of as persecutor. The mention of Saul seems thus throughout (7 vs 58 vs 1 vs 3) to be a later insertion into a source in which he was not originally named. Besides, 8 vs 2 seems also to be an interpolation into the account of the last hours of Stephen. In as far as this interpolation speaks of the dispersion of the Christians, it is confirmed in 11 vs 1, while 8 vs 1 may easily be an ingenious transposition of some editor leading up to the story of Philip. 11 vs 1 is further followed by the statement (11 vs 2) that the church at Jerusalem elected a delegate. This representation of the right of the church to elect delegates, which is found also in 6 vs 3, seems to be more primitive than that in 8 vs 1, according to which such an election was made by the apostles. Further, in 16 vs 17 the apostles are raised to a rank unknown to the earliest times. For, that Christians did not receive the Holy Ghost by baptism, but only through subsequent laying on of hands, and those the hands of the apostles, is disapproved by Gal. 3 vs 2, and even by the presupposition underlying Acts 19 vs 6, although the same notion reappears shortly afterwards (19 vs 6). In like manner, finally, the words 'except the apostles' (8 vs 1) may have been subsequently inserted, to preserve the dignity of the apostles and the continuity of their role in Jerusalem. In 11 vs 1 the friendly gifts destined for distribution during the famine come into the hands of the presbyters, not, as 6 vs 1 would have led us to expect, into those of the deacons.

Observations such as the preceding have of late been expanded into comprehensive theories assigning the whole book to one source or to several sources, with additions by one editor or by several editors.

11. Theories as to Sources.

See B. Weiss, *Paul und die NT* (1875, 2nd ed. 1895), § 5, and *Ap. geu.*, 1891 (vol. 9, pts. 3 and 4, of Gehardt and Haenack's *Lehrb. u. Unters.*); Sordani, *Entstehung der Apostelgesch.* (1893); van Manen, *Pantheus*, 1: *die Entstehung der Apostelgesch.* (1893); Feine, *Eine vorchristliche Überlieferung des Lukas*, 1894 (only on chaps. 1-12); Spitta, *Ap. geu.*, 1897; Clemens, *Chronol. der Paulin. Br.*, 1891 and (for chaps. 1-5) in *St. Paul*, 1900, pp. 207-257; Joh. Weiss, *St. Paul*, 1896, pp. 380-420; 'Das Judentum in der Apostelgesch.', etc., and 1898, pp. 252-260; 'Die Chronol. der Paulin. Br.' *Gew. in Rom.*, 1894, pp. 373-382 (only on the first chapters); Jungst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgesch.*, 1895; Hagenfeld, *Zf. N.*, 1896, pp. 15-17, 176-217, 284-447, 481-517; 1896, pp. 21-79, 177-219, 331-382, 427-555.

No satisfactory conclusion has as yet been reached along these lines; but the agreement that has been arrived at upon a good many points warrants the hope that at least some conclusions will ultimately gain general recognition. It is certainly undeniable that this kind of work has sharpened the wits of the critics, and rendered visible certain inequalities of representation, points and seams, even in places where they are not so conspicuous as in 7 vs 8 vs 4.

Thus the tumult in Thessalonica is told in 17 vs 1 for a second time after 17 vs 1 in a disturbing way that leaves it impossible to say who it was that the Jews were trying (17 vs 1) to drag before the people, or why it was that Jason (17 vs 6), whose part in the affair does not become clear till 17 vs 6, was brought before the authorities. It is probable that 13 vs 2 originally followed immediately on 13 vs 1. Similarly, the account of the wholesale miracles of the original apostles (1 vs 1 vs 12 vs 1) is interrupted by the interpolation of a fragment (1 vs 12 vs 14) which is not homogeneous. The least that could be done here would be to arrange as follows: 1 vs 1 vs 12 vs 1 vs 12 vs 14. But that the text should have become so greatly disturbed by transposition is much less likely than the supposition of several successive interpolations. On 18 vs 28-29 (1 vs 1), see APOSTLES, and CHAPS. VI or VII, § 4 vs 5. In the latter passage (1 vs 1) the attempt has been made, by separation of sources, to solve questions to which otherwise only tendency criticism seemed to provide an answer. Similarly in the case of 21 vs 26. After the presbyters have just praised God for the success of Paul's mission to the Gentiles (21 vs 24) the proposal that he should put it in evidence how strictly leged he is in his views follows with but little fitness.

And had Paul been engaged in carrying out a Nazirite vow, it is hardly likely that his presence in the temple (21 vs 27 vs 28) could have led to an attempt on his life. A reason for this attempt is found (21 vs 28 vs 29) in the alleged introduction of a Gentile within the sacred precincts of the temple, a proceeding which no one would guess to be simultaneous with the presentation of an offering. Since, moreover, for a Nazirite vow at least thirty days are necessary (see above, § 3), it has been proposed to detach 21 vs 28 vs 29, and to refer the seven days of 21 vs 27 to the duration of the feast of Pentecost which Paul, according to 20 vs 1, was to spend in Jerusalem. 21 vs 27 vs 28 vs 29 would then also, along with 20 vs 1 and 21 vs 28, belong to the Lukaney Record.

We come now to the question how far this distribution of the matter among various sources affects the credibility of the book. It is indeed

12. Bearing of these theories on trustworthiness.

time that, in the case last mentioned, the archaeological mistake of assigning only seven days for the Nazirites would become more comprehensible if we recognised a variety of sources; yet even so we should have to admit that there is an error, and that the editor had been guilty of the oversight of incautiously bringing the two accounts together. And he, as well as the source from which 21 vs 28 vs 29 is perhaps taken, would still remain open to the reproach of having, under the influence of a tendency of the kind described above (§ 6), ascribed to Paul a repudiation of his principles of freedom from the law. It cannot be too strongly insisted that in as far as Acts, viewed as a homogeneous work, has to be regarded as a tendency writing, it is impossible to free it wholly of this character by distributing the matter among the various sources. The most that can be done is in cases of excessive misrepresentation to put this in a softer light. In general, however, the editor has dealt with his sources in so masterful a manner that an unhappy lot in the selection and arrangement of the pieces has but rarely to be noted. It has been a practice among some of the scholars enumerated above to claim absolute trustworthiness for the whole of an assumed source which they suppose themselves to have made out, irrespective of the nature of some of the contents, as soon as they have found it trustworthy in some particulars. Such an abuse of discrimination of sources in the interest of apologetics is not only illegitimate; it speedily revenges itself. These very critics for the most part find themselves compelled to attribute to their secondary sources and their editors an extraordinary amount of ignorance and awkwardness. In particular, all theories according to which a single assumed source of which the 'we' sections form part is taken as a basis for the whole of Acts must from the outset be looked upon with distrust. There is nothing to suggest that any diary writing companion of Paul also wrote on the beginnings of the church at Jerusalem, and, even if there were, any assumption that his information on such a subject would be as trustworthy as his assertions founded on his own experience, would be quite unwarranted.

The results then with reference to the trustworthiness of Acts, as far as its facts are concerned, are these:

13. Trustworthiness of narrative.

Apart from the 'we' sections no statement merits immediate acceptance on the mere ground of its presence in the book. All that contradicts the Pauline epistles must be absolutely given up, unless we are to regard these as spurious. Positive proofs of the trustworthiness of Acts must be tested with the greatest caution.

Ramsay thinks he has discovered such proofs in the accuracy with which geographical names and contemporary conditions are reproduced in the journey of Paul (*Church*, 1894, 1 vs 108; *St. Paul*, 1905). Some of the most important of these points will be considered elsewhere (ACTS VII, §§ 1 vs 14, 2 vs 1). On the other detailed instances many will be found to hang down on closer examination.

For example, Ramsay goes so far as to say (*St. Paul*, chap. II, 4): 'Aquila, a man of Pontus, settled in Rome, bears a Latin

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name; and must therefore have belonged to the province and not to non-Roman Pontus. This is a good example of Luke's principle to use the Roman provincial divisions for purposes of classification. As if a Jew from non-Roman Pontus, settled in Rome, could not have assumed a subsidiary Roman name, as countless other Jews are known to have done! And as it Luke would not have found it necessary to call him Hieronikos even if he were from non-Roman Pontus!

But it is not necessary to go thus into details which might be adduced as proving the author's accurate acquaintance with localities and conditions. For Ramsay attributes the same accuracy of local knowledge also to one of the revisers of the text, assigned by him to the second century A.D., whose work is now preserved to us in D, and also to the author of one source of the *Acta Pauli et Thecla* (§ 3), assigned by him to the second half of the first century, whose work, however, he declares to be pure romance (*Church*, 2564). If so, surely any person acquainted with Asia Minor could, even without knowing very much about the experiences of Paul, have been fairly accurate about matters of geography, provided he did not pick up his information so late in the second century as to betray himself by his language, as according to Ramsay (2364 [end] 5 [end] 759 83-6; *St. Paul*, see Index under 'Hezan Text') the above mentioned reviser, whose work lies at the foundation of D, has done. In point of fact, Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*, 230 f., 2nd ed. 230 f.; ET 1274 f.) thinks that in Acts 13 f. the account of the route followed does come from an authentic source, but yet that the contents of the narrative are almost legendary.

Such, for example, are the incidents at Paphos in Cyprus, 13-12 (see BURGESS); also 13-14 46 f. 141 f., spoken of above (§ 4); the speech in 13-15-41 (see below, § 14); the healing of a lame man, 13-16, recorded after the model of 3-1-11; the paying of divine honours to Barnabas and Paul, 14-11-13, after the manner of the heathen fables (*Philemon* and *Reneis*, in adjacent Phrygia, see *Ov. Met.*, 8-821 (25 f.)); and the institution of the presbyterial organisation, 14-23. In the first main division of the book (1-12), great improbability attaches to the publicity with which the Christian community comes to the front, to the sympathy that it meets with even among the masses, although not joined by them (2-47 431 513), and to the assertion that only the Sadducees had anything against it, and they only on account of the doctrine of the resurrection (4-1 f.), while the Pharisees had given up all the enmity they had displayed against Jesus, adopting a slightly expectant attitude. See, further, BARNABAS, BARBARAS, GILES, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, PHILIP, PETER, CORNELIUS, CHRISTIAN, and also, for the journeys of Paul to Jerusalem, and the attempted rearrangement of them, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 1.

But, after every deduction has been made, Acts certainly contains many data that are correct, as, for example, especially in the matter of proper names such as Jason (17-5), Titus Justus, Crispus, Sosthenes (18-7 f. 17), or in little touches such as the title *ποταρχαί* (17-6), which is verified by inscriptions¹ for Thessalonica, as is the title of *πρωτοῦς* (28-7) for Malta, and probably the name of Sergius Paulus as proconsul for Cyprus (13-7). Only, unfortunately, we do not possess the means of recognising such data as these with certainty, where confirmation from other sources is wanting.

With regard to the speeches, it is beyond doubt that the author constructed them in each case according to his own conception of the situation. In doing so he simply followed the acknowledged practice of ancient historians. (Thucydides [i. 221] expresses himself distinctly on this point; the others adopt the custom tacitly without any one's seeing in it anything morally questionable.) This is clearly apparent at the very outset, in Acts 1-15-22.

It is not Peter who needs to recount these events to the primitive Church already familiar with them; it is the author of Acts who feels alk I am to tell his readers of them. And it was only for the readers of the book that there could have been any need of the note that the Aramaic expression *Avēdama* belonged to the Jerusalem dialect, for that was the very dialect

which the supposed hearers were using (cp. further THEODAS, and JENAS of GALILAEA).

The speeches of Paul in Acts embody a theology quite different from that of his epistles.

A thought like Acts 17-23 is nowhere to be found in the epistles. Paul derives idolatry, not, as in Acts 17-29 f., from excusable ignorance, but from deliberate and criminal rejection of God (Rom. 1-18-12). Only in Acts 13-38 f. 16-31 20-28, do some really Pauline principles begin to make themselves heard. The most characteristically Pauline utterances come, in fact, from Peter (15-7-11), or even James (15-19); see COUSCH, *DE JERUSALEM*, § 83. The speeches of Paul, especially that in 13-16-41, are so like those of Peter in idea, construction, and mode of expression, that the one might easily be taken for the other. For example, Paul's speech in 13-18 f. resembles Peter's in 10-43. Or cp. 3-17-13 f. (Peter) with 13-27 f. (Paul); 2-25-31 with 13-35-37; or 6-14-18 for 'Christ' in 3-14 with 22-14, but also with Stephen's in 7-55. For the speeches of Paul, especially 13-16-41, show affinities also with that of Stephen: see 13-17-19 22 as compared with 7-26 f. 36 45 f. In like manner, the apologetic discourses of Paul in his own defence betray clearly an unhistorical origin (see § 7).

In short, almost the only element that is historically important is the Christology of the speeches of Peter. This, however, is important in the highest degree. Jesus is there called *παῖς Θεοῦ*—that is to say, according to 4-25, not 'son,' but 'servant' of God (3-13-26),—holy and righteous (3-14 4-27 2-27); he was not constituted Lord and Messiah before his resurrection (2-36); his death was not a divine arrangement for the salvation of men, but a calamity the guilt of which rested on the Jews (3-13-15 5-30), even if it was (according to 2-21 4-28) fore-ordained of God; on earth he was anointed by God (1-27) with holy spirit and with strength, and he went about doing good and performing cures, but, according to 10-38, only upon denunciations; his qualification for this is in the same passage traced to the fact that God was with him. God performed miracles through him (2-22). A representation of Jesus so simple, and in such exact agreement with the impression left by the most genuine passages¹ of the first three gospels, is nowhere else to be found in the whole NT. It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source. It is, nevertheless, a fact sufficiently surprising that it has been transmitted to us by a writer who in other places works so freely with his sources. At the same time, however, the *Didachē* or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, especially 9 f., also bears evidence that in the second century, in spite of Paul, and of the Epistles to the Hebrews, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians, and of the Gospel of John, an equally simple Christology still appeared at least in many Christian circles. That the writer of Acts also respected it may be conjectured from the fact that he has not put into the mouth even of Paul any utterances that go beyond it (13-23 22-14).

It has already been repeatedly assumed in the preceding sections that the writer of Acts is identical with the writer of the Third Gospel. The similarity of language, style, and idea, constantly leads back to this conclusion.

Differences of spirit between the two writings are so difficult to find that their existence at any time can be held only on the assumption of a subsequent revision of the Gospel, with a view to their removal, by the author of Acts.

The most important divergence between the two books is that according to Acts 1-3 (cp. 13-31) the ascension of Jesus did not occur till forty days after his resurrection, while according to Lk. 24-1 26 31 46 50 f., as also the Epistle of Barnabas (15-6) and probably even in 20-1, it was on the very evening of the resurrection.

According to the original view, as indicated by the absence of any special separate mention of the ascension, in 1 Cor. 15-4-12; Rom. 8-34; Heb. 1-3 10-12 12-2; Eph. 1-2 2-6 19 f.; 1 Pet. 3-18-22, and perhaps even also in Acts 2-32-33 (see *op. cit.* 2-3) the resurrection and the ascen-

¹ Such passages as Mk. 16-7 2-12 13-1 13-6 1; Lk. 11-20-22; Mt. 16-5-12 11 13 17 19 f. as contrasted with those in the same gospels which already present secondary reproductions of the same facts: viz., Mt. 12-10 12-29 (ἐξουσία); see below, § 17 f. 24 36 13-33 12-40 11-21 21; Lk. 7-21; Mk. 3-28-30.

¹ A detailed discussion by Dr. Wm. Burton will be found in the *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1887, pp. 887-888.

² Unless the passage be indeed a legendary development of Mt. 27-3-10.

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sion were the same act, and all appearances of the risen Jesus were thought of as being made from heaven. Whether this follows also from 'growth before' (*πρόσθεσις*) in Mk. 16:7 and in Mt. 28:7, may be doubted. In any case the forty days indicate a significant development of the idea, already at work in the Third Gospel, that before his ascension Jesus must have continued on earth to maintain intercourse with his disciples, in order that he might instruct them as to matters which he had not been able to take up before his death. A development of this kind in the story of the ascension required time. Even the repetition of the list of apostles in 1:13 from Lk. 6:14-16 marks Acts as a new work. It is, accordingly, very rash to suppose that Lk. 1:1-4 applies to Acts also, or to draw conclusions from this.

As the book is dedicated to Theophilus, Blass thinks (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1874, pp. 720-723) that the latter must, according to the custom that prevailed in antiquity, have been named in the title (that the title *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* is not original, see above, § 311). The same custom, too, he argues, would require the author to mention his own name in the title. Accordingly, as, since the end of the second century, the author has been believed to be Luke (see above, § 9), Blass thinks he is justified in restoring the title thus—*ΛΟΓΙΑ ἈΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ ΠΡὸς Θεοφιλον λόγος δευτέρου*. But this pure conjecture cannot overthrow the proof that the book does not come from a companion of Paul. On the contrary, had the title really run thus, it must have been regarded as a fiction. We should have had to suppose that the author, not content with suggesting (by retaining the 'we' of his source [see § 11]) that he had been a companion of Paul on his missionary journeys, desired to make this claim expressly in the title.

The date of composition of Acts thus falls at least some time later than that of the Third Gospel. The

16. Date. Litter is now, on account of its accurate allusions to actual incidents in the destruction of Jerusalem (Lk. 19:43 f., 21:20), almost universally set down to a date later than 70 A.D., and on some other grounds, which, however, it must be said, are less definite, even considerably later (see GOSPELS). Similarly, for Acts, the dying out of all recollection of the actual conditions of apostolic times—in particular, the ignorance as to the gift of tongues (see GILLES, SPIRITUAL) and the approaches to hierarchical ideas (17:20 8:14-17 13:28 20:27)—points only in a general way to a late period. Hence the surest datum is the author's acquaintance with the writings of Josephus.¹ For an instance see THEODAS. Josephus completed his *Jewish War* shortly before 70 A.D., his *Antiquities* in 93 or 94, the work *Against Apion* after that, and his *Autobiography* somewhat after 100. As to the inferior limit, Marcion about 140 A.D. had the Third Gospel, but not Acts, in his collection; but we are not aware whether he rejected it or whether it was wholly unknown to him. As for the Apostolic Fathers, 1 Clem. 18:1, if it have any literary connection with Acts 13:22, can just as easily be the earlier as the later; and as regards the rest of their writings, apart from Polycarp 12 (= Acts 2:24), dating from about 130 A.D., we can find traces only of the speech of Stephen, in the Epistle of Barnabas (16:2 9:4 f. 5:11 4:8 14:3 = Acts 7:50 51 52 40-43), which in 16:4 speaks of Hadrian's projected building, about 130 A.D., of a heathen temple in place of the Jewish temple as imminent.² In Justin, about 152 A.D. (not 137; see *Apol.* 1896, No. 1230, p. 98), the points of contact are more marked. If Acts 20:13-35 has many ideas in common with those of the Pastoral Epistles, the indiscriminate use of *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐπίσκοποι* (20:17-28) shows that the author has not yet reached the stage in the development of church government which characterizes the First Epistle to Timothy, the latest of the Pastoral Epistles, which wishes to see the bishop, conceived of as a sole ruler and represented in the

person of Timothy as apostolic vicar, set over the presbytery (1 Tim. 5:17). The date of Acts must, accordingly, be set down as somewhere between 105 and 130, or, if the gospel of Luke already presupposes acquaintance with all the writings of Josephus, between 110 and 130 A.D.

The conclusions reached in the foregoing sections would have to be withdrawn, however, and the author of Acts regarded as an eye-witness, if the views recently put forth by Blass³ should prove to be correct. According to Blass,

17. Blass's Theory. the markedly divergent readings of D, and those of the same character found in some other authorities,² all came from the author's rough draft of the book (which he calls *β*), while the ordinary text, *α*, found in B, S, A, C, etc., comes from the fair copy of this intended for Theophilus, which the author (being a poor man) made with his own hand. In doing so he changed his original—without special tendency or motive—and, still more, abridged it as only authors do in copying their own work. And here, as we have intimated, Blass says, the author can be no other than the eye-witness who can give his narrative in the first person with 'we'.³ To pronounce upon this certainly interesting hypothesis is, however, not nearly so simple a matter as Blass allows himself to suppose.

(a) Blass himself says that D and the additions or marginal readings in Syr. hl. in many cases already exhibit a combination of *α* and *β*, and that—as is witnessed by 15:5 18:10, etc.—where both sources coincide—this occurred even in the archetype itself from which both (directly or indirectly) are derived.

But there are many cases where Blass ought to have expressly recognized this combination, where, instead of doing so, he simply deletes something in *β* without giving further explanation. For example, *ἐκθαύβοι* at the end of 3:11 comes from *α* along-side of *οἱ δὲ θαυμάζοντες ἐσθάρουν* in *β*, before *τῷ σταδίῳ*; but Blass does not recognise the *ἐκθαύβοι* as incorporated in *β* (i.e., by the process of combination just mentioned), though it is supported by the best witnesses for this text. Similarly, *πιστεύσαντι ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ* (11:17), coming from *α*, is an expression parallel to *πιστεύσαντι ἐν αὐτῷ* after *τοῖς μαρτυροῦν ἀλλοῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον* in *β* at the end of the verse. Here Blass wrongly questions the well-supported *πιστεύσαντι ἐν αὐτῷ*.

He points out other corruptions also in the witnesses to *β*.

For example, in cod. 137 and Syr. hl. after *Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνης* (27:2), instead of *θεσσαλονικίως*, the words *θεσσαλονικέων δὲ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Σκευῆδος*, which can originally have taken their place in the margin only as a reminiscence of 20:4 and not as a variant. He does well to put all such things on one side when trying to reconstruct an old recension *β* as distinct from *α*.

¹ *St. Kr.* 1834, pp. 86-112; *Acta Apostolorum*, editio philologica, Götting, 1895; and *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam Romanam*, Leipzig, 1896. The theory of Blass finds a supporter in Joh. Belsert, *Beitr. zur I. theol. d. Ap. gesch. auf Grund der Lesarten des Cod. D in seiner Genossenschaft* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897); it is argued against by Bernhard Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Ap. gesch.*, 1897, v. d. 17 part 1 of Gebh. and Hamack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen* (well worthy of attention, though not comprehensive enough). On Ramsay, see above, § 13.

² The additions and marginal readings of the Harklensian version (Syr. hl.); the Henry palimpsest (ed. Sam. Berger, 1870); an Old Latin text of Acts 11:43-48 and 28:15-31, inserted in a MS of the Vg. from Perpignan (also edited by Berger); *Un ancien texte latin des actes des apôtres*, 1895, reprinted from *Notes et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, tome 26, 1 partie; Cyprian, and Augustine, and in a secondary degree the composite texts E, 137, Gigan Livorum (ed. Belsheim, 1879), Sahid., Irenaeus, etc.

³ In his second book Blass no longer calls *β* the rough draft of Luke himself, but says: 'Actu primum exemplar postquam Romae confectum est vel mansit ibidem vel Christianis Romanis ab autore ad describendum commodatum est; altera autem forma, carentis ab initio fuit illi Theophilum illum visisse . . . putat' (pp. vii, 7). In support of this, he appeals especially (p. vii) to the more detailed description in *α* of the journey on the coast of Crete (Acts 27), which would be more interesting in the first than in Rome, and on the other hand to the greater precision in *β* with regard to the journey by sea to Malta and to Italy, which would be interesting to people at Rome. This seems, however, to be no improvement on his earlier view, since (to mention no other reason) the dedication to Theophilus is to be found also in *β*.

¹ The evidence for this has of late been brought together with very great completeness by Krenkel (*Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche*, 1894); see also the *Fortnightly Rev.* 22 485-501 [1897].

² The reference cannot be to the (historically very doubtful) rebuilding of the Jewish temple (about 120-125?). The *καὶ* after *αὐτοῖς* must be deleted, a coding to the best MSS and indeed as the connection demands.

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(A) Further, before putting forward this alleged recension as the original draft of Luke the eye-witness, he ought to have established it from the witnesses on objective principles; but there is often no indication of his having done so.

From the very instances in which he gets his readings for β —readings often indeed found in only one of them—he omits a great many additions and readings which, judged by the criteria mentioned above, must (a) show no signs of secondary character but stand on exactly the same footing with those which he adopts. It is very misleading when in Δ^c Δ^c (where he deals with only a selection of instances) it is made to appear (p. 117) as if there were in fact only four passages (2227 839 94 27) which from their start on should belong to β , but are open to the suspicion of having been interpolated, and value is attached to the fact that D and Δ^c Flenby palimpsest are free of them. For although Blass, in his second edition, omits such additions as $\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\alpha\iota$ after $\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha$ (34), $\kappa\alpha\iota \mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho$ before $\kappa\alpha\iota \theta\epsilon\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$ (63), $\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota$ after $\nu\epsilon\mu\alpha$ (70), which these two authorities agree in supporting, he still, in view of the attestation of the same documents, rejects the addition of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ of the attestation of the same documents, and the reading $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ for $\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ before $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ (181), and the reading $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ for $\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ before $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\epsilon$ (187). Moreover, in spite of weighty testimony, Blass rejects, for example, the Hebrewism $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\epsilon\alpha\iota$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\beta\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ in 1343, which even Tischendorf (in α) accepts. (In his second edition he is hesitant on the authority of the Latin of the Gigas in Greek MSS.) on the single testimony of Augustine, he adds before $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in 113 the words $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota \gamma\alpha\iota$, on that of the Flenby palimpsest alone he deletes 912. In these last two cases, as well as in many others, it is difficult to reproach a suspicion that Blass allowed his decision to be influenced by his hypothesis. The credibility of the author and the possibility of making him out to have been Luke would have been called in question had he not intended to convey, in agreement with Mt. 27, that Judas had hanged himself, with the additional implication that the rope had broken, and had he recorded in the β version of so remarkable a character that even Blass finds it too remarkable. This last, therefore, he questions even in α . That it might also have struck the scribe of the Palimpsest or one of his predecessors as too marvellous, and that Augustine or one of his predecessors could have hit upon the reconciliation between Mt. and Acts adopted by Blass is not taken into consideration. It is, however, a reconciliation that cannot be maintained, for assuredly Luke would not have left out the most important particulars of a narrative, namely, that the rope had broken, and that Judas had hanged himself over the edge of a precipice described. Enough has been said to show what caution requires to be exercised with respect to the establishment of Blass's β text, quite apart from any judgment as to the manner of its origin.

(c) The very greatest difficulties present themselves when it is attempted to establish β in a really objective way. In many cases, more than two readings present themselves—so many sometimes that Blass in his first edition silently gives up the attempt to settle β ; though in the second edition, as he (here) prints only β , he has been compelled to determine its text throughout.

Take, for example, 1418 or 1011. Cases such as these are the first indication we meet with that we have to deal not *verum tantum* but with *several forms of the text*, and thus that Blass's hypothesis is false because insufficient. But, more particularly, there is an entire group of MSS. HLP which on Blass's own admission contains, if not so many various readings, readings quite as independent in character as those in β : e.g., 146 the $\delta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ etc., which has found its way into the TR, and plays so important a part in the criticism of the epistle to the Galatians (see GALATIA, § 9; also below, under *m*). In its divergent readings E comes still closer than HLP to D; in D and E the substance is often the same, and only the expression different. Blass conjectures, therefore, that in the text from which E was copied additions from β had once been inserted in Greek and Latin, and that the Greek had afterwards faded; they had therefore to be restored by translating back from the Latin. In point of fact, this would explain very well why the addition of D in 12: (καὶ ἐκείνη ἀκούει τοὺς ἁγίους) becomes in E καὶ ἐκείνη σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀκούει, and would apply equally well to some ten other examples pointed out by Blass. But such readings as the *τοὺς ἁγίους* ἀκούει of E in 12 after the first καὶ; or the *subj. καὶ ὁμοῦσιν* in E instead of the ind. ἀκούουσιν, γὰρ (ἀὶ παρὰ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν). Its addition after 5:15; or ἰσχυροὺς ἐκ τῆς δυναμὸς in E instead of ἀκονατοὺς ἐκ 5:10, such readings do not admit of this explanation; they are simply instances of the same kind of freedom as that with which a changes β (or β changes α). The same freedom may have manifested itself in other cases where Blass's hypothesis is about E, would it not be considered adequate enough; the hypothesis therefore demands fuller investigation¹ before it can be accepted (see further below, under *c*).

¹ In Acts 2, which we have specially examined with this view, we find that Blass omits no fewer than seven readings of E, which on his principles ought to have been noted as variants:

(d) On the other hand, it is proved that the Greek text of *D* rests partly on retranslation from the Latin. Of the many passages which show this, the following are

Of the many passages adduced in support of this by Rendell, Harris, indeed (*Codex Bezae Texts and Studies*, ed. Robinson, pp. 117-119), the present writer holds only nine to be really valid (3:20, 13:20, 18:2) and is surely worthy of remark that three of these variants, when so much that is less important is to be found—but simply passed over as *et cetera* or *et cetera* *facilia*; while the other (13:20) in the second, only Harris's hypothesis is merely mentioned by Blass, and that taken into further account. This would from his point of view have been evolvable if the Latinisms in D had been merely so has even an author writing in Greek might himself have employed, and in point of fact has employed in, for example, 17σ (in α and β *καταπαύειν* to *καταπαύειν* *αὐτοῦ*). It is to this category that the only instances from D discussed by Blass belong: *ἐπιθεῖναι* for *ἐπιβάλλειν* (11:2), *εἶναι* for *οὐκ εἶναι* (19:3), *ὑποκρίναι* for *κεφαλὴ* (*κεφαλὴ* for *πρωτὸς*) (16:22). But these last two Blass himself does not venture to attribute to Luke. The others are led, according to this view, to the much more serious result that the author of A is. The same holds good of all Harris's nine passages referred to above. In 13:21-22, we find an *οὐκ* being unaccountably added to an expression in which *καὶ* or *καὶ* *καὶ* occurs, because the original expression had been rendered into Latin by wanting in *aut* (in like manner 5:3) only, the *aut* is now the *aut* in the Latin text; in 3:26-27, the infinitive preceded by the *ut* has its subject in the nominative instead of the accusative, because the construction had been changed in the Latin by the employment of a subordinate clause; in 15:26 we have *παράδοξον* instead of *παράδοξον*, because the participle had been rendered by *qui* *trahit* *montem*; 14σ has *πρὸς* or *in* instead of *ad*, *inter* *venit* of *fingerunt*; 1:52 directly concerns one of the readings of β. Lastly, 19:2 directly concerns one of the readings of β. According to Blass this runs: *καὶ συνεχρήσθη ὁ λαὸς ἡ πόλις*, instead of *καὶ ἐπλήσθη ἡ πόλις τῆς συνεχρήσθη (so α)*. But this is found only in the Giza as a secondary authority—and in Pesh., which according to Blass is to a still less extent an authority for β. In this case the sole authority (in the proper sense of the word) for β, has: *καὶ συνεχρήσθη ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ*. As Harris has pointed out, this *αὐτοῦ* is only to be a translation from the Latin text of D: *et explicit est tota civitas confusio(n)em*. Thus a correct rendering of the Greek of α as above, but *confusio* is not used for *αὐτοῦ*—compare, for example, 1k. 14σ and *confundit* (often) for *αὐτοῦ*—*αὐτοῦ*, however, could in the first instance have been employed in retranslation only if the verb was *ἐπλήσθη* (*ἐπλήσθη*). *συνεχρήσθη*, therefore, can only have come in later, from another copy, to take the place of *ἐπλήσθη*. How precarious a proceeding it is to seek for the most thorough of such vicissitudes. If Harris has in any instances proved retranslation from the Latin, the other instances also, though in themselves incapable of proof, gain in probability. We mention only *ἐμὸν* for *ἐμε* (32:2), *ἵπ* for *ἡ* (32:2), and the additions *καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσκυνητῶν* (81:3), *αἰτίαν* (121), *ἥσαν* (3:4), *αὐτοῖς* (7:2), as also *καὶ ἐκείθεν κηρύσσει* to *εὐαγγελίζον* (1:2), the last four again being like 19:2 readings of β. In fact, it becomes a possibility that even such passages as reveal no error in retranslation were nevertheless originally Latin, and the suspicion falls naturally in the first instance upon the additions in β.

(c) *Other passages in B* we cannot accept as original, for the reason that they are *plainly derived from a fusion of two texts*:

It is possible that Luke can actually have written: (16 39) παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν εἰσέλτες· ἡγήροσαντες τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ὅτε αὐτοὶ δίκαιοι, καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς, λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἐξέλθατε, κ.τ.λ. (Col. 127 and the emendation in Syrlb. prove conclusively the inadmissibility of this repetition, by omitting (καὶ) ἐξαγαγόντες παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς λέγοντες. The probability is rather that παρεκάλουν stood, in the (or) MS with indirect speech, and in the other direct narration (in the MSS); in this case ἐξελθεῖν had reference originally to the city, καὶ ἐξέλθατε, and not, as now, to the prison. In 20 18 the addition in B—ὅσοτε οὐκ αὐτὸν—wholly tautologous as it is after ὡς δὲ παρεργετοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν, is certainly not to be attributed to the author: it is a variant of ὡς δὲ κ.τ.λ. which was at first noted in the margin and after-

besides three others which he does notice (233.41-47), four of these seven (222 ὅμοις πάντες instead of αὐτοῖς; 234 δι' αὐτοῦ after λῦσις; 243 οἱ μικρὰ after σημεῖα, and τὸν χερσὶν before τὴν ἀποστολὴν) are unsusceptible of explanation by means of his hypothesis.

As another instance we may add διαπριξάντες . . . καὶ ἐπιβάντες (14.14) *considerant et villam suam et ci. 14.13.24.16.17.24.20.16*. Moreover ὅς (for ὁ) ἀλλήλας (42.15) is due to retransliteration of *omni locative est*; similarly 3.1.4.12.11. And the ὡς of 11.25 (ἐξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς συνταξάν παρὰ κατέν ἐξῆλθεν) can hardly be explained otherwise than as derived from the parallel Latin text: *cum (intensis) [et] deprecabatur venire*.

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wards crept into the text of DA Vg. Gias, but in E, on the other hand, with skilful avoidance of tamology, was changed to *ἀποβυβαίνω*. The case is similar with the addition in β (found only in D) *ἐξελθόντες τὸ πῦρ* an addition which, moreover, comes in very awkwardly after *παράγοντες δὲ ἀπὸ πύργου καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς*, especially as, instead of *ἀντικαθεστάναι*, D goes on to say *καὶ ἀντικαθίσταντο*. Here even Blass asks whether perhaps *παράγοντες* may have been wanting in β .

Yet, it may be said that, in this and in the similar cases here passed over, the hypothesis of Blass is simply deprived of one of the arguments on which its demonstration rests, while there appear to be enough of them left.

(f) Decisive, however, against this appearance, is the fact that *precisely* the most characteristic of the variations of text between α and β bear witness against Blass's theory. This confutation of his hypothesis follows inevitably from the hypothesis itself.

First in proportion to the clearness and pointedness of β and the weakness of α in these respects, is the improbability of the author's having with his own hands obscured and perverted the sense. And here in the meantime we can leave altogether out of account the question whether or not he was also the eye-witness. In any case, after writing in his draft of 24.7 that it was on account of his wife Priscilla that Felix left Paul behind, he would not in his fair copy simply that it was on account of the Jews—even if, as Blass thinks, both statements were correct. If in his draft he had stated that Paul had proclaimed the apostolic decree, not only in the later course (16.4), but also at the outset, of his new missionary journey (15.4), he would not in his fair copy have omitted to state this in the first and therefore more important of the places. In 11's instance even Blass considers an interpolation in β as conceivable in 15.41, but chiefly because the expression seems to him to be somewhat obscure. In 22.29, although the officer is in fact because a Roman citizen has been bound, Paul is not released, according to α , till the following day, not as in β , immediately (*παραυτίκα*). Blass himself says (32. A2. 105): 'one cannot but be astonished at the carelessness of the abridgement in α '. All the more readily might it have occurred to him that it was the writer of β that perceived and corrected the defects of α . In his *Éditio philologica* Blass wishes *τῇ ἐκείνῃ* without any authority either deleted or changed to *τῇ ἐκείνῃ*. This would be justifiable only if they were perfectly certain that the narrative, even in α , is all of one piece and absolutely to the point. But such critics as Spitta, Clemen, and Jungst have assigned 22.29 and 22.30 to two separate sources. If it is only the addition *ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐδούκεν ἰσχυρὰ ἐκείνῃ* after 14.2 in the draft that enables us to understand how it was that in spite of the disturbance to, according to β , persecution) mentioned in 14.2, Paul and Barnabas remained in Iconium, why does the author omit the words in his fair copy? More accurately considered, they are to be regarded as an interpolation, designed to do away with the contradiction, an interpolation which carried with it the further change of *ἐκείνῃ* (14.2) into *ἡ δὲ ἐκείνῃ* and, in 14.5, the interpolation of *ἐκείνῃ* and *ἐκείνῃ*. It is not in D, however, that this interpolation occurs, but only in Syr. li., which elsewhere also smooths away the evidences of the work of various hands in D—as, for example, in 19.14 by the introduction of *οὗ* before *ἐκείνῃ*, in 18.6 by the omission of *δὲ* after *ἀντικαθεστάναι*, and in 14.2 by omitting the last two words in the quite tautologous expression of *ἀρχισυνάγωγῃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς συναγωγῆς*. If, as Blass supposes, it were necessary to hold that Syr. li. has preserved the original, whom could we possibly imagine, for example, to have added the words *τῆς συναγωγῆς*, or omitted the words *ἰερὸν καὶ ἱερὸν*? But, moreover, in 14.25 the changes mentioned above would not have been at all necessary unless first 14.2 had been wrongly interpolated between 14.1 and 14.3. Even though it may perhaps be a fragment from another source, 14.2 has its immediate continuation in 14.3. Here even Ramsay supposes a 'corruption': 'only it is 14.3 which he takes for a gloss.' Thus we come again up, on one of the many cases in which Blass holds β to be the original simply because it never occurs to him to bring the unity of Acts into question. Similarly, for example, he drops from β , and also even from α , the *ἐντὶ* of 19.14, which is irreconcilable with the *ἀποβυβαίνω* of 19.16, on the sole authority of D, without recognising that the omission in D may have been a late expedient for removing the contradiction just as much as the *διὰ* for *ἐντὶ* in Gias. If the author in his draft had referred to this (by a simple *ὁ δὲ*), why is it that in the clean copy his first use of the expression is to 15.6, so as almost inevitably to suggest the thought that a piece derived from another source begins at this point? (See CUNNINGHAM ON JERUSALEM, § 4). If, according to the rough draft (not only in 19.14, but also in 17.15 19.1 20.1), the journeys of Paul were determined by inspiration, why in his clean copy does the author leave this out in the last three of these passages? Here, too, we can see the inapplicability of another of Blass's assertions, viz. that nowhere in α or β is the narrative changed so as to become more interesting or more marvellous. Further, the author of this three-fold mention of divine inspiration has fallen into an oversight—that, namely, of attributing to Paul

(19.1) the intention of making a journey to Jerusalem just after he had returned from that city, without even the slightest reference to what had been said immediately before. For it is not possible to agree with Blass in regarding the journey of 19.1 as identical with that which had been intended by Paul, according to the addition of β in 18.21 (found also in TR). This last was actually carried out (18.22, see CUNNINGHAM ON JERUSALEM, § 1). And even if it had not been, the inspiration which hindered it must have been mentioned in 18.21, and not in 19.1, after he had already got back to Phrygia from Caesarea, which is only a few miles from Jerusalem. Cf. further BARNES, § 1.6.

(g) Over against these instances, the list of which could be greatly increased, there are a few mere cases in which β might really be held to be the original.

The additions *κατέβησαν τοὺς πύργους καὶ ἐβήσαν ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον* (12.10), *τῇ δὲ ἐκείνῃ* before 10.1 and in 27.1, *ἀπὸ πύργου πύργου* *τὸς δικαίους* after 19.1, *καὶ πενήντας ἐκ Τυρῶν* after 20.10, *δὲ ἡμῶν* before 20.1, before *ἐκείνῃ* after 27.1, do not seem to be inventions. And yet Blass not only opposes, at least in his first edition, the quite similar addition of *καὶ Μίνα* after 10.1 (21.1) in D, Sahr, and Gias, inasmuch as it could have been introduced from 27.1, but also refused to accept the *ἐκείνῃ* *αὐτῇ* *die* which we find in d (21.6) instead of *οἱ δὲ ἐκείνῃ* *ἡμῶν* *ἐκείνῃ* *τῶν ἡμῶν* (the Greek text of D is wanting here). On the other hand, in 21.1 to the text of α is not materially inferior to that of β , to which Blass attaches a very high value; for the imper. *ἀνταρῶντες* of 21.13 does not mean 'we went and arrived at Jerusalem' (this follows in 21.17), but 'we took the road for Jerusalem', and thus, even according to α , Miletus may very well be thought of as lying in a village between Caesarea and Jerusalem, as is expressly stated in β . The author, in this instance the author of the 'we' source, has here quite naturally taken for granted that the journey from Caesarea to Jerusalem cannot well be made in a single day.

(h) After what has been said, it is clear that *there is not the slightest necessity for assuming the bulk of the remaining variations in β , which are indecisive, to be original.*

They consist partly of what are simply changes in the construction, or periphrases, without changing the sense (for both see for example 16.1), and partly of a somewhat more vivid way of expressing the situation, which, however, in the cases we have in view—much more than seventy—could have been derived by a simple copyist from the adjoining context. Compare, for example, the very well-devised addition *τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀρβύλας αὐτοῦ* after 16.5.

(i) But do not these changes—materially so unimportant, but in form so considerable—at least prove that both forms of the text, no matter which is the earlier, emanate from the author of the book itself? They do not.

After having seen that precisely in the most significant passages of the book (see above, c and f) this does not hold, one must further remember that in III. P., and also in E, equally important variations are met with (see above, c). These, like those in β , resemble the variation by which one gospel is distinguished from another. Here, accordingly, transcribers have allowed themselves liberties which are usually regarded as permissible only to the authors of independent works. However small these liberties may seem to us, the fact cannot be denied. When in 21.1, for *οἱ ἐκείνῃ* (a reading which is a stumbling-block to many theologians even of the present day) D substitutes *οἱ ἐκείνῃ* *αὐτοῦ*, 'that he has exalted them', or at least 'that he has stirred them up', is not the liberty taken with the text just as bold as Mt. 5 in the exactly corresponding place, 12.3 (i.e., just before the reference to a league with Beelzebub), when he changes it to *ἐκείνῃ*? But this freedom of treatment is by no means without analogies elsewhere in the literature of the time. The text of Plato in the Flinders-Petrie papyri (Cunningham *Memoirs of the Academy of Dublin*, 1891) shows, similarly pronounced deviations from the ordinary text—deviations which, according to Usener (*Va. Gr. a. classisch. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, 1892, pp. 25-50, 181-183), are 1. the attributed to the copyists of the papyri, perhaps as early as within 120 years after Plato's death. In the papyrus text of Hyperides, *Agamemnon* (Philippides *Classical Texts from Papyri in Brit. Mus.*, ed. Kenyon, 1891), Blass himself discovers 'very often . . . interpolation and arbitrary emendation', and in the third Demosthenes letter published in the same collection, 'extensive variation' (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.*, 1892, p. 42, and 1894, p. 447).

In order more easily to comprehend the possibility of changes in the text on the part of a transcriber, it may be allowable to conjecture that he may have been accustomed to hear the book recited or even himself to recite it (with variations of the kind exemplified), on the basis of a perusal of it, but without its being committed to memory. Such recital was by no means impossible in the second century.

(k) The question whether D shows in the gospel the same variations as in Acts may be left out of account.

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It would be important only if it could be answered in the affirmative for Mt., Mk., and Jn. For, that in these cases also the rough draft should have gone into circulation as well as the clean copy is really very improbable. But the independent variations are too few to warrant an affirmative answer. If the same be the case with the Third Gospel, then, according to Blass's hypothesis, we must assume that the draft of it was not copied; but if they are sufficiently numerous, as Blass has recently declared (*Thermotaphis*, 21, 1895, pp. 127-131; and 22, 1896, pp. 219-311; *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, . . . *secundum Mattheum quod videtur Romanum*, 1897; *Philology of the Gospels*, 1903), there is nothing to hinder our applying to them the judgment applied to those in Acts, however that judgment may go.

Neither is it decisive of the question that p is frequently not fuller but briefer than a (c.g., 26.26.74).

(2) Very important, on the other hand, is Blass's assertion that the *uniformity of expression in α and β* is a 'very strong proof' that both recensions come from the hand of the author. But it is sufficiently met by Blass's own index.

According to this, there occur in the divergent passages of β (which are by no means of great compass) 64 words never elsewhere, 105 which are in A or the Third Gospel. If we deduct from Latin text 5 proper names, the α vouches for only 15 of them a Greek text (although Blass himself has not succeeded in giving them a Greek text which suggests the authorship of Luke), there still remain 49, of which 44 are stated in Blass's *Editio philologica*, p. 334. After deduction of 4 numbers, and the expressions $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, for which no other word could possibly have been chosen, the number stands at 44. So also in p. xxviii, although, from the somewhat different form of text adopted, the words that appear to be peculiar to β are not quite the same.

(iii) In support of Blass's highly important assertion that the *eye-witness Luke* 'now could have given his work in both the forms which we have in α and β , the most that can be adduced—out of all that has been remarked on in the course of the section—are the passages referred to under (g). But of the 'seven steps' in Jerusalem, Luke, according to Blass's own view, gained his knowledge not from personal observation, but only from the written (or oral) testimony of an eye-witness.

V. All the same, he takes the liberty, according to Blass, of leaving the note out of writing his fair copy. This being so, the omission of the five other data, even if with Blass one carries this back part of his own experience, he may equally well have obtained them from a written source, or from them (1911 205 271 s) belong, in point of fact, to the 'we' source. It is not at all easy to see why a transcriber might not have ventured to omit them, with so much else, as of inferior interest. We may therefore thankfully accept them, as well as other data in β which have been shown or may ultimately appear to be more original than α , as contributions to our historical knowledge, but they do not prove more than this - that in such cases β has drawn more faithfully from a true source than α has. There remains, accordingly, in favour of the eye-witness as author of Acts, only 11:28, where D (along with, essentially, the Perginian Latin text, and Augustine), instead of $\delta\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon$, has $\eta\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\gamma\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \eta\mu\omega\ \epsilon\phi\eta$, and then $\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \sigma\phi\epsilon\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$. This might possibly be from the 'we' source; but the inference is not that it can only have been by an eye-witness that a 'we' in α was set aside. Or why is it that 'we' is set aside by L in 16:7, by K^* (and differently by $ABCH$) in 21:10, by H in 25:6, by P and Vg , in 27:1 (*τὸν περὶ τοῦ Παύλου, ὁ εὐαγγ.* for $\eta\mu\omega\varsigma$), by HLP in 20:7 21:28 28:1 16:13; or C^* also in 28:1, by D also in 14:1 ($\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ for $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$)? And why, on the other hand, in 27:10 does it stand only in HLP Pesh. ? In all of these cases (except 27:1, see below) Blass has the same reading in β as in α . (In 16:13, he has, it is true, in β the $\delta\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ mentioned above, but he likewise obtains in α also (by the conjecture $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ for $\pi\epsilon\pi\eta\gamma\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\tau$) a reading in the third person.) He thus acknowledges $\delta\epsilon$ that it is caprice, not the eye-witness, that allowed themselves to remove the 'we', or to introduce it. Only in 11:28 does Blass assume that it was. Inke himself who changed into the third person in the 'we' which he had written in β . So also it is only in one place, and even that only in his second edition, that Blass regards the third person in place of 'we' as a reading of β - namely, in 20:5 (at the authority of D), for in 27:1 it is only through a change of the whole of the first part of the verse, rendering $\eta\mu\omega\varsigma$ impossible, that the third person is introduced. At all events, it is impossible that 11:28 as well as 11:28 can be derived from the 'we' source (see COMENT. OF JAC. LESTRUP, § 1). Even the 'we' of 11:29 may possibly have been the insertion of a transcriber who knew (with $Eus.$ *HE* iii. 4, 1, *De Tr. 16*, 7, and the Prologue [earlier than Jerome] to the Third Gospel in codd. Crisostom's, Cheltenham, Amiatinus, Fuldaensis, Antwerp, etc.) that Inke was understood to have been a native of Antioch. Or has Blass himself not recognised that Irenaeus also (III. 14), or one of Irenaeus's predecessors, has permitted himself on his own responsibility to say *non tenemus* instead

of *καὶ ἐξήρασαν* in 16a? The insertion of 'we' in 11z would not be holder than the other inflections changes in β. It ought to be noted that Syr.h1. is not implicated in this insertion; and the text of D is by no means in order, for it has *ἐξή* without telling what it is that Agabus did say (in the sense of *ἐλάλει*), while in the whole of the NT β is direct speech, or, as in four isolated exceptions in the case of Paul, at least indirect speech, that is connected with *ὁμιλῶ*. In Act 11z the indirect speech depends rather on *συνάμαρτον*.

(ii) A very dangerous support to the theory of Blass has been contributed by Nestle.¹

In his view *ἔβανυρε* in 11 (Hermas has *αἰγιαρισία*), instead of *ἡγίασθη* in 314, comes from a confusion of *בָּנָה* (Job 35:16 15:10) and *בָּנָה* in the *Semitic source of Acts 1:12* (Similarly, before him, Harris, p. 187, but otherwise pp. 162 f.), and in like manner *κόπος*, instead of *λαός* in 247, from confusion of *כָּפַל* and *כָּלַף* (or in Aramaic *כָּפַל* and *כָּלַף*). In itself considered, all evidence for the existence of a source (now pretty generally conjectured; see above, §§ 10 f.) for Acts 1:12 cannot be otherwise than welcome, but in the form thus suggested the evidence points rather to the conclusion (which Nestle leaves also open) that some person other than the author himself had, in transcription, adopted another translation of the Semitic text.

(v) No happier is an attempt of Conybeare to provide a new prop for Blass's theory,

He points out in the *American Journ. of Philology* (72 [1951], pp. 135-171) the most interesting fact that the Greek commentary of Chrysostom, and, to an even greater extent, the many extracts from it in an Armenian Catena on Acts, follow (or lead) and presuppose a series of β readings to be found partly in D (and earlier witnesses for the β text), partly only in Syr.h, or in cod. 137. He thinks he can thus prove that originally all the β readings were united in a single cod., in the copying of which they were partly removed to secure greater agreement with the prevailing text. But the number of β readings used by Chrysostom is insignificantly small when compared with those of which he shows no trace; and of such as *do not appear in D*. Conybeare has adduced only five. Chrysostom accordingly furnishes no stronger support for Conybeare's thesis than any other witness for β would, for each of them shames some of its readings with D and some with Conybeare's assumption that all β readings are from one hand: it will be explained equally well by supposing them due to the labours of successive copyists (or editors). Conybeare, however, goes much further, and asserts that Luke himself is the author of all these β readings. He ventures to rest this assertion on a single passage—a very small foundation for such a structure. Moreover, it would have been just as easy for another as for Luke to add 'so natural a phrase' as, according to Conybeare, *καταλαίρει* is in 19.25.

Blass's theory, then, it would seem, is so inadequately proved that it cannot be held to have subverted any of

18. Estimate of Blass's theory. The conclusions regarding Acts in preceding sections of this article. It

called attention in a very emphatic way to the importance of β . It has also raised new problems for the science of textual criticism—not to speak of the many valuable contributions it has itself made to that science and to the interpretation of the Book of Acts.

The value of Acts as a devout and edifying work, cannot be impaired by criticism. Indeed, the book is helped by criticism, which leads not only beyond a mere blind faith in

19. Religious value of Acts. is helped by criticism, which leads not only beyond a mere blind faith in its contents, but also beyond the unhistorical assumption that one is entitled to impose on the author the demands of strict historical accuracy and objectivity. Its very ideal, in apostolic times unhappily not reached, according to which the company of believers were of one heart and one mind (1 32), shows that the author knew where the true worth of Christianity was to be found. The early Christians pray everywhere with and for one another; they accompany the apostles and take pathetic farewells of them; they distribute their possessions and have all things in common. Particularly beautiful figures are those of Stephen, Cornelius, Lydia, and the jailer at Philippi. The jailer knows that most important question of religion, 'What must I do to be saved?' (16 30), and Peter also (11 2), as well as Paul, expresses the conviction that Christianity alone has a satisfactory answer to give. The writer of Acts is able to rise above all

¹ *Expositor*, Sept. 1895, pp. 235-239; *St. A'n.*, 1896, pp. 102-104.

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narrowness of sympathy (10.15.34f. 15.10); and the conception of God in 17.23, which cannot be attributed to Paul, is really much more apt, and is more closely in accord with the results of philosophically purified thought, than that apostle's, still hampered as it was by Jewish modes of thinking. Lastly, sayings such as we find in 21.16-20.34 11.22 21.11f. are of the deepest that can be said about the inner Christian life.

As Lightfoot remarks, the literature which has gathered round Acts is too large to catalogue profitably. To his own list (Smith's *D.P.*) may be added Holzmann's

20. Literature. comm. in the *Handb. comm. zum N.T.* (1879, 2nd ed. 1892). In the criticism of the book the most important landmarks are as follows: Schenkenburger (*Zwisch. d. Ap. gesch.*, 1841), whilst maintaining its absolute trustworthiness, credited it with tendency to vindicate Paul against Judaizers. Bauer (*Paulus*, 1845) and Keller (*Ap. gesch.*, 1854) regarded its tendency as 'reconciling' (unionistisch) in its scope, and its contents as untrustworthy. Bruno Bauer (*Ap. gesch.*, 1850), whilst holding the same view as to its tendency, went much further as regarded its contents, taking them to be free and often even purposeless invention. Overbeck, in his revised 4th edition of *De Wette's Handbuch* (1870), propounded a modification of the tendency theory substantially identical with that which has been set forth in the present article. Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*, 1874, 2nd ed. 1880; *Urchristentum*, 1887), Weissacker (*JA. Zeitabw.*, 1886, 2nd ed. 1892; *ET*, 1894-95), and Jülicher (*Früh. und späte NT*, 1894) were, often with justice, that the author wrote in simple faith, and has much that is trustworthy. The most thorough-going sceptic has been Mich. Baumgarten (*JA. gesch.*, 1882, 2nd ed. 1890), Karl Schmidt (*JA. gesch.*, i. 1882), and Nissen (*Comm.*, 1882). The most promising new phase of the criticism of the book is that which has for its task a separation of the sources (see above, § 11). In this connection mention must be made of a very remarkable return to tendency-criticism in a Marburg University Program of Johannes Weiss (which appeared after the present article was in type) entitled *Über die Absicht u. den literar. Char. der Ap. gesch.* (1897). Weiss regards Acts as 'an apology for the Christian religion (against the accusation of the Jews) addressed to pagans, showing how it has come about that Christianity has taken over from Judaism its world-mission.'

F. W. S.

ACUA, RV Acud (ΑΚΟΥΔ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5.30† = Ezra 245. AKKUB. 4.

ACUB (ΑΚΟΥΦ [B]), 1 Esd. 5.31† = Ezra 251. BAKBUB.

ACUD, see above, ACUA.

ADADAH (עֲדָדָה), Josh. 15.22†, probably (We., Di.) a corrupt reading for עֲדָרָה 'A'arah—i.e., Aroer (עֲרֹרָה); see AROER, 3.

(Αδαδα [AL]; ἀρουα [B], implying עֲרֹרָה; cp παγου. [1 S. 30. 28, 31].)

ADAH (עֲדָה; אַדָּה [ADEL], AD. 1).

1. Wife of Lamech (Gen. 4.19-23†, אַדָּה [L.]). See CAINTES, § 9.
2. Daughter of Elion the Hittite, and wife of Esau (Gen. 36.2 4.10 12.16 [R?]); called Basemath in Gen. 26.34 [P]. See BASMETH, 1.

ADALIAH (עֲדָלְיָה, § 35; once עֲדָלְיָה [No. 8]; 'Yahwē passes by,' cp. ADTEL; אַדְלִיָּה [B.M.]).

1. Grandfather of king Josiah, 2 K. 22.1 (עֲדֵיִרָה [B]; אֲדֵיִרָה, [A], i.e. עֲדָרָה, the name of Josiah's mother; אֲדֵיִרָה [L.]).

2. 1 Ch. 6.41 [20], see IUDAH, iii. 2.

3. b. Shimei, in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8.21 (אַדְיָה [B], אַדְיָה [A]).

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch. 9.12 (אַדְיָה [A]) Neh. 11.12 (B? om., אַדְיָה [L.]). This name should perhaps be read instead of JEDATHA (q.v. i. 1) in Neh. 12.6 or 7.

5 and 6. Two members of the line BANI (q.v. 2) in list of those with foreign wives (EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10.29 (אַדָּה [L.], אַדְיָה [M.L.]) = 1 Esd. 9.30, JEDUTH (אַדְיָה [B.M.], אַדְיָה [L.], and Ezra 10.30 (אַדְיָה [B.], אַדְיָה [A.L.]) = 1 Esd. 9.34 (אַדְיָה [L.], om. [B.A.]; E.V.).

7. b. Jorab, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A], § 15 [1] a), Neh. 11.5 (בִּזְרָה [B], אַדְיָה [A]).

8. The father of Manasseh [A], 2 Ch. 23.1 (בִּזְרָה, אַדְיָה [B], אַדְיָה [B.M.], אַדְיָה [gen.]) [L.]).

ADALIA (אֲדָלְיָה), son of Haman, Est. 9.8† (ΒΑΡΚΑ [B], ΒΑΡΚΑ [N.], -εα [L.]). See ESTHER, §§ 3, 7.

ADAM (אָדָם, to which Kt. prefixes אָ, Kr. מ [so Symm. Targ. Pesh. Vg., and many MSS and editions];

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Kt. is to be preferred; see Dr. S. note 1) is mentioned once, if not twice. In Josh. 3.16 it is the name of the place beside or near which the descending waters of the Jordan 'stood and rose up in one heap'; here it is followed by the words (which may possibly be a gloss) 'the city that is beside Zarethan.' An echo of this name may very plausibly be found in *Tell ed-Damich* and *Tir ed-Damich*, names of a hill and bridge at the confluence of the Jabbok (*Zerka*) with the Jordan, some 16 m. in a direct line above the ford opposite Jericho. Indeed it is possible that for אָדָם (Adam) we should read אֲדָמָה (Adamah), the א having dropped out owing to the circumstance that the following word begins with א (so Knappfeyner, *DDP* [1844]). In this case the resemblance of the ancient and the modern name will be closer. The same spot seems to be referred to in 1 K. 7.46, where, for 'in the thickness of the ground' (AV mg.), we should probably read, 'at the crossing of Adamah,'³ the name of some definite locality, not a description of the soil, being plainly required by the context (so G. F. Moore and Clermont-Ganneau).⁴ This gives us a definition of the site of Adam or Admah. It was at a ford of the Jordan between Succoth and Zarethan. Putting all the evidence together, we may hold that the Succoth of 1 K. 7.46 was E. of the Jordan on or near the Jabbok; while Zarethan was W. of the river, in the valley opposite Succoth. Beside Zarethan, at the 'crossing' or ford, was a town called Adam or Admah (cp Succoth, 2; ZARETHAN, § 1).

The second mention of a place of this name is in Hos. 6.7 where, for *E'adam* (RV 'like Adam,' RV mg. 'like men'; ὡς ἀνθρώπων [B.M.]), we must at any rate read *E'adām*—i.e., 'at Adam'—to suit 'there' in the next clause, and to correspond to the localisation of Israel's sin in v. 8 (so in the main We.). 'There' the Israelites 'were traitors to Yahwē' and 'broke his covenant.' Of course there may be a doubt which of the places called Adam or Admah is meant, and it may even be surmised that the letters אָדָם (ADM) are incorrect.⁵ The fact, however, that the ford of *Damich* is on the direct route (so we must believe) to the place called Gilead in v. 8, suggests that the 'city Adam' of Josh. 3.16 is intended. The confluence of two important streams may well have been marked by a sanctuary.

ADAM AND EVE.⁶ The use of Adam and Eve as proper names within the Reformed Churches symbolises

1. Reformation antipathy to allegory.

a theory of the Paradise story which is distinctively modern and western. The Reformers, always hostile to allegory, and in this matter especially influenced by the Augustinian anthropology, adhered strictly to the literal interpretation, which has continued to be generally identified with Protestant orthodoxy. This was a necessary reaction against that Hellenistic allegorising which transmuted everything that seemed low or trivial in the early narratives into some spiritual or theological truth. The reaction had begun no doubt in pre-reformation days. Bonaventura, for instance, says that 'under the rind of the letter a deep and mystic

¹ The σφῶδρα σφῶδρος of Dr. S. may be safely neglected, though if σφῶδρος (which is wanting in A) be correct, it testifies to the antiquity of the inferior reading (עֲרֹרָה). Symm., according to Field's restoration from the Syr. Hex., gives ἀπὸ ἀδου; Dr. S. ἀπὸ ἀδου (interpolated); Vg. ab urbe que vocatur Adom. Bennett in *S.B.T.* (crit. notes) regards the name 'Adam' and the description of it as 'the city, assuspicuous.' But 'Adam' should perhaps rather be 'Adamah,' and 'the city, etc. looks like a gloss. The text on the whole is correct.

² מִבְּרֵית אֲדָמָה. The 2 Ch. 4.17 has אֲדָמָה [B.M.].

³ אֲדָמָה [B.M.].

⁴ Moore, *J.R.T.* 77-79 [94], cp *Judges*, 212 [95]; Clermont-Ganneau, *PEF* (N. S.), Jan. 1896, p. 80.

⁵ One might conjecturally read *Damich*—i.e., the Eduma of the OS (25574; 11922, cp Guérin, *Sam.* 2.146), which is described as a village about 12 R. m. E. from Neapolis (Nāblus), and is the modern *Damich* (see Rob. *BE* 4.292 f.). This is obviously not the 'city' intended in Josh. 3.16. It is also not very likely to be meant by Hosea.

⁶ On the names see below, § 3.

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meaning is hidden,' but states also that 'he who despises the letter of sacred Scripture will never rise to its spiritual meanings.' Still the completion of the movement (within certain limits) was reserved for the great vegetates of the Reformation—Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin. Thus Luther explicitly says—'It were better to read mere poetic fables than attach one's self to the so-called spiritual and living sense to the exclusion of the literal;' and again, 'We should stay by the dry clear words, except where the Scripture itself, by the absurdity of the simple meaning, compels us to understand some sayings figuratively' (quoted by Diestel, *Gesch. des N.T. in der chr. Kirche*). This predilection for a grammatical and historical interpretation was closely connected with the revival of classical studies, but had its primary justification in the endorsement which the N.T. appeared to give to the historical accuracy of the story of Paradise. It is the correctness of the historical acceptance of that story which criticism denies, and before proceeding to consider the results of criticism (see CREATION, § 1 and PARADISE), Protestant students may ask whether Jesus Christ and the N.T. writers really attached importance to the story of Eden as a piece of history. Our conclusion—of course have a direct bearing on the interpretation of the other early narratives.

Let us turn to (i.) passages spoken or written from a purely Jewish point of view. (a) In Mk. 10:6-8 (Mt. 19:4-6) we have a combined quotation from Gen. 1:27-28. Jesus passes over the facts of the Paradise story altogether, and fastens attention on the statement that man was from the beginning differentiated sexually, and that, by divine ordinance (so no doubt Jesus interprets Gen. 2:24), the marriage union was to be complete. His silence about the facts may no doubt be explained by the circumstances; elsewhere Jesus appears to many to accept the historical character of the deluge story (Mt. 24:37-39; Lk. 17:26-27). But one must be cautious; the reference to the deluge story presupposes the typical character of the early narratives, a theory which is inconsistent with a strictly historical point of view. (b) In Rev. 22:3-4, a literalistic view of the tree of life is presupposed. But these passages are undeniably based, not so much on Gen. 2, as on the apocalyptic description in Enoch 24 f. (c) In Rev. 12:9-10 we have a description of SATAN (2:7; § 6) as 'the ancient serpent,' alluding to Gen. 3:1; it is also said that he will 'deceive' the world as he deceived the first man. It is certain, however, that the writer also draws from a well of popular belief, enriched from a wider Oriental source, to which he gives as implicit a belief as to the biblical statement.

Passing to (ii.) the Pauline writings, we find (d) and (e) in Rom. 5:14 and 1 Cor. 15:22-23 references to details in the story of Adam; but the reference is made in a didactic interest. Paul accepts (as also probably does Luke) the Alexandrian idea of the typical character of the early narratives, and of the double creation of a heavenly and an earthly Adam. The latter doctrine, which the Alexandrian theology founded on the two separate accounts of creation in Gen. 1 and 2, Paul professes to base on the language of Gen. 27. There are also other anthropological ideas which he supports by reference to the fall of Adam. His real interest is in the ideas, not in the story of Paradise. He did not deduce them from the Eden story, and only resorts to that narrative as containing material which may, by the methods of Christian Gnosis, be made to furnish arguments for his ideas. (f) In Phil. 2:6 we have probably a contrast between the first Adam who thought equality with God an ἀπαλαύστη (an object of grasping) and the second Adam who, thinking far otherwise, humbled himself even to the death of the cross, and thereby actually reached equality with God (Hilgenfeld). Here the story of Eden is only illustrative of an idea, though the illustration is suggested

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by the favourite typical view already referred to. (g) In 2 Cor. 11:3 there is a mere casual illustration.

(iii.) Other N.T. writers. (h) In Lk. 3:38 Adam is the last human link in the genealogy of the Saviour. The evangelist suggests a contrast between the first and the second Adam (see Lk. 3:3); but, scholasticism apart, what he really values is, not the historical character of Adam, but the universal Saviourship of Jesus. (i) John 8:44 contains a reference to Satan which presupposes the reality of the temptation and fall of the first man, but is simply and solely dogmatic, and belongs to the peculiar dualism of the Fourth Gospel. (k) In 1 Tim. 2:14-15 the social doctrine of the subordination of women is apparently inferred from the story of the first woman's temptation.

The conclusion to which these phenomena point could be fully confirmed by a similar examination of (iv.) Apocryphal passages—even the references in 4 Esd., which imply so much brooding over the Paradise story, being in close connection with the typical theory of the early narratives, and the whole system of thought being quite as much based on the imaginative book of Enoch as on the solar narrative in Gen. 2-3. As a final proof that a historical character could not be assigned to the latter in the early Christian age, it is enough to refer to the Book of Jubilees (first cent. A.D., but before 70), which, at any rate in its view of the biblical narratives, represents the mental attitude of the times. Here the biblical stories are freely intermixed with legendary and interpretative matter (see Charles's translation).

We conclude, therefore, that the N.T. writers, whether purely Jewish or touched by Greek influences, regard traditional facts chiefly from a didactic point of view, as furnishing either plausible evidence for theories derived from other sources or at any rate homiletical illustrations.

The literal and historical acceptance of the story in Gen. 2:4b-1, which strong church authority still considers 'nearer to the truth than any other interpretation as yet propounded,'¹ may be supposed to be required by the phenomena of the narrative itself. Is this the case? First, are the proper names Adam and Eve found in the original story of Eden? The facts are these.

(a) Adam (אָדָם; אָדָמָה), as a quasi proper name for the first man (cp. ΕΝΩΣΗ), belongs with certainty only to P₂ (Gen. 5:3-5),² who has used it just before generically, in the sense of 'man' or 'men' (Gen. 5:1 ἀνθρώπων [M.] followed by τὸν Αδάμ [i.e.] (cp. 1:26-27). The Vulg. [V.] habitually uses the term אָדָמָה, 'the man.' Once, however, if the text be correct,³ we find אָדָם (ādām) used generically for 'man' or 'men' (2:2-4), and once in lieu of a proper name subsequently to the birth of Cain and Abel (4:25), if we should not rather refer 4:25 f. to an editor. The conclusion is obvious. It is a true insight which is expressed in the quaint old couplet in Exeter Cathedral,

Primus Adam sic pressu Adam, salvet Deus illum,
Is qui venit Adam querere factus Adam.

'Adam' can be used only in one of two senses (1) mankind, (2) the first man (apart from all historical reference), and to compare a supposed proper name Adam.⁴

¹ Bp. John Wordsworth, *The One Religion* (Bampton Lectures for 1891), p. 128. So Bp. H. Browne in the *Speaker's Comm.* and Dr. Leathes in Smith's *Dict.*

² In Gen. 2:1-23:8 f. 20 f. RV has rightly 'the man' (אָדָם) for אָדָם 'Adam'; so in Dt. 32:8 'children of men' (or 'sons of Adam'); so EV mg. in Job 31:33 'after the manner of men' for 'as [like] Adam' (otherwise 1:25). In אָדָם the article is omitted in Gen. 2:19b 20:2 23:12 f. 29:4 1:25 Dt. 32:8 1 Ch. 1:1 (also in the last two passages).

³ In 2:20b 3:17 21 read אָדָם 'for the man' (אָדָם [AEL]) with Schr., Dillm., and Kau. *l.c.*

⁴ The present writer can see no probability in the view of Hammel (*PSB.*, 7th March 1893, pp. 44 f.) that Adam in Gen.

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to that of the Babylonian divine hero Adapa (Sayce, *Crit. and Men.* 94), or, stranger still, to the Egyptian Atum (Lefébure, *TSBA* 90) are specimens of equal awkwardness. The word *adam* is of course earlier than any developed creation-myth (*ait tenna rebo*), though it implies (cp. Ass. *admu*, 'child' — i.e., 'one made by God'), the existence of the central element of all such mythic stories (see CREATION, §§ 20 f.).

(b) We must now proceed to consider the name Eve (Hawwah: *חַוָּה*; Gen. 3:20; AV mg. CHAVAH, RV mg. HAVVAT, *חַוָּה* [AL], Aq. Aræ. Symm. *Zawôvot*, elsewhere *eva* [BBL]; *Ἔβα*; *Ἑββά*). This undoubtedly occurs as a proper name (3:20 f.); but it is most probable that *eva* formed no part of the original story, and that in 4:1 the name Eve is a later insertion.² Can its meaning be recovered? According to 3:20 Eve was so called 'because she was the mother of all living' (77). This suggests the meaning 'a living being,' or, less probably, because an abstract conception, 'life' (*חַיָּה* *Zawî*).³ It is also possible, no doubt, to compare *1S* 18:18 (Kau. *HS*) and render 'mother of every kindred,'⁴ in which case Eve (*חַוָּה*) will mean 'kindship,' or more strictly 'mother-kinship,' the primitive type of marriage being supposed to be based on mother-kinship (cp. Gen. 3:20). It is best, however, to adhere to the first explanation, if we qualify this with the admission that Hawwah may possibly be a Hebraised form of a name in a non-Hebraic story.

Next, did the writer of the Eden story understand it *historically*? There are at least three points which must be regarded as decisive against this view.

4. The Narratives.

(1) The *narrative* of the description. The same writer (J), in Nu. 22:28, ascribes the speaking of Balaam's ass to a special divine interference; but the speaking serpent and the enchanted trees in Gen. 2f. appear as if altogether natural. Why? Because the author has no fear of being misunderstood. He knows, and his readers know, that he is not dealing with the everyday world, but with a world in which the natural and the supernatural are one. (2) The idealism of the narratives. The writer chiefly values certain ideas which the narrative is so arranged as to suggest. (3) The total disregard of the contents of these stories in the subsequent narratives of the Yahwist. To these most critics will add (4) the licence which the Yahwist appears to have taken of adding certain features to the primitive story, e.g. at any rate the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It is not safe to add (5) the poetical form of the story in Gen. 2:4-3 (Briggs), for all that seems probable is that this story is ultimately based to some extent on lost poetical traditions.

It is equally certain, however, that the writer of our Eden story did not explain it *allegorically*. Reverence for tradition must have assured him that the kernel of it at any rate was trustworthy. After purifying the traditional story by the criticism of his religious sense, he must have supposed it to give an adequate impression of what actually took place once upon a time. Kant, among his other services in refutation of the unhistorical

5:1-5 is altered from *Adon*, i.e. Yahu or Ea. We have no right to take our critical starting-point in a list given to us only in P; apart from this, the theory that the lists of the patriarchs in Gen. 4 and 5 are derived, as they stand, from Babylonian lists is scarcely tenable (see *CANTAB.* §§ 4 ff.).

¹ To the proposal of W. (ALP 344, following Stucken) to connect *חַוָּה* with Ar. *adamâ*, 'skin,' Del.'s note on Gen. 27 (*Gen.* 77) will suggest a probable answer.

² Cp. *Ein.* *Gen.* 141, 212 f.; St. *ZATW.* 1864, pp. 266 ff.

³ Nöld. however (with We. [see now *Heid.* 154] and St.), thinks that *חַיָּה* properly means 'serpent' (Aram. *ḥayyâ*, *ZDMG* 42:37). The Midrash (*Ber. rab.* par. 21, on Gen. 3:20) actually compares the same Aram. word, explaining the name thus, 'She was given to Adam to glorify his life, but she counselled him like a serpent.' This hardly favours Nöld.'s suggestion.

⁴ WRS *Kin.* 177. But note that *חַיָּה* and *חַוָּה* are standing Hebrew phrases (see BDB *Lex.*).

ADAMAH

rationalism of the last century, has the merit of having forcibly recalled attention to the fact that the narrative of Genesis, even if we do not take it literally, must be regarded as presenting a view of the beginnings of the history of the human race (*Mythologische Anfang der Menschengeschichte*, 1786).

What, then, is the Eden story to be called? It is a problem which there is a growing disposition to solve by adopting, in one form or another, what is called the *mythic theory*. The story cannot indeed be called a myth in the strict sense of the word, unless we are prepared to place it on one line with the myths of heathenism, produced by the unconscious play of plastic fancy, giving shape to the impressions of natural phenomena on primitive observers. Such a course is to be deprecated. The story of Gen. 2:4-3 has been too much affected by conscious art and reflection to be combined with truly popular myths. Hermann Schultz has coined the expression 'revelation-myth'; but this is cumbersome, and may suggest to some an entirely erroneous view of the pre-Deuteronomie conception of revelation (cp. Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 86, 202). The truth is that the story of Eden cannot be described by a single phrase. The mythic elements which it contains have been moralised far enough for practical needs, but not so far as to rob it of its primeval colouring. The parallel story in the Zoroastrian Scripture called *Vendidad* (Largard u.) is dry and pale by comparison. In its union of primitive concreteness with a nascent sense of spiritual realities our Eden story stands alone.

There is therefore no reason for shutting our eyes to the plain results of historical criticism. It is only when, as was the case when the late George Smith made his great discoveries (see his *Chaldean Genesis*), Babylonian myths are adduced as proofs of the historicity of Gen. 1-11, that they may truly be called *adapa dāpa*. It is not the mythic basis, but the infused idealism of the Eden story, that constitutes its abiding interest for religious men; and it was owing to a sense of this, quite as much as to a desire to harmonise Greek philosophy with Scripture, that the allegoric spiritualism of Alexandria found so much favour in Greek Christendom. From the point of view of the pre-critical period this system could not but commend itself to earnest and devout thinkers. Who, said Philo, could take the story of the creation of Eve, or of the trees of life and knowledge literally? The ideas, however, which the sage derives from the stories are Greek, not early Jewish. For instance, his interpretation of the creation of Eve is plainly suggested by a Platonic myth. The longing for reunion which love implants in the divided halves of the original dual man is the source of sensual pleasure (symbolised by the serpent), which in turn is the beginning of all transgression. Eve represents the sensuous or perceptive part of man's nature, Adam the reason. The serpent therefore does not venture to attack Adam directly. It is sense which yields to pleasure, and in turn enslaves the reason and destroys its immortal virtue. These ideas are not precisely those which advocates of a mystical interpretation would put forward to-day. There is an equal danger, however, of arbitrariness in modern allegorising, even though it be partly veiled by reverence for exegetical tradition. It is only by applying critical methods to the story, and distinguishing the different elements of which it is composed, that we can do justice to the ideas which the later editor or editors may have sought to convey.

For a discussion of 'Biblical Mythos' see Schultz, *OT Theol.* c. 2, and cp. Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 112, 117-122; WRS *RSB* 19, 44f. On the Avesta parallels, see Domesteter, *Le Zendavesta*, tome 3, pp. 57 ff., and Kohut, 'The Zendavesta and Gen. 1-11,' *JQR* [vol.], 223-229. On apocryphal romance of Adam and Eve, see below, *APOCRYPHA*, § 10.

ADAMAH (אֲדָמָה). 1. One of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 19:36† אֲדָמָה [B], אֲדָמָה [E], [V]).
2. The above article is written on the lines and sometimes in the words of WRS.

ADASA

2. SEE ADAM, I.

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heaven. The 112 (imitated perhaps in 1s 156¹) only implies that Admah and Zeboim had suffered some terrible destruction. As to the mode of their destruction and as to their locality no information is given. It is, in fact, not at all likely that the least famous of the 'cities of the plain' should have been selected by Hosea as representatives; Amos (111) and Isaiah (14.33) mention only Sodom and Gomorrah. It is possible that there was once some distinct legend respecting the destruction of Admah and Zeboim. Possibly, too, Zeboim was not a town, but the name of the district in which Admah was situated. Against this we must not appeal to Gen. 14, since the names of the kings there given are probably unhistorical. Nor can one be given jestering that (cf. as Rodiger, in *Gen. Thez.* suggests, עַדְמָה = עֲדָמָה) Hosea alludes to a story which accounted for the dreary character of the Valley of Zeboim (now the *Wady el Kelt*; see ZIEGLER 1), analogous to that connected with the valley of Achor. Such stories of overthrown villages are not uncommon. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

ADMATHA (אֲדַמְתָּה), one of the 'seven princes' (cp Ezra 7:14) at the court of Xabshertus (1 st. 144). [BAS, *Levi* 3]. According to Martini, however, these seven names have arisen from an original three (cp the *three satraps* Dan 6:1) of which CARSATHA (צַרְשָׁתָּה) is one. Shethar and Tarshish are corrupt variations of the second (see SHETHAR) and Meres and Marsena corruptions of the third (see MARSENA). Admatha (or rather אֲדַמְתָּה) would then be the father of Haman, and for אֲדַמְתָּה (cp note to MIVNEVA) should be substituted אֲדַמְתָּה (the designation applied to Haman). See, further, *Fund.*, 68 ff. Cp. LSHM, c. 3.

ADMIN (ADMIN [BX]), a link, in the genealogy of Joseph, between Ammadab and Amin (Amin, in Lk 3:34 RV mg. and W & H). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

ADMINISTRATION. See GOVERNMENT

ADNA. 1. (𐤀𐤃𐤍) [Ginsb. 7.1.], 𐤀𐤃𐤍 [Kr.] 1. One of the line PAMIR-MOIRAN in the list of those with foreign wives (see LZKA 1, § 5 end), 𐤀𐤃𐤍 10 𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤍 [B], 𐤀𐤃𐤍 [B], 𐤀𐤃𐤍 [M] *anavazne* [I, combining with next name, which in 1. Esd 9 𐤀𐤃𐤍 1.1. is *sidai*], 𐤀𐤃𐤍 𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤍 [B = Adna + following name, Chutaki] = 1. Esd 9 𐤀𐤃𐤍 1.1. [I, B], Abut. 1. With this name should be compared Hadama, a Jewish name of the fifth century B.C., mentioned by Hilprecht as found at Nippur (cp. Hazan = 𐤀𐤃𐤍).

2. (Κ⁷⁷)(Ginsb. II.1.), priest temp. Juliakim (see ΕΙΣΑΓ. ii. §§ 6 A, II). Νεβ. 12 15 (αδελφας [Κ⁷⁷ + ιουδ. inf], om. [B⁷⁷A], εδρας [L]).

ADNAH (אֲדָנָה, *ʾAdnāh* [BA], -נָה [L]), a captain in Jehoshaphat's army (2 Ch. 17:14).

ADNAH (עֲדָנָה) [Ginsb. Ba.], other readings עֲדָנָה, עֲדָנָה; אֲדָנָה [HAB.], *Adnah*. A Manassite, who deserted from Saul to David (1 Ch. 12:20 [21]). See DAVID, § 11 a m.

ADONAI (אֲדֹנָי). See NAMES, §§ 119, 120 n.

ADONI BEZEK (אֲדוֹנִי בֶּזֶק, in 1: 7 with *makkaf*; אֲדוֹנִי־בֶּזֶק [BAL] Judg. 14:7; & has אֲדוֹנִי־בֶּזֶק also in Josh. 10:13 where MT has Adoni-zemek; a third variation is אֲדוֹנִי־בֶּזֶק [Jos. Procop. & edd.], the change may be accidental or harmonistic, a Canaanite king when Jurdah and Samoon, invading southern Palestine, encountered and defeated at Bezek. Adoni-bezek fled, but was overtaken, made prisoner, and mutilated. He was afterwards carried to Jerusalem, where he died (Judg. 14:7). The name Adoni-bezek is commonly interpreted 'Lord of (the city) Bezek'; but such a

1. S closes this verse thus, καὶ τοὺς καταλοιοὺς Ἀδὰμα [B. &. μ sup. ras. M], i.e., 'and the remnant of Admah.' This may possibly be correct (see Dahm, *Jes.* 1:5, Ch. *Int.* Is. 91). Moab may be figuratively called Admah, just as Jerusalem is figuratively called Sodom (Is. 1:10).

ADONIJAH

formation is entirely anomalous. In similar compounds (Adoni with proper name) the second element is regularly the name of a god, power of a place (there are, in fact, no Hebrew or Coptic proper names of persons in the OT) thus compounded with the name of a local divinity, nor is *adon* used of the sovereign of a city or country. In Job 10:19 which, in spite of radical differences, is based on a source closely akin to that of Judges 1, it is not identical with it, the head of the native kings who first made front against the Israeliite invasion of the S. is Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see Adoni-zedek) and it is to Jerusalem that Adoni-bezek is taken (² by his own servants) to die (Judg. 1:7). Hence the conjecture offered under Adoni-zedek appears very probable. See also BÉZAK. G. L. M.

ADONIJAH (אֲדֹנִיָּה, 2 S 34; 1 K 1:10; 2 S., 1 Ch. 32, Neh. 10:16 [17], elsewhere אֲדֹנִיָּה, 'Yahweh is lord,' 3 S., cp 1 Th 1:12 אֲדֹנִיָּהּ אֲדֹנִיָּהּ, Ἀδων[ε] Ἰακ [H], ὁπνία [L].)

David's fourth son (1 Ch 3:2 אֲדָמָה [Adm]; so also in 2 K 2:4) אָדָמָה [Adm]. Nothing is known of his mother, Haggith. Like Absalom, he was born at Hebron (2 S 3:4, אָדָמָה [Adm] אֶלֶף [Alf]). Like him he was conspicuous by his graceful presence, while like all David's sons he never left the constraint of his father's authority. Absalom's death left him heir to the throne, and 'all Israel,' as he said himself, expected that he would become king' (1 K 2:13). He therefore, in the manifest failure of the old king's family, as thought it time to assume a semi-royal state, like Absalom before him (1 K 15). On his side were the old and true servants of David—Joab, the commander of the forces. Another, who represented the old priestly family of Eli, and of whom the companion of David's wanderings—followed by the people as a whole rose (1 K 2:14). The 'new men,' however, Beniah, captain of the body guard, and Zadok, a priest of origin comparatively obscure, looked with evil eyes on his pretensions, and with the powerful aid of the prophet Nathan espoused the cause of the son of Hithshiah. The chance of each party, unless David's death was to be followed by civil war, lay in a sudden stroke which would put their claimant in possession and overawe his opponents.

The story is graphically told, though perhaps with a secret swing towards Adonijah. Nor can we doubt that, like the other narratives of the same writer, it is in the main trustworthy. Adonijah made the first move. He invited all the royal princes save Solomon, together with Joab and Abiathar and 'all the men of Judah,' to a sacrificial feast at a well-known sacred site (see ZOTHIEN) close to Jerusalem (I K. 1.9, f.). They had left the weak old king, however, exposed to the machinations of their enemies, while the fortress was in the hands of Benahai and his trained soldiers. Nathan was quick to seize the opportunity. By the help of Bathsheba and with a presentation of facts which may or may not have been perfectly accurate,¹ he obtained from David an order for the immediate enthronement of Solomon. Adonijah's banquet was disturbed by news that Solomon reigned by his father's will, and was protected by Benahai and the foreign guard. The company broke up in dismay, and Adonijah sought an asylum at the house of the altar. The clemency

of Solomon, however, spared his life, and but for an ill-timed revival of his ambitious dreams he might have remained in a happy obscurity. The cause of his ruin was a petition to be allowed to marry Abishag, for which he obtained the support of Bathsheba. Apparently the queen-mother did not detect his secret political

¹ The question is whether the promise of Solomon asserted by Nathan in 1 K. 1:21 is a clever fiction of Nathan, or not, and whether the description of the domes of Adonijah is, or is not, exaggerated. The former point is the more important of the two. We (*CH of n*) and K. (*Hist. ii. 180*) take different sides. We, in reply is, of course, to us the less palatable one; but we must consider Semitic craftiness, and the improbability of a merely private promise of Solomon. See 1 K. 1:21, 22.

ADONIKAM

motive, indeed Abishag had only nominally been David's concubine. Solomon, however, regarded the proposal as virtually, if not expressly, a claim to the throne, and Adonijah perished by Solomon's sentence and Benaiah's sword.

Compare the narrative of Sade (1/1. 1k v. c. 2), with the somewhat different treatment of the matter by Kattel (*Hist.* n. c. 4).

2. A votary to the covenant (see *Ezra*, i. 7-9; Neh. 10:16 [17] (*adonai* [H] though the names are otherwise divided); *adonai* [H], *adonai* [H]. In the great post-exilic list, *Ezra* 2:36-37; Neh. 7:71-72 (see *Ezra*, ii. 7-9), and in the list (*Ezra* 2:36) of those who came with *Ezra*, the name appears (*adonai* [H] 14:11 respectively) perhaps more correctly (*adonai* [H] 1:7 n. 2) as *Adonis* (*adonai*).

3. A 1. Temp. Jehoshaphat; 2 Ch 17:8 (*adonai* [H]).

4. See *APOLLO*.

5. See *ADONIS*.

ADONIKAM (אֲדֹנִיקָם; 'the Lord is risen up,' cp

ADONIKAM, אֲדֹנִיקָם [H]). The line *Adonikam*, a family in the great post-exilic list (see *Ezra*, ii. 7-9; Neh. 7:71-72; *adonai* [H] 10:16 [17] (*adonai* [H], *adonai* [H]). In the great post-exilic list, *Ezra* 2:36-37; Neh. 7:71-72 (see *Ezra*, ii. 7-9), and in the list (*Ezra* 2:36) of those who came with *Ezra*, the name appears (*adonai* [H] 14:11 respectively) perhaps more correctly (*adonai* [H] 1:7 n. 2) as *Adonis* (*adonai*).

ADONIRAM (אֲדֹנִירָם; § 40, 'the Lord is high'; אֲדֹנִירָם [H]). *ADONIRAM*, chief treasurer of tribute under David (2 S 20:24). Solomon 1 K 4:6, 5:14 [28], and Rehoboam, on whose deposition he was stoned to death by the Israelites (1 K 12:18; 2 Ch 10:24 [27]). *ADONIRAM*, אֲדֹנִירָם [H].

In 2 S 20:24 (see *adonai* [H]) and 1 K 12:18 (*adonai* [H]; *Adoniram*), it is incorrectly (cp We. Dr. *TEB*) written *ADONIRAM* (אֲדֹנִירָם). Hilprecht (*PEF Qa. St.*, Jan. '98, p. 35), indeed, attempts to explain the form by connecting it with *Adoniram* (Adon is high), a Jewish name on a tablet from Nippur; none, however, that is not expressed and that *ADONIRAM* reads 'Adoniram'.

ADONIS only in the phrase אֲדֹנִי (a double

plur.), Is. 17:10 RVmg 'plantings of Adonis' (1 FV has

1. OT reference. 'pleasant plants'). In justification of

the rendering see 1 Ch. 16:11-13,

Kattel in *De. Jos* (6). To Ewald (*Proph.* 2:116, *Licht d.*

hebr. Spr. 7:18, n. 3) and still more to Lag. (*Semitica*,

13), *Adonis*, 205, n. 1) is one this important correction

of the rendering. Clermont-Ganneau should also

be consulted (*Études d'archéol. orientale* 1, 1880, pp.

26 ff.), also WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1887, p. 307, but

cp We. *Ar. Hist.* 7 n. Na'um (= pleasant,

gracious) was doubtless a title of the 'Lord' (Adon,

whence Adonis), and Adonis-worship seems to have

penetrated under this title into Syria and Palestine, as

we gather from the OT name *Na'um* [נָחֻם], from the

names *Numina* and *Namuna* in S. Palestine in pre-

Israelitish times (Thotmes III), and from the *Nahr*

Na'min (N. of Carmel), which seems to be the Belus

of the ancients. That Adonis-worship flourished in Pal-

estine when Isaiah wrote can easily be believed. The

N. Israelites were at this time specially open to Syrian

influences. They 'forgot' Yahweh because he seemed

unable to protect them. So Isaiah indignantly exclaims,

'Therefore, though thou plantest (little gardens with)

shoots of Adonis, and stockest them with scions (pred-

icated) to a foreign god . . . the harvest shall vanish

in a day of sickness and desperate pain.' The phrase

'shoots of Adonis' points to the so-called 'gardens of

Adonis,' baskets containing earth sown with various

plants, which quickly sprang up and as quickly

withered. In reality they were symbols of the life and

death of Adonis; but Isaiah takes the withering as an

image of the withered hopes of Israel. On these

'gardens' see Frazer, *Golden Bough* 1:22 f.; WRS

Rel. Sem. 414; Olnefisch Richter, *Kypros* 132 f.;

and cp Che. 'Isaiah,' in *SPOT* (Eng.), 146.

Adonis was one of those local gods who live with

and in nature, who suffer in summer's drought, die

1. *ἄδωνις ἀνίσταται* [EWAQ].

ADONI-ZEDEC

with the winter, and live again with the early spring.

Legend, however, explained the death of the god as

an event of far-off times. Adonis, it said,

was killed while hunting, the bear in fact

amon and accordingly in the heat of summer

was solemn. the great mourning festival of WRS

Ad. Son at which his corpse was exhibited

resting. . . flowers—the quickly fading

Adonis, and a . . . up in Lebanon, near the fountain

of Akka, did it suddenly overtake him, whereupon

the spring became red with his blood. By Akka was

an ancient temple of the goddess Aphrodite (see *Lam.*

2:1 Syr. 6. *Luc. 11:1* 388, *Sozom. HE* 2:4),

of which the ruins still remain, probably it contained

the grave of the god. This legend and the cult con-

texted with it, must be very ancient. Indeed, in a

source as early as the papyrus Anast. I, mention is

made of the goddess of the 'mysterious' city of Byblus.

In its origin it was distinct from the Babylonian legend

of the loves of Ishtar and Tammuz, though at an early

date both this legend and the Egyptian story of Osiris

were combined with it (Plut. *de Is.* 15, *Luc. 11:1* 388, 7,

cp Apollodorus n. 1, 3, 7, etc.). The cult spread through

all the Phoenician colonies, especially to Cyprus, whence

in the seventh century it was imported into Greece.

Adonis, however, is not to be taken as the true name

of the god; every god can be called 'Adon' 'lord,' just

as every goddess is entitled to be called Kabbath, 'the

lady.' At Byblus (see *Gal. VI*, 1) the favourite of the

goddess of Byblus was invoked as the 'lord' *per exel-*

lover, and thus it was that the Greeks came to call him

Adonis. What his real name was we do not know;

for the name Tammuz, which he also bears is Baby-

lonian and it is doubtful whether it ever became

naturalised in Phoenicia.

Possibly his name survives, unsuspected, among the many

divine names. Or perhaps the recollection of his sad fate may have

hindered the formation of proper names derived from his; for it is

impossible that in the worship he never received a real name at

all. For in point of fact Phobos, who was worshipped as Adonis, says

of a certain *khin* (φωβος-εχθρος, that he lived with a woman

named *Herai* in Byblus, that he was slain by wild beasts, and

was afterwards deified, and that his children brought him liba-

tions and offerings. This seems to be the euhemeristic version

of the Adonis legend. Now in 'Vashti in the neighbourhood of

Byblus, where doubtless is the village *Samaria* (see *Renan*,

234), and although such attributions are of frequent occurrence in

Syria, Renan is probably right in recognising in this 'highest

god' the *khin* of Phobos and Adonis. Moreover, according to

Philo (n. 10), the god *Ἀγροῖος* 'Agroios, 'the farmer,' whose

brother is called 'Agros, 'field' (see *Luc. 11:1* 388) and who 'had a

scroscinet image and a temple carried about Phoenicia on

wheels,' was honoured in Byblus as *θεὸς Ἀγροῖος*. He also

occurs in the Greek inscriptions. In Byblus a temple was

erected under Augustus *Ἀδωνίου* (Renan, 237; cp 212 *θεὸς*

Ἀδωνίου . . . and the same god had a temple deep in the recesses

of the mountains near Kufat Fakia to the SE. of Byblus

(*CEG* 455 . . . *ἐκ τῶν ὀρέων τοῦ Ἀδωνίου θεοῦ προσκυνοῦνται*). The

Phoenician name represented by *Ἀγροῖος* is unknown. See

TAMMIZ.

ADONI-ZEDEC, or rather **-Zedek**, as RV (אֲדֹנִי-צֶדֶק),

'Sedek is 'lord,' cp *ADONIKAM*, though to later

readers the name very probably meant 'lord of right-

eousness'; אֲדֹנִי-צֶדֶק [H]; *ADONIS-CEDEK*, a king

of Jerusalem at the time of the Israelitish invasion. See

Josh. 10:1, where he leads a confederation of five

kings of S. Canaan. According to *Josh. 10*, Joshua

came from Gilgal to the relief of the Gibeonites threaten-

ed by the coalition; surprised and completely routed the

army of the Amorite kings near Gibeon; captured the

five kings in the cave of Makkedah; put them to death

and impaled their bodies; then, turning back, razed

Lachish, Liglou, and Hebron, with many other cities in

the region. This story stands in a narrative of the

1. The inscription from the district of Hippo Diarrhytus (*CEG*

viii. 1:211) *adonai* (*adonai*) proves nothing as to the

cultus-name of the god; Adonis has here, as among the Greeks,

become a proper name.

2. From the time of Scaliger it has been assumed that this

name comes from a corruption or misunderstanding of צֶדֶק (see

SHADDAI). This is possible, but very far from certain.

ADOPTION

conquest of all Palestine by Joshua in two great campaigns (Josh. 10 *f.*) which cannot be historical. A much more credible account is to be found, though in an abridged form, in Judg. 1 (see Jos. *Ant.* v, § 8; Josh. 10 s, § 3). Here Adoni-bezek is the king who opposes the first resistance to the advance of the tribes of Judah and Simeon against the Canaanites of the S. It is therefore in Budge's opinion (*ZITW* 7.48 [87]) not improbable that the *Q* reading 'Adoni bezek, king of Jerusalem' in Josh. 10:1 is correct, especially as Judg. 17 may be understood as saying that his own followers carried Adoni bezek to Jerusalem, and so as implying that that city was his capital. The objection to this view is that the second element in Adoni bezek ought to be a god, and we know of no god named Beek. Hence it is very possible that Adoni-bezek in Josh. 10 (*Q*¹⁰) is a scribe's error, and that the original narrative of Judg. 1 had not Adoni bezek, king of some nameless city, but Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem (see ADONIZEDEK). W. R. S. G. E. M.

ADOPTION (ΥΠΟΛΕΙΨΙΣ). Ro. 8:23; 9:4; Gal. 4:5; Eph. 1:5. See FAMILY.

ADORA (see below) or **Adoraim** (אֲדוֹרַיִם; on form of name see NAMUS, § 107; ἀδωραι [13]. W. [A and Jos. *Ant.* vii, 10:1], ἁδωρα [14]; ἁδωρα, mentioned with Mareshah, Zaph, and Laish among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11:9). The sites of all these places having been securely fixed, there can be no hindrance to identifying Adoraim with the modern *Dara*, which is 5 m. W. by S. from Hebron, and is described by Robinson (2:25) as 'one of the largest (villages) in the district.' The site is well adapted for a town, being 'on the gradual eastern slope of a cultivated hill, with olive groves and fields of grain all round' (cp *PEF. Mem.* 3:391). Under the new Egyptian empire an Adoraim is perhaps mentioned twice (WMM, *16. u. Bar.* 167, 174); but it is not clear that Rehoboam's city is intended. At any rate, Adoraim is doubtless the Adora or Dara of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii, 154 and elsewhere ἁδωρα, ἁδωραϊος, δ.; *C. Ap. 2* ἁδωρα), and the Adora of Macc. 13:50 (ἁδωρα [ANV]). In the latter, Adora is a point on the route by which Tryphon entered Judaea; in the former, it is usually completed as an Idumean city, with Marissa (Mareshah), the fate of which it shared, being captured by John Hyrcanus and compelled to accept circumcision and the Jewish law (Jos. *Ant.* xiii, 24; *RF. i.* 26). T. K. C.

ADORAM (אֲדוֹרָם), 2 S. 20:21; 1 K. 12:26. See ADONIRAM.

ADRAMMELECH (אֲדָרַמְלֵךְ, Ἀδραμμελεχ [14]. Aek [V]; Jos. Ἀδραμ, Ἀδραμμελεχ).

1. A Babylonian deity. According to 2 K. 17:31, after 'the king of Assyria,' *i.e.*, Sargon (see SARGON), had transplanted the Spharvites into Samaria, they there continued to worship Adrammelech and ANANIMATHU (*q.v.*), the gods of Spharvaim. This passage presents two difficulties. In the first place, according to the biblical account the worship of Adrammelech was accompanied with the sacrifice of children by fire: 'they burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech.' Throughout the cuneiform inscriptions, however, there is no allusion to human sacrifice, and in the sculptures and reliefs no representation of the rite has been discovered. The second difficulty concerns the explanation of the name Adrammelech and its identification with some known divinity of Babylonia. The name was originally explained as *Adar malk*, 'Adar the prince,' Adar being regarded as the phonetic rendering of the name of the god *Ninurta*. This identifi- cation, however, was unsupported by any evidence, and has now been abandoned. A clue to the solution of the problem, however, is afforded by the statement that Adrammelech was a god of Spharvaim, a city that is generally identified with Sippar (cp S. PILAVAIM). The god whose worship was especially

ADRIA

centred at Sippar was Šamaš the Sun-god. That this was the case is abundantly proved by references throughout the historical and religious texts of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and the remains of the great temple of the sun-god exist in the remains of Aba Habbah at the present day. Some scholars, therefore, would see in Adrammelech a subsidiary name or title of the Sun-god himself. Others, however, do not accept this view. They strike at its chief support by repudiating the identification of אֲדָרַם with Sippar, suggesting that it is to be identified with *Šabara* or *Šabara*, a city mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle. No satisfactory explanation of the name, therefore, has yet been offered. But cp NISROCH. L. W. K.

2. A son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who, according to 2 K. 19:37 (ἀδραμμελεχ [A]) and Is. 37:38 (ἀδραμμελεχ [BNAOQ]), ἀδραμμελεχ, in conjunction with his brother Sinar (q.v.), slew his father while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch at Nineveh, and thence escaped into Armenia. In the Babylonian Chronicle mention is made of this revolt, in which Sennacherib met his death; but the only trace of the name Adrammelech hitherto found is in Abydenus under the form Adramechis, and in Polyhistor under that of Ardimusanus. Scheil however thinks that ADRAK and Adramechis are corruptions of ASSUR-MU-SI-IR (or -GAL), the ideographic reading of the name pronounced ASUR-SUM-UBAŠA. This is the name of a son of Sennacherib for whom his father erected a house amidst the gardens of Nineveh. For analogies cp the royal name Samungilash-Samas-MU-SI-SA. The Ardimusanus of Polyhistor may be a corruption of the phonetic form given above, just as Σαυδορυγανος is Samas-Sum-ukim, the phonetic reading of Samas-MU-SI-SA. (See Scheil, *Z. i.* 121; *Rev. Bib.*, April 1897.) Cp ESAR-HADON, NISROCH.

ADRAMYTTIUM (Ἀδραμύτιον or Ἀτρ.; the adjective, which alone occurs in the NT, is, as in some cursive MSS of Acts, Ἀδραμύθηνος or Ἀτρ.; neither inscriptions nor coins give the form -ΤΤΗΝΟΣ of Tisch. following ΝΙΩ; W & H -ΥΝΤΗ, after AB¹⁶). A seaport of Mysia, which gave, and still gives, its name to the gulf, a great triangular indentation along the S. foot of Mt. Ida, whence it was called also the 'Idæan,' Adramyttium, in the E. recess of the gulf, was always important. It would profit by the trade in timber from Ida. There were also copper mines in the neighbourhood, and iron mines at Andania, not far to the NW. Strabo (p. 606) describes it accurately as 'a colony of Athens, a city with a harbour and roadstead'; but its importance goes back to a much earlier epoch, as Olshausen asserts (*Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* 53, p. 322, cp Hagar-maveth). Of necessity Adramyttium was intimately connected with the road system of NW Asia. The coast road from Ephesus and the inland road from Pergamus converged to Adramyttium, whence they diverged, on the one hand, across the Mysian peninsula to Cyziens on the sea of Marmora, and, on the other, to Assos, Troas, and the Hellespont. Consequently, it became an assize town, or head of a *conventus iuridicus*. Adramyttian coasters such as that in which Paul performed the first stage of his journey to Rome (Acts 27:4) must have been familiar visitors to Caesarea and the Syrian harbours. *Adramyti* (*Edramiti*), which preserves the old name, is 5 m. from the sea. Thus, Kiepert is perhaps right in putting the ancient town on an eminence by the sea, 8 m. SW. of the modern Adramyti (*Z. d. Geograph. f. Erdk.*, 1880, 294 *f.*). Nevertheless, Edemid is here to the importance of Adramyttium. Silver mines are now worked in the hills behind the town. W. J. W.

ADRIA (ἐν τῷ Ἀδρια. Acts 27:27 [BNA]. *Adria* is 'stony sea,' Wicht), the division of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Malta on the W. and Crete on the E. So the name is applied by Paus. v. 253 (speaking of the straits of Messina), ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου καὶ

ADRIEL

ἐξ ἐτέρων πελάγους δ' καλεῖται Τύρρονον. Cp. id. viii. 514. Eusebius considers Malta as lying on the boundary (B1) i. 14: Γαλιλῆα τε καὶ Μεσσηνίαν προσέχον, αὐτὸς Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τύρρονικόν πελάγους διακρίνοντι. Ptolemy distinguishes between the Adriatic Sea and the Adriatic gulf. Acts reproduces the language of the sailors. For this extended application of the name cp. Strabo, who, writing about 10 A.D., says that the Roman Sea is 'part of what is now called Adrias' (p. 123). This implies that the ancient use of the word had been more limited. In medieval times the name was still more widely extended, being practically 'Levant' as opposed to 'Ægean' (cp. Kam. *Pand* 208. See MYRA). The question is connected with the identification of the island upon which Paul was cast (Acts 28) after fourteen days' drifting in Adria (see METANA). We may compare the shipwreck of Josephus 'in the middle of the Adria' (κατὰ μέσον τῶν Ἀδριαίων): he was picked up by a ship sailing from Cyrene to Ptochis (*J. J.* 3).

W. L. W.

ADRIEL (אֲדִרְיֵל, not 'God's flock,' but either (a) miswritten for אֲדִירְיֵל, 'God is helper' [cp. forms of name in *Q*, 2 S. 218 below]; or (b) the Aram. form of Heb. אֲדִירְיֵל. The former view is adopted in NAMES, § 28; the latter by Nestle, *Lev* 15:25; cp. BARZILAI; see also *HPV* 206 n. 1, 309 n. 8). Son of BARZILAI (*J. J.* n. 4) the Melchite, to whom Saul married his daughter MERAB (*J. J.* 1 S. 18 to com. B; cp. usually = *ισραηλ* [A], *εδωρα* [L], 2 S. 21: *ισραηλ* [B], *εδωρα* [A], *εδωρα* [L]).

ADUEL (אֲדוּיָה [B], נָאֻיָּה [A]; אֲדוּיָּה, the great grandf. of Tobit (Tob. 1:1). No doubt another form of אֲדוּיָּה.

ADULLAM (אֲדוּלָּאָם, אֲדוּלָּאָם [B.M.], אֲדוּלָּאָם [B], 2 Ch. 1:1; B.M., M.; A. 1 S. 23:13; A. Josh. 15:35; אֲדוּלָּאָם [L. i.]; אֲדוּלָּאָם, nouns אֲדוּלָּאָם, אֲדוּלָּאָם, אֲדוּלָּאָם; gentilic אֲדוּלָּאָם. Adullamite, אֲדוּלָּאָם [c] [D.L.], אֲדוּלָּאָם [E.], a town in the Shephelah (Josh. 15:35), with a changeful history. For a considerable time it seems to have remained Canaanite. We still have a legend in Gen. 38:13 (J) which describes the fusion of Judahite clans with a Canaanite clan whose centre was Adullam. This fusion had apparently not been accomplished in David's time, for Adullam was still outside the 'land of Judah' when David took refuge there (1 S. 22:1; cp. 23:5). We cannot therefore accept the editorial statement in Josh. 12:15 (cp. 2:7) that Joshua 'smote' the king of Adullam. The Chronicler speaks of Rehobaiim as having fortified Adullam (2 Ch. 11:7). He names the place in conjunction with Socco (Shuweikeh), which harmonises geographically with Hech's combination of it (Mic. 1:15, if the text be correct) with Mareshah (Merash). It is included in the list of cities which are stated to have been occupied by the Jews in the time of Nehemiah or Zernbabel (Neh. 11:35; so *B. M.* 1:1; *B. M.* om.); but the list in Neh. 11:35-6 appears to be an archaeological fiction of the Chronicler. Judas the Maccabee, at any rate, in a raid into 'Idumaea,' occupied Adullam and kept the sabbath there (2 Macc. 12:3).

The chief interest of Adullam, however, lies in its connection with DAVID (*J. J.* § 3). Here, not in some enormous cave (such as that fixed upon by tradition at Kharemmun)² but in the 'stronghold' of the town, David on two occasions found a safe retreat (1 S. 22:1; 2 S. 5:17; cp. 23:14).

Where was Adullam? The authority of the Palest-

¹ The word is found both with *d* and with *n* on Aramaic seals; e.g., אֲדוּלָּאָם (CNS 2, no. 124) and אֲדוּלָּאָם (CNS 2, no. 125).
² The Maghara Kharijites entered the town, not with David, but with an ascetic named Cherton, who, after having been taken by robbers on the way to Jerusalem, founded one of his two klanes here, and died in the cave about 450 A.D.

AGABUS

The Survey has led many recent writers to adopt the identification of Adullam with 'Id-el-ma, proposed in 1871 by M. Clermont-Ganneau. This is the name of a steep hill on which are 'ruins of indeterminate date,' with an ancient well at the foot, and, near the top, on both sides, caves of moderate size. The site is in the east of the Shephelah, about 3 m. S.E. of Socco, and 8 from Mareshah; and, though it is much more from Bethlehem, 'the journey would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David' (Clermont-Ganneau, *PEF* 177 [75]). The identification, however, is only conjectural. The caves are unimportant (1) because the MT (cp. Jos. *Ant.* vi. 12) speaks of a single cave, and (2) because with We., Kt., Bn., and Kam. we should correct אֲדוּלָּאָם 'cave,' in 1 S. 22:1; 2 S. 23:1; 1 Ch. 11:15, into אֲדוּלָּאָם 'stronghold'; cp. 1 S. 22:4, 2 S. 23:1. Nor does the position of 'Id-el-ma exactly agree with that assigned to Adullam in the *Onomasticon*. On the very slight resemblance of the name to Adullam no reliance can be placed. Other sites are quite possible. Cp. GASm. *HB* 229 f. See M. A. H. § 2 a, n.

L. K. C.

ADULTERY. See MARRIAGE, § 4.

ADUMMIM. The Ascent of אֲדֻמִּים (Josh. 15:7 אֲדֻמִּים [B], אֲדֻמִּים [A], אֲדֻמִּים [L. i.]; 18:17 אֲדֻמִּים [B], אֲדֻמִּים [A], אֲדֻמִּים [L. i.]; אֲדֻמִּים, a point marking the frontier between Judah and Benjamin. The sharp rise near the middle of the road from Jericho to Jerusalem appears to be intended; the name (connected with אֲדֻמִּים 'red') was perhaps suggested by the reddish hue of the chalk rocks in that neighbourhood, to which appears to be due the name of the kham el Ahmar ('the red'), the traditional 'inn' of the Good Samaritan, and that of *Tahit el Dam* ('the hill of blood'), N.E. of the kham. With the latter spot the ascent of Adummim has been plausibly identified (*PEF* *Mem.* 3172).

ADVERSARY. The word so translated in 1 S. 1:1 (אֲדֻרָּא *sara*, RV 'rival,' אֲדֻרָּא [L. i.], cp. Lev. 18:13 [B.M.]) is the technical term for a fellow-wife, answering to Ass. *šarita*, Ar. *šarīṭa*, Syr. *šarīṭa* ('rival'). All these forms are dialectal variations of a single Old-Semitic word. Similarly, in Lev. 18:13 the words 'to vex her' are better rendered by RV 'to be a rival to her.' The words that follow may be rendered, interpreting the metaphor, 'marrying the second sister, in addition to the first, in the lifetime of the latter.'

The sense of the metaphor is given by the Arabic *šarīṭa* *šarīṭa*. See Dr. *IRS*, *ad loc.* and especially Lag. *S. Mittheilungen* 1125 f. (G.G.V. 1882, no. 13).

W. K. S.

ADVOCATE (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ), 1 Ju. 2:1; see PARACLETE.

AEDIAS (ΑΗΔΕΙΑΣ [B]), 1 Esd. 9:27 = Ezra 10:20, RV EIJAU, 3.

ÆNEAS (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ [B.M.]), a paralytic at Lydda healed by Peter (Acts 9:34). The form of the name, Æneās, not as in Homer *Enēas*, is more correct. It is met with in Thucydides, Xenophon, and Pindar.

ÆNON (ΑΙΝΩΝ [L. W.H.]), Ju. 3:2 f. See SALIM.

ÆSORA (ΑΙΣΩΡΑ [B.M.], etc.), Judith 14 f. RV = AV Esora (*J. J.*).

AFFINITY. See FAMILY, KINSHIP.

AGABA. RV AGABA (ΑΓΓΑΒΑ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:31 = Ezra 2:6, HAGAB.

AGABUS (ΑΓΑΒΟΣ [L. W.H.]; § 68), one of the 'prophets' who came from Jerusalem upon the tribulation that rose about Stephen (Acts 11:10, cp. 8:4). He predicted a great famine over all the world 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius' (Acts 11:27-28). The reference, of course, is to the great dearth which visited Judaea and the surrounding districts, especially Jerusalem, in 41 and 43 A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 26; 5:2).

¹ The text of BA differs.

AGAG

Eus. *HE* ii. 113). For other famines in the reign of Claudius, see Suet. *Claud.* 18; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

The next mention of Agabus is in Acts 21 *io* f., where it is said that he 'came down from Judaea' to Caesarea when Paul was there, and, taking Paul's girdle, bound his own feet and hands with it to symbolise the captivity of the apostle. As this reference looks like a first mention of Agabus, those who ascribe the whole of Acts to one writer regard it as an indication that the second half of the book was written first. By other's the passage is naturally regarded as one of the indications that the author of Acts did not himself write the 'we' passages, but adopted them from an earlier source. On the other hand, Overbeck and Van Manen regard 21. 10-14 as an interpolation, and suppose that the 'we' was introduced by the last redactor. Jüngst thinks that the prophecy cannot originally have been ascribed to Agabus, but must have been assigned to one of Philip's prophesying daughters, or these would not have been mentioned. At all events, it is to be noted that 'from Judaea' (21. 10) does not harmonise with 218, for Caesarea belonged to Judaea.

Agabus is included in the lists of the 'seventy disciples of our Lord' by pseudo-Dorotheus and pseudo-Hippolytus, and is commemorated in the great Greek Menaea (Apr. 8), along with Rufus, Herodion, and Asyncretus.

AGAG (אַגַּג, אֲגַג, cp. Ass. *agga*, 'be powerful, vehement, angry'; *Aggi*, the spirits friendly to man, Maspero, *Diction of Civ.* 634; אַגַּג [BAL]), a king of the Amalekites, so celebrated in early tradition that the Yahwist makes Balaam say, by an obvious anachronism, of the future Israelitish kingdom, 'His king shall be higher than Agag' (Nu. 24. 7; אַגַּג [BAL], following Samar. text). Saul, after his successful campaign against the Amalekites, exempted Agag from the general doom of devotion to the deity by slaughter, and brought him to Gilgal, where Samuel hewed him in pieces before Yahweh—i.e., at the great sanctuary where festal sacrifices were offered (1 S. 15. 2 f., 20 f., 32 f.). Making allowance for the endeavour of the narrator to harmonise an old tradition with later ideas (see SACL, § 3), and throwing ourselves back into the barbarous period which begins to pass away under David, we cannot doubt that the slaughter of Agag was a eucharistic sacrifice (see SACRIFICE), akin to that of the *naki'a* (lit. 'victim rent in pieces'), which was in use among the Arabs after a successful fray, and which might be a human sacrifice (WRS RS² 491, cp. 363; We. *Ar. Meid.* 112 [87]).

AGAGITE (אַגַּגִּית; for Greek readings see below), a member of the family of Agag; a title applied anachronistically to Haman (Esth. 3. 10, 8. 15). Haman, as an Amalekite, is opposed to Mordecai, the descendant of Kish (Esth. 2. 6). Neither description is to be taken literally (see ESTHER, § 1, end). The meaning is that there is an internecine struggle between the Jews and their enemies, like that between Saul and Agag of old. Similarly, Haman is called a 'Macedonian' in the Greek parts of Esther; 126 (μακεδονα [L^a]); but βοργαίος [BNAL^a]; AV Agagite; RV BUCHEAN 16. 10 (EV Macedonian; μακεδων [BNAL^a]); but βοργαίος [L^a]), and the name has made its way back into 9. 24 (μακεδων [BNAL^a]); cp ESTHER, § 10. Elsewhere the G^o reading is βοργαίος [BNAL^a] (only in 3. 185 [N^o 4 mg.]), perhaps a corruption of βοργαίος (in Nu. 24. 7, the same version has Γωγ for Αγαγ).

AGAR (אַגַּר [BAL]). 1. The sons of Agar, Bar. 3. 23 RV; AV Agarenes. See HAGAR, § 2, n. 2. Gal. 4. 24 f., RV HAGAR 12. 1, end).

AGATE (אַגַּת, Is. 54. 12, ἰακτιν [BNALQ]; אֲגַת, Ez. 27. 16 [B^o, G^o], ἰακτιν [L^a], κορυμπς [V], etc.; אֲגַת, אֲגַת [BAL]) occurs four times in AV, twice for Heb. *kadkod*, RV 'rubies' and twice for *shoh*. On the identification of these stones, see CHALCEDONY. On the question whether the

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agate, which is a variegated chalcedony (translucent quartz) with layers or spots of jasper, was known to Israel, see PRECIOUS STONES.

AGEE (אֶגֶּי, אֶגֶּי [V]; אֶגֶּי [B]; אֶגֶּי [L]; Jos. הלוי [gen.]; AGE), father of SHAMMAI (q.v., 3); 2 S. 23. 11. His name should doubtless be corrected to Ela אֶלָּא (so Marq. *Fund.* 17); א and ל in the older character were very similar. He is mentioned again in 1 K. 4. 18. See ELAH, 6.

AGGABA (אַגְגָּבָא [B^o mg. A]), 1 Esd. 5. 29† RV = Ezra 2. 45, HAGABAH.

AGGÆUS, AV Aggeus (Aggei [ed. Bensly]), 1 Esd. 6. 17, 4 Esd. 1. 40†. See HAGGAI.

AGIA (אַגִּיא [BA]), 1 Esd. 5. 34† RV = Ezra 2. 57, HATTIL.

AGRICULTURE.—Agriculture is here considered (1) as conditioned by the land (§ 1), (2) as conditioned by the people (§§ 2-10), (3) as a factor in the life of the people (§§ 11-15); a concluding paragraph (§ 16) will contain some notes on historical points.

1. The great variety of the conditions in the different natural divisions of Palestine (Dt. 17) must be kept in mind.¹ The various local products,

1. Conditioned by land. natural and industrial, of these districts, so often alluded to by the Old Testament writers, the most important of which are wheat and barley, olive and vine and fig, will be described in special articles (q.v.). On the seasons see RAIN, DEW. We simply note here—*First*, the long dry season (Apr.-Oct.), including all the harvests, the dates of which vary slightly in the different districts (cp FEASTS, § 10); the קציר in spring, when rain seemed miraculous (1 S. 12. 16 f.) and the steady W. wind every evening made it possible to winnow with ease, barley beginning in April, wheat about a fortnight later; the קץ, summer fruits and vegetables, in summer; olives in autumn; the קציר, vines, from August onwards. *Second*, the wet season (Oct.-Apr.), the earlier part of which saw the preparation of the soil by the early rain (שׁוּבַת, שׁוּבַת) for the winter crops, to be brought to maturity by the succeeding showers, especially those in March-April (שׁוּבַת), before which was the time for sowing the summer crops.

With such stable conditions, all that seems to be needed is a fair amount of intelligent industry; and the lack of this, rather than any great change of climate, is probably the cause of the retrogression of modern times.² The productivity, however, was not uniform (cp parable of sower), and there seems to be a somewhat periodic diminution in the amount of rainfall. Agriculture is also exposed to pests; the easterly wind קד, drought, MILDEW, and LOCUSTS (q.v.; see also ANT, § 4).

II. We consider now, more in detail, agriculture as dependent on the energy, skill, and general condition of the inhabitants. Our account must naturally be fragmentary.³ The minute prescriptions of the Mishna must of course be used with caution. We begin with—

2. Sources of information. 1. Technical details of agricultural procedure. (For the most part we shall deal only with the raising of grain crops. For other departments see VINES, GARDEN, CATTLE, etc.) Incidentally the biblical records describe many agricultural processes, and mention by name some of the implements used. Of these implements, however, they give no description; and the only specimens found, up to the present time, are of sickles (see below, § 7).

For Egypt, however, we have fuller sources—many pictures of processes and implements, and some actual specimens. And

¹ See PALESTINE for details on Geology (§ 3), Physical divisions (§ 4 f.), Hydrography (§ 13), Climate and Vegetation (§ 14 f.).

² See however Fraas, *Aus dem Orient* 192.

³ There is no Hebrew word corresponding to our term *farm*. Tilling the soil is אֲגַת הָאֲדָמָה; husbandman is אֲגַת, etc.; field is שָׂדֶה.

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since modern Egypt and modern Palestine are very similar, these ancient Egyptian remains may be used to illustrate ancient Palestine. Further, since modern implements and methods are, in Egypt, very like those of antiquity, the same is probably true of Palestine. Hence it is reasonable to hold that, in Palestine also, modern may be taken to illustrate ancient.

Our main side-lights,¹ therefore, are modern Palestine and ancient Egypt; and they are best used in this order, subordinated always to the actual data of the OT itself.

We shall take the processes in natural order,

Sometimes land had to be cleared of wood or shrub (אֲרָז Josh. 17:18), or of stone (אֲבָן), chiefly in vineyards.

3. Prepar- ing soil.

3. Preparing soil. For loosening or otherwise moving the soil many words are used, such as

which the first group denotes ploughing, the second, breaking up the soil (אֲרָבָה) or the clods (אֲרָבָה Joel 1:17) with the mattock or hoe, while the third as clearly means levelling off the surface with something serving for a harrow. Of the names of the instruments? We have אֲרָבָה or אֲרָבָה, אֲרָבָה, of which the first pair probably represents the plough (NT ἀροτριον); the last, a sort of mattock; while אֲרָבָה must remain undetermined, plough-share or hoe. It is clear, therefore, that we have at least three processes—ploughing, hoeing, and harrowing. We cannot be sure that there was of old in different parts of the country any more uniformity than there is now.

It is not likely that the shallow soil would ever be much

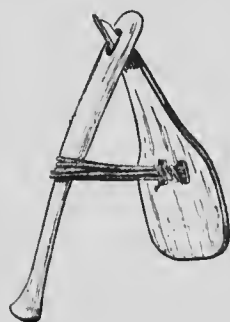


FIG. 1.—Egyptian Hoe (*Brit. Mus.*). For picture of hoe in use see fig. 3, and cp EGYPT, § 34, n.

left unsown with grain and is overgrown with weed, this is ploughed in.

Turning now to the implements used for these purposes, and beginning with the less important, we

4. Implements for preparing soil.

ing soil. The goat is the natural symbol of agriculture, as the goad is in modern Palestine,⁶ has no representative in modern Syria; but neither has it in

¹ Babylonia, as well as Egypt, no doubt presented points of contact with Palestine; but in the department of agriculture our direct knowledge of Babylonia is very slight. See *KP*² 394 ff., and Meissner, *Beitr. z. altbab. Privatrecht*.

² See partial list of Talmudic names in Hamburger and Ungolius, and now also a very full collection in Vogelstein's work (see below, § 17).

3 In Egypt two ploughs seem generally to have been used, the one behind the other; perhaps the second turned up the soil between the furrows made by the first (p. however, next note). On the other hand, at least in later times, the Egyptians sometimes used a lighter plough, drawn by men or boys.

4 If we could regard the Egyptian agricultural pictures as representations of actual scenes we should have to conclude that in Egypt the hoe was used sometimes before (so always? in the Old Empire), sometimes after, or both before and after the plough, to break up the great clods of earth. The depicting of the various operations side by side, however, is very likely a mere convention designed to represent in one view all kinds of field work. So Prof. W. Max Müller in a private communication to the present writer.

⁵ The illustration (fig. 1) needs only the explanation that the twisted cord adjusts the acuteness of the angle of the two other parts.

⁸ Cp Wetzstein's note on Judg. 3:31 (*l.c.* below, § 17).

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modern Egypt. A modern Syrian hoe may be seen in *PEFQ*, 1891, pp. 110-115; as also mattock, spade, etc.

The *harroo* does not seem to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, although their modern representatives use a weighted plank or a toothed roller. In modern Palestine a bush of thorns is sometimes used. The writer of Job 39, however, seems to have known of some implement drawn by beasts following the labourer; but this throws little light on general usage.

The *plough*, although it is probably, strictly speaking, an inferior substitute for the spade, is in common practice a very important implement, and merits more detailed treatment.

Of the Israelish plough we know only that it had, at least sometimes, an iron share that needed sharpening (e.g., 1 S. 13²⁰, editorial comment in corrupt text). That the Syrian plough was light¹ we have the testimony of Theophrastus. The modern Syrian plough, which is light enough to be carried by the ploughman on his shoulder, and is simpler than the usual ancient Egyptian² plough (fig. 3) in having only one handle and therefore

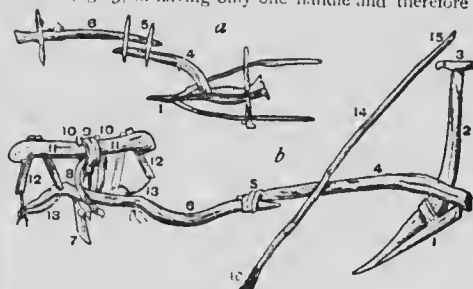


FIG. 2.—a. Babylonian Plough (from cylinder seal, *circa*. 2000 B.C., belonging to Dr. Hays Ward). b. Syrian Plough and Goad (after PEAKE, 1891).

1. *es-sikka* סִיקָה³ 3. *šir'a, šer'*
2. *ed-dikr, dikr* דִּיקָר 4. *sygné (Post)*
3. *al-būsa, kibusa* 11. *en-nir*
4. *el-burak, burk* בִּירָק 12. *ibakūn (Post)*
5. *es-sawjifz (šum)* בִּירִית 13. *jenir*
6. *el-wāḡla, wāḡl* וֶעֱזִי³ 14. *minsā or minsīs*
7. *karīb (Post)* קִרִּיב 15. *maḡāḡa*
8. *halaḡa (Post)* 16. *'abā, sabḡūḡ*

not needing two men to manage it, may safely be taken to illustrate that used by the Israelites. There is no more uniformity in its construction than in any other matter relating to agriculture, and it would seem to be at its simplest in Southern Palestine. The woodcut (fig. 2) illustrates its general form. It is of wood, often oak. The stake on to which the pointed metal sheath that serves for a share is thrust, passing through a hole in the pole, to end in a cross handle piece. The pole is of two pieces, joined end to end. The pole (עֵבֶר, עֵבֶר, more rarely עֵבֶר עֵבֶר; ἑβρῶν, ἑβρῶν) is repeatedly mentioned in the OT. It varied in weight according to circumstances (1 K. 12.4). It is now made as light as possible, often of willow. Two pegs, joined below by thongs or by hair string, form a collar for each of the oxen, and two smaller pegs in the middle keep in position the ring or other arrangement for attaching the plough pole. Repairs are attended to once a year by a travelling

¹ The simplest plough would be made of one piece of a tree, bent while growing. See Verg. *Georg.* I, 136, and illustration in Graevius, *Thes. Antiq. Rom.* II, p. 1074.

² The ancient Egyptian plough, which underwent little modification in the course of millenniums, was all of wood, although, perhaps, the share was of a wood (thicker?) different from the rest of the plough, and may sometimes have been sheathed in metal (Wilkinson). Of the Assyrian plough we know from an embossed relief found near Mosul, that it (sometimes) had a board for turning over the earth, and just in front of it a drill that let the seed down, to be covered by the soil as it turned over.

³ Where two forms of the Arabic name are given, the first is from Schumacher, and the second from Post (17, *cit.* below, § 17). The Hebrew names are from Vogelstein (2, *cit.* below, § 17).

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expert. The ploughman holds in his left hand a *goad* (*messay* = מַסְיָה) some eight or nine feet in length, having at one end a metal point, and at the other a metal blade to clear the share.

The *hara* (הָרָא, *gogos*) would, as now, oftenest consist of oxen (Am. 6:12), but sometimes of cows (Job



FIG. 3.—Ploughing, hoeing, and sowing. From the *maṣṣaba* of Ti at Sakḥāra (Old Empire). After Baedeker.

14, Heb. text), and perhaps sometimes of asses (Is. 30:24; Dt. 22:10). Even camels and mules may now be seen occasionally. In Armenia many pairs of oxen draw one plough, the driver sitting on the yoke; but this is hardly the meaning of 1 K. 19:13.

The *furrows* were called קֶרֶן (קֶרֶן, *keren*). They are now sometimes very carefully drawn (cp. מאדוק: Ps. 129:4), and are some nine to ten inches apart.

Irrigation (מִיָּדָה, *miyada*; see GARDENS) must have been one of the processes used by Israel.² Palestine, indeed, differed from Egypt (Dt. 11:10f.), on which see EGYPT, § 24, n.) in having

a copious supply of rain and in having natural springs (Deut. 8:7); hence many districts, especially in valleys,³ would bear crops without being watered artificially. But later practice shows that even these would yield better harvests if they had artificial irrigation, and there may have been districts under cultivation which were entirely dependent on it. It would not be safe to assign an early date to the elaborate methods and regulations of Mishna times; and it is difficult to determine whether by the streams that were so highly prized (Dt. 8:7; Nu. 24:6; Cant. 4:15),⁴ and without which a garden could not live (Is. 1:30), artificial canals are meant, and whether, e.g., the bucket (שֶׁבַע, Is. 40:15; Num. 21:5) was used in irrigation. The Mishna has regulations concerning *manuring* (מְזִיָּה), and there may be a reference to it in such passages as Ps. 83:10[11] (מְזִיָּה) or Is. 25:1 (Kithib). In NT times, at least, manure was used for trees (Lk. 13:8; *πάλα κόπρος*), as now for figs, olives, etc.; it was worked in at the last yearly ploughing, which was after the first winter rain. For grain crops the use of manure is exceptional (e.g., at Hebron). Remains show that in the hilly country *terraing* (מְזִיָּה, Cant. 5:13?) was used even more than now, especially for vine cultivation; but the water terraces are still used for grain, the clearing of the soil being called *malāh*.

Fences (מִגְדָּר) were employed, perhaps only in vine-

¹ Vogelstein argues from *Kelim*, 96 that this is the name of the metal head.

² Cp. however, Hcl. on Ps. 129:4, 15; Buhl *sub* voc. etc.

³ See now the account in Vogelstein, § 4.

⁴ Cp. *R.S.* 2:106.

⁵ The prophets delight to speak of the copious supplies of water that will refresh even the most unlikely places in the ideal future (see Cheyne on Is. 30:25).

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yards (Is. 5:5; Leeches, 28:28), where hedges (מִגְדָּר Is. 5:5) were also in use; and there was sometimes a border, e.g., of מִגְדָּר (see FENCES, 2) (Is. 28:25). Between grain-fields, however, the commonest practice was to set up *stones* to mark the line of partition (עֲזָר: Hos. 5:10); on the strong sentiment that prevailed as to the unrighteousness of tampering with these, see below (§§ 12, 14).

Whether the various words used for sowing the seed were technical terms we cannot tell. *ṣā* is a word

6. **Sowing.** of general significance. In Is. 28:25 three words are used in converse: *ṣā* and *ṣā* of scattering *ṣā* (see FENCES, 1) and *cumin* with the hand; *ṣā* of setting wheat and barley in the straight furrows.² Nowadays a drill is sometimes used. The common practice

is, whether the land has been already ploughed or not, to plough in the seed.³ This protects it from ants and from dryness due to intermission of the early rain.⁴ As to protection from man and beast, see IICT.

To reap is *ṣā*. Two names of implements have been preserved (*ṣā*, only in Dt. [169; 23:61]; *ṣā*, only in Jer. [50:10; AV mg. scythe²] and Joel [3 (1):11]; *ḥarṣan*); but whether they

7. **Reaping.** refer to the same thing or to varieties, we do not know. Perhaps the commonest method was to pull up by the root (see fig. 5), a practice confined in ancient Egypt to certain crops, but still followed both in Egypt and in Palestine. The use of *sickles* in

Canaan in very early times is, however, proved by the finding of sickle-flints⁶ at Tell-el-Hesi in the earliest and all succeeding layers, while the use of iron sickles by the Jews in at least pre-Hellenistic times is proved

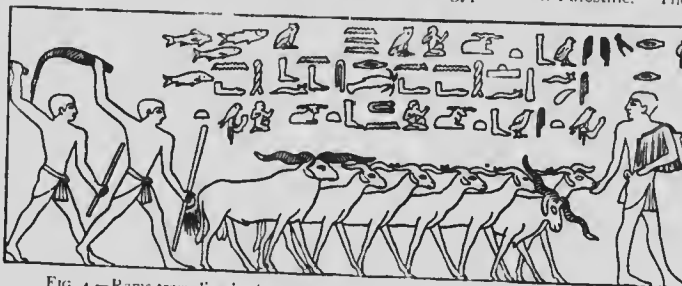


FIG. 4.—Rams trampling in the seed. From the *maṣṣaba* of Ti. After Baedeker.

by the finding of the specimen represented in fig. 7.

By putting together different allusions,⁷ we can follow the various steps. The reaper (מִגְדָּר) filled his hand



FIG. 5.—Pulling up grain. After Erman.

¹ In Am. 9:13 *ṣā* is used of the process of sowing.

² It is not unlikely that *ṣā* is to be dropped, with We. Che. and Dt. (against Dt.), as *ṣā*.

³ According to Strabo, this was done also in Babylon (cp. above, vol. 7, n. 2), and in ancient Egypt the seed was sometimes trodden in by sheep (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, ET 429; not goats), in the time of Herodotus by swine.

⁴ On the stages and accidents of growth cp. Vogelstein, § 10.

⁵ For *ṣā*, which AV mg. thrice renders 'scythe', L.V. has, more correctly, *PRUNING-HOOKS* (*ḥarṣan*).

⁶ The method of setting the sickle flints is shown by the specimens found by Dr. Petrie in Egypt (*Tell-el-Hesi*, etc. pl. 7 no. 27; see above, fig. 6).

⁷ *Ruth*, 2:23; Ps. 129:7; Is. 17:5; Job 24:2; Jer. 9:22[21].

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(עץ) with ears (ענף) of the standing corn (קציר), and with his arm (זרע) reaped them (קציר). The stalks (קציר) were, in Egypt, and still are, in Palestine, cut pretty high up (Anderlind; knee high). They must sometimes have been cut,



FIG. 6.—Sickle with cutting edge of flints found at Hahum. After Ferris.

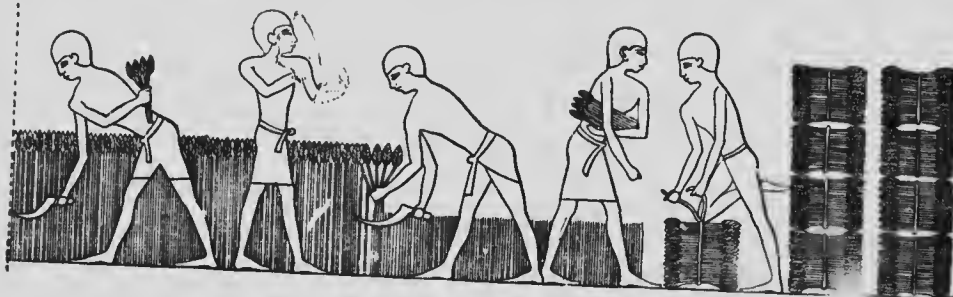
whether at this or at a later stage, very near the ear (ענף) Job 21:24. The armfuls (קציר) would fall (Jer. 9:2 [1]) in a heap (קציר) behind the reaper, to be gathered by the קציר in his bosom (קציר) and tied (קציר) into sheaves (קציר).

(קציר) and set in heaps (קציר).¹ In Egypt the sheaf consisted of two bundles, with their heads in opposite directions. In modern Syria frequently the sheaves are not tied at all. It has been



FIG. 7.—Iron sickle found at Tell el Hesi. After PEFQ.

supposed² that already in Amos's time the bundles (קציר) may sometimes have been heaped into a heavy



8.—Sickling and bundling. After Lepsius.

load on a cart (קציר Am. 2:13); but the reference may very well be to the threshing winn.³ In Egypt they were conveyed in baskets or bags, by men or on donkeys, to the threshing-floor.

Threshing was called קציר, קציר, קציר, קציר; of which the first describes beating with a rod, the second is indefinite (to break up time), and the third is literally to trample. (a) The first of these evidently represents the most primitive practice, still followed sometimes in both Palestine and Egypt. Naturally, gleaners (קציר) and apparently others in certain circumstances (e.g., Gideon in time of danger) beat out the grain; and in much later times

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(Is. 28:27) it was usual to beat out cummin and קציר (see FITCHES, 1) with rods (קציר and קציר respectively). The other processes were probably more common in later times. For these was needed a threshing-floor (קציר, δλωρ, δλωρ), for which was selected some spot freely exposed to the wind, often a well-known place (2 S. 24:16)² Beating the floor hard for use may be alluded to in Jer. 51:33 (H. b. Text; קציר). Sometimes the wheat heads may have been struck off the straws by the sickle onto the threshing-floor (Job 21:24), as Tristram describes (*East. Christ.* 125); but usually the bundles would be first piled in a heap (קציר) on the floor, and then from this a convenient quantity (קציר)³ from time to time spread over the floor.

The threshing then seems to have been done in two ways: either (b) by driving cattle round the floor on the loosely scattered stalks till their hoofs gradually trampled (קציר) out the grain (קציר), for which purpose oxen⁴ were used (Hos. 10:11),⁵ or (c) by special implements.⁶

The instruments mentioned, which were drawn usually by oxen, are (a) קציר, קציר (2), קציר, קציר; (b) קציר with קציר⁷ (wheel) pivoted (Is. 28:27), and perhaps alone (Am. 2:13); see, however, We. *ad loc.*. These two sets of expressions probably correspond pretty closely to two instruments still in use in Palestine, and a description of them and their use will be the nearest we can come to an account of their ancient representatives.

a. The Syrian *nirag* (קציר) is a wooden drag⁸ (see fig. 10) with a rough under-surface, which when drawn over the stalks chops them up. The illustration needs few explanations. The roughness is produced by the skilful insertion in holes, a cubic inch in size, of blocks of basalt (קציר Is. 41:13) which protrude (when new) some inch and a half. The sledge is weighted by heavy stones, or by the weight of the driver, who, when tired, lies down and even sleeps, or sits on a three-legged stool.

β. The *Hilan* of Northern Syria, called in Eg. by

¹ 'Barndoor,' 2 K. 6:27 AV.

² But in 1 K. 22:19 קציר is probably dittography for קציר.

³ So written, without dagesh, by Baer.

⁴ It is not clear how the horses of Is. 28:28 are supposed to be used. Du. proposes to read קציר as a verb.

⁵ In Egypt in later times oxen were so used, thresh in a with their heads bound together at the horns by a beam (see fig. 10), or in the ancient empire, donkeys, ten in a cart so in modern Syria, the line being called a *haran*.

⁶ Just as several rods are used together in mud, (a), so there could be duplicates of *haran* (b), or of implement (c), or mixtures of (b) and (c) used simultaneously, as now in Hauran.

⁷ 'Threshing-wain,' Job 41:30 [22] RV.

⁸ Clearly some kind of sharp instrument of iron (2 S. 12:11).

⁹ Ch. 20:30, RV 'harrow,' Hoffm. (*Z. 111* 20:30) 'pick.'

¹⁰ Perhaps by a gloss we have here independent names for one thing (Is. 41:13). By קציר (Judg. 8:7, 16), which some would add here, the Talmud (with *Sh. [once]*; *Sh. [once]* trans-literates) understands 'thistles'; a view that is confirmed by the existence in modern Egyptian Arabic of a word *haran* as the name of a thorny plant. See Hoffm. 1.

¹¹ קציר alone = (threshing) wheel, Prov. 20:26 RV.

¹² Same π ft. × 3 ft. × 2 in.

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the name of the unused *nōragi* (see fig. 11), and known to the Romans as *plastellum Poenicum*, has in place of sharp stones revolving metal discs, which, when pressed down by the weight of the driver seated in a rude arm-chair, effectually cut up the straw



FIG. 9.—Carrying from harvest-field, and threshing. After Rosellini.

The work is done sometimes by horses, but most commonly, as of old, by oxen, either singly or (oftener) in pairs, sometimes muzzled, contrary to ancient Egyptian usage and Hebrew *he'mim*.¹

The modern floor is a circle some fifty feet in diameter.

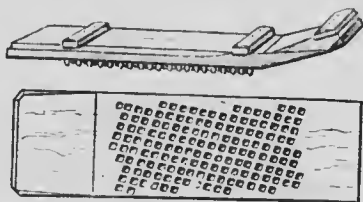


FIG. 10.—Syrian threshing-sledge. After Benzinger.

with the heap (*kadīs*) in the centre, from which a supply (*farḥa*) is from time to time spread all round in ring form, some two feet deep and seven or eight feet broad. When one *farḥa* has been thoroughly threshed—to insure which, it is from time to time stirred up with the

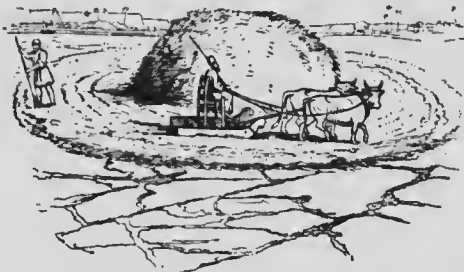


FIG. 11.—Modern Egyptian threshing-machine (*nḏrag*).
After Wilkinson.

handle of the winnowing instrument, or even with a special two-pronged fork (*diñkal*, διήκλα)—the mixed mass (*diris*) of grain (*kabb*), chopped straw (*tibn* ¹⁷τσ), and chaff etc. (*zappir*), is formed into a heap (*'arama*), to make room for a new *tarka*.

1 The Mishna seems to assume the practice in *Kelim* 16:7 לֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָעֵינַיִם. It is doubtful whether the preceding phrase וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָעֵינַיִם refers to a practice, reported by some travellers, of bandaging the eyes of the oxen in threshing. Philological considerations would give the preference to Maimonides' explanation: '*Sacculus pellis in eorum colligunt stercus iumentis ne pereat triticum dum trituratur*'.

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The process of winnowing (זרר) is often mentioned. Two names of instruments are preserved, the זרר (EV 9. **Winnowing.** 'fan') in Is. (30:24) and Jer. (15:7), and the זרר (EV 9. 'shovel') in Is. alone (30:24).¹ They seem to refer to different things; perhaps to

the implements still called by similar names in Palestine² —the fork and the shovel. The products are grain (כֶּסֶם), chopped straw (כֶּסֶם), and chaff (כֶּסֶם, *ḥayyāṣ*). The first is heaped up in round heaps (כֶּסֶם) Ru. 37; Cant. 7³, Heb. Text). The second is kept for provender (Is. 117). The third is blown away by the wind (Ps. 14).

In modern Syria the *miḏrā* (see fig. given in Wetzstein, *op. cit.* below, § 17) is a wooden fork almost 6 ft. in length, with some at least of

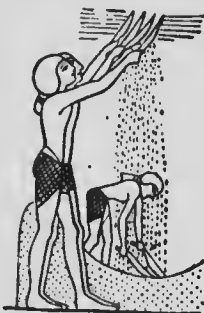


FIG. 12.—Winnowing.
After Eрман.

the *daris* against the wind or straight up, or simply let it fall from the inverted fork, according to the strength of the evening W. breeze. While the chaff

is blown away some 10 to 15 ft. or more, the straw (*tibn*) falls at a shorter distance, and is preserved for fodder; the heavy grain, unbruised ears, and joints of stems, fall almost where they were, ready for sifting.

Strange to say, in the case of sifting it is the names of the implement that are best

10. **Sifting, etc.** preserved. The *shiv* is called *ʾāḥārah* (אָהָרָה, Am. 9:4) and *nāḥārah* (נָהָרָה, Is. 30:3). In the former case

FIG. 13.—Sifting. After Lepsins.

probably the good grain, in the latter probably the refuse, passes through. In modern Syria there are

² *ἐκ τούτου* but *ἐκ τούτου* never occurs in the NT.

² But Θ $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

3 Παις ὁ Λεπτός.

² The meaning of Eccles. 59 [8] is obscure.

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and a proverb-writer points out the superiority of the quiet prosperity of the husbandman to an insecure diadem (Prov. 27.24-27).

Not unnaturally it is the life of harvest time that has been most fully preserved to us. We can see the men, especially the younger men (Ru. 2.9), cutting the grain, the young children¹ going out to their fathers (2 K. 11.9) in the field, the jealousies that might spring up between the reapers (Gen. 37.7), and the dangers that young men and maidens might be exposed to (Ru. 2.9 *perh.* Hos. 9.1 *f.*), the simple fare of the reapers (Ru. 2.14), and the unrestrained joviality of the evening meal (Ru. 3.7) after the hot day's work (2 K. 1.9), the poor women and girls gleaning behind the reapers and usually finding more than they seem sometimes to find nowadays, beating out the grain (Ru. 2.17) in the evening and carrying it away in a mantle to the older ones at home (Ru. 3.15), not only the labourers but also the owners sleeping by the corn heaps at night (Ru. 3.7), so that the villages would, as now in Palestine and Egypt, be largely emptied of inhabitants. The Egyptian monuments could be drawn on for further illustrations.

Such a mode of life had naturally a profound effect on the popular sentiment, the religious conscience, and, in time, the literary thought of the people; and, to complete our survey of the subject, a few words must be said here on these matters.

14. Sentiment.

That the agricultural mode of life was regarded as originating in the earliest ages is evident from Gen. 3 and 4;² but it was sometimes regarded as a curse (3.17 *f.*), or at least as inferior to pastoral life (13 *f.*), while at other times nomadic life was a curse (4.12), instead of being a natural stage (12.9). These two sides are perhaps reflected in the glowing descriptions in which certain writers delight—e.g., Dt. 33.8: a tilled land of corn and wine and oil (Dt. 8.7-9), a pasture land flowing with milk and honey (Ezek. 20.6). This land, which is lovingly contrasted with other lands (Ezek. 20.6-15), was felt to be a gift of Yahwē to his people, and specially under his watchful care (Dt. 11.12). The agricultural life was, therefore, also of his appointment (Gen. 3.23; Eccles. 7.15 [6]), and indeed lay as the basis of his Torah. From him the husbandman received the principles of his practice (Is. 28.26), as also, he depended absolutely on Yahwē for the bringing into operation of the natural forces (Dt. 11.14) without which all his labour would be in vain (7.17). This, however, was only a ground of special security (Dt. 11.12), for no other god could give such blessings as rain (Jer. 11.22), and Yahwē did give them (Jer. 5.24). If they were not forthcoming, therefore, it was because Yahwē had withheld them (Am. 4.7), and this was because of his people's sins (Jer. 5.25), which also brought more special curses (Dt. 28.38-40). The recognition of Yahwē had, therefore, a prominent place in connection with the stages of agricultural industry (see FEASTS, § 4), the success of which was felt to depend on the nation's rendering him in general loyal obedience (Dt. 11.8-17); the Land itself was Yahwē's; the people were but tenants (Lev. 25.23); and the moving of the ancient landmarks, though not unknown, was a great wrong (Job 21.2). Some of the moral aspects of agricultural life have been already sufficiently touched on. It is probable that many of the maxims referred to were widely observed, being congruent with the better spirit of the people. Thus Amos records it as an outrage on the ordinary sentiments of common charity, that even the refuse of the wheat should be sold for gain (Am. 8.6). Other maxims, again, can be little traced in practice.

In this description of Hebrew ideas we have taken no note of the differences between earlier and later times. Deuteronomy and the prophets have been the main

¹ Several children may sometimes now be seen weighting and driving the threshing-sledge.

² Cp also Gen. 4.28 *f.* and WRS R.52: 307

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authority. In the public consciousness, however, there lived on much of the old Canaanitish popular belief, in which the *El'ālim* hold the place here assigned to Yahwē, so that, e.g., the fertile spot is the El's plot of land, who waters it from unseen sources, underground or in the heavens (see BAAL, § 1)—a mode of expression that lived on into Mishna times, although its original meaning had been long forgotten.

The influence on Hebrew literature was very deep. The most cursory reader must have observed how much

15. Literature. the modes of expression reflect the agricultural life. Prophetic descriptions of an ideal future abound in scenes conceived in agricultural imagery.³ Great joy is likened to the joy of harvest (Is. 65.14 *f.*); what is evanescent is like chaff that is burned up or blown away; something unexpected is like cold (Pr. 25.13), or rain (Pr. 26.1), in harvest—and so on. Lack of space prevents proof in detail of how, on the one hand, figures and modes of speech are drawn from all the operations and natural phenomena of agriculture, while, on the other hand, every conceivable subject is didactically or artistically illustrated by ideas and expressions from the same source. It is a natural carrying forward in the NT of this mode of thought, to find Jesus publishing his epoch-making doctrines of the 'kingdom' so largely through the help of the same imagery. No doubt the commonest general expression is 'kingdom'; but even this often becomes a vineyard, or a field, or a tree, or a seed; and it is extended by sowing etc. It is unnecessary to pursue the subject further. The whole mode of thought has passed over into historical Christianity, and thus into all the languages of the world.

16. Historical. We shall now in closing give some fragmentary notes towards a historical outline of the subject.

The traditional account of the mode of life of the ancestors of Israel in the earliest times introduces agricultural activity only as an exceptional incident. Agriculture must be rudimentary in the case of a nomadic people. That Canaan, on the other hand, was for the most part well under cultivation,⁴ when the Israelites settled in the highlands, there can be no doubt. The Egyptian Mohar found a garden at Joppa,⁵ and of the agricultural produce claimed by Thothmes III. at the hands of the Rutennu⁶ some at least must have been grown in Palestine. Israel doubtless learned from the Canaanite not only the art of war (Judg. 3.2), but also the more peaceful arts of tilling the soil, which, as the narratives of Judges and Samuel prove, were practised with success, while it is even stated that Solomon sent to Hiram yearly 20,000 Kor of wheat and 20,000 Bath of oil (1 K. 5.11 [25] Var. Bible). Later, Ezekiel (27.17; see Cornill) tells us how Judah bartered wheat with Tyre,⁶ as well as honey, oil, balm, and *zib* (see PANNAGE); which illustrates the tradition in 1 K. 20.34 (see C. T.) that there were bazaars (see TRADE; STRY GER, § 2) for Israelitish merchants in Damascus, and for those of Damascus in Samaria. It is strange, but true, that in the very period to which this last notice refers, there arose a popular reaction against the precious legacies of Canaanitish civilisation (see RECHABITES). The Assyrian conquest of Samaria naturally checked for a time the cultivation of the soil (2 K. 17.25, lions), the colonists introduced by Sargon and Asur-bāni-pal being imperfectly adapted to their new home. In Judaea under Gedaliah the Jews 'gathered wine and summer

¹ Even of the English version, which sometimes hides such metaphors as, e.g., 'ploughing evil'—translated 'deviseth,' Prov. 6.14.

² Am. 9.13 *f.*; Hos. 14.6 *f.* [7 *f.*]; Mic. 4.4; Jer. 31.12; Zech. 8.12; Mal. 3.11.

³ The implements found at Tell-el-Hesi appear to carry us back to the earliest days.

⁴ Cp R.P. 1st ser., 2.113.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23 and cp Briggs, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (91), p. 167.

⁶ Cp a similar relation in the time of Herod (Acts 12.20).

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fruits very much' (Jer. 10.12), and had stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey, carefully hidden in the ground (Jer. 11.18). In Is. 11.14 mention is for the first time explicitly made of a threshing instrument with teeth (מַעֲדָה); but whether this was of recent introduction it is impossible to determine. On the fall of the Babylonian power the old relations with Tyre were doubtless renewed (Ezra 3.7; cp Is. 23.15). The imperial tribute, however, is regarded as heavier than the agricultural resources of the country could then well bear (Neh. 5.3 f.). This tribute may have been partly in money (5.4), but also apparently to a considerable extent in produce (Neh. 9.37, מַעֲדָה). In Joel, of course, there is a description of agricultural distress, but in such a way as to imply that agriculture was in general receiving full attention. In Eccles. (25 f.) there is acquaintance, as in other things, so in agriculture, with several artificial contrivances. To go into the detailed accounts of the Mishna is beyond the present purpose.

For complete bibliographies see the larger Cyclopaedias, Biblical and Classical. Of special treatises may be mentioned that in vol. 29 of the *Thes. of Ugolinius*;

17. Literature. of special articles, on agriculture in general, in *Mod. Palestine*, Underhill, *ZDP* 9.1 ff.; Klein, *ib.* 3.100-115, 684-101, but especially 457-34; Post, *FEF* 1.184, p. 110 f.; on the plough, Schumacher, *ZDP* 12.157-160; on sickles, F. C. J. Spurrell in *Archaeol. Journ.* 49, no. 193, 1842, p. 54 ff. and Plate I, fig. 1; on threshing sledges, Weitzstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 270 ff.; on winnowing, Weitzstein in *Hel. Isa.* 3.709 f.; on the sieve, Weitzstein, *ZDP* 14.1 ff.; on place in OT literature, O. Ungewitter, *Die landwirtschaftlichen Bilder u. Metaphern i. d. poet. Büch. d. AT* (Königsberg, 1885); on later usage, Hermann Vogelstein, *Die Landwirtschaft in Palästina zur Zeit der Mishna*, I. (Berlin, 1894), a dissertation that did not reach the writer till this article had been written. n. w. u.

AGRIPPA (ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ), Acts 25 f.† See **HERODIAN FAMILY**, 7.

AGUR (אגור; so Pesh.; אגור; but א and Vg., translating, ΦΩΒΗΘΗΤΙ [BAN]; *Congregatio*), i. Jakoh, an author of moral verses (Prov. 30.1). His name is variously explained as 'herding' of wisdom (Bar Bahlul) and 'collector' of words of Torah (Midr. *Shemot* R., par. 6). Such theories assume that Solomon is the author of the verses, which (see **PROVERBS**) is impossible. All the description given of him in the heading is 'the author of wise poems' (read, not אגור, but אגור, with Grätz, Cheyne, Bickell). Very possibly the name is a pseudonym. The poet who 'takes up his parable' in 25.5 expresses sentiments very different from those of Agur; he seeks to counteract the bold and scarcely Israelitish sentiments of his predecessor.

See Ew., *Salom. Schriften* 250 ff.; Che., *Joh and Solomon* 149 ff.; Jewish *Rel. Life*, Lect. v.; Smend, *AT Relig. Gesch.* 479 f.; and, with caution, Dillon, *Sceptics of the OT* 131 ff. 269 ff. Cp also **PROVERBS**; FRANKEL; LEMFEL. T. K. C.

AHAB (אחאב, § 65.¹ 'father's brother,' cp Ahiam and the Assy. woman's name, Ahat-abish, and see Wi. *Zf.* 1808, Heft 1; also אהאב [for אהאב] on an inscription from Safa [*Journ. As.* 1881, 19.463]). i. (Αχααβ [BAL]), אחאב [A once]; *Ahab*; Assy. *Ahabbu*. Son of Omri, and king of Israel (875-853? B.C.). Cp **CAROTOGY**, § 32, and table in § 37. The importance of this king's reign is shown by the large space devoted to it in the Book of Kings.

1. Sources. To obtain a just idea of his character, however, is not easy, the Israelitish traditions being derived from two very different sources, in one of which the main interest was the glorification of the prophets, while the other was coloured by patriotic feelings, and showed a strong partiality for the brave and bold king. To the former belong 1 K. 17.19 and 21; to the latter, chaps. 20 and 22.² Both groups of narratives are very old; but the former is more difficult than the latter to understand historically. In chaps. 20 and 22 we

¹ Cp Nöldeke, 'Verwandtschaftsnamen u. Personennamen' in *Achtzigsten zur semitischen Onomastologie* (HZA. III 307-316 1922).

² See **KINGS**, § 8, and cp Ki. *Gesch.* 2.184-186 [E. F. 2.274-276].

AHAB

seem to get nearer to the facts of history than in chaps. 17-19, 21; at the same time we must remember that even here we have to deal, not with extracts from the royal annals, but with popular traditions which are liable to exaggeration, especially at the hands of well-meaning interpolators.¹ The story of Ahab, in his relation to Elijah has been considered elsewhere (see **ELIJAH**, § 1 ff.). We can hardly deny that the writer exalts the prophet to the disadvantage of the king. Ahab

2. Ahab's policy. was not an irreligious man, but his interests were mainly secular. He wished to see Israel free and prosperous, and he did not believe that the road to political salvation and physical ease lay through the isolation of his people from all foreign nations. The most pressing danger to Israel seemed to him to be in its being slowly but surely Aramaised, which would involve the depression and perhaps the ultimate extinction of its national peculiarities. Both under Baasha and under Omri, districts of Israelitish territory had been annexed to the kingdom of Damascus, and it seemed to Ahab to be his life's work to guide himself, not by the requirements of Yahwe's prophets, but by those of political prudence. Hence he not only maintained a firm hold on Moab, but also made himself indispensable as an ally to the king of Judah, if he did not even become, in a qualified sense, his suzerain (see **JERUSALEM**, 1). Besides this, he formed a close alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 f.), whose daughter Jezebel (Ishatzebel?) he married. The object of this alliance was doubtless the improvement of Israel's commerce. The drawback of it was that it required on Ahab's part an official recognition of the Tyrian Baal² (commonly known as Melkart), which was the more offensive because the contrast between the cultus even of the Canaanitish Baalim and that of the God of Israel was becoming stronger and stronger, owing to the prophetic reaction against the earlier fusion of worship. Ahab himself had no thought of apostatising from Yahwe, nor did he destroy the altars of Yahwe and slay his prophets. Indeed, four hundred prophets of Yahwe are said to have prophesied before him when he set out on his fatal journey to Ramath Gilead. His children, too, receive the significant names of Athaliah, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.

We can understand Ahab's point of view. But for its moral dangers, we might call it thoroughly justifiable. It was of urgent importance to recover the lost Israelitish territory and to secure the kingdom of Israel against foreign invasion. If Israel were absorbed by Damascus, what would become of the worship of Yahwe? To this question Elijah would have given the answer which Amos (7.1, § 18) gave after him: 'Perish Israel, rather than that the commandments of Yahwe should be dishonoured.' Jezebel's judicial murder of Naboth and Ahab's tame acquiescence showed Elijah what might be expected from the continued combination of two heterogeneous religions. It was for the murder of Naboth that Elijah threatened king Ahab with death.³

¹ We must begin, however, with an analysis of the narratives. Van Doornick (*Th. F.* 1895, pp. 576-584) has made it highly probable that the narrative of the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek in 1 K. 20 has received many interpolations tending to make the deliverance of the Israelites more wonderful, in addition to those already pointed out by We. (*CH* 225 f.), and Kue. (*Eint.* § 25, n. 10).

² Of Baalath, the female counterpart of Baal, the Hebrew tradition makes no mention. It is an interpolator who has introduced into 1 K. 18.19 the words 'and the prophets of the Ashtera, 400,' which are wanting in the MT of 17.22, though supplied in *Q¹* (see *ib.* only 400 in 17.22) (cp WRS, *RS* 22.189; We. *CH* 221; Kie. *St. K.* 367; Ki. in Kau. *HS*). Of course, Baalath may have had her cultus by the side of Baal, but not in such a way as to strike Israelitish observers. Nor could either Baalath or Ashtera (Jezebel's father had been a priest of Ashtera, Jos. c. *Ap.* 1.15) have been called 'the Ashterah' by a contemporary writer.

³ Note that 1 K. 21.20b-26—in which (1) the whole house of Ahab is threatened, and (2) the punishment is connected with Ahab's religious policy—forms no part of the old narrative (see Ki. in Kau. *HS*).

and it was probably for this, or for other unrecorded moral offences of Ahab and the partisans of Baal, that the uncourtly prophet Micaiah 'never prophesied good concerning Ahab, but evil' (1 K. 22:8).

To what precise period of Ahab's reign his encounters with Elijah belong, we are not told. Nor is it at all certain to which years the events recorded in 1 K. 20 are to be referred. To the popular traditions further reference is made elsewhere (see ISRAEL, HISTORY OF, § 29). Suffice it to say here that they show us Ahab's better side; we can understand from them that to such a king much could be forgiven. Our remaining space will be devoted to the two inscriptions relative to episodes in the life of Ahab.

3. Mesha Inscription

The earliest record comes from MOAB (q.v.). King Mesha informs us in his famous inscription (L 8) that Moab had been made tributary to Israel by Omri, and that this subjection had continued 'during Omri's days and half of his son's days, forty years,' after which took place the great revolt of Moab.¹ How this statement is to be reconciled with that in 2 K. 11:14 need not be here considered. It is, at any rate, clear that the loss of the large Moabitish tribute, and of the contingent which Moab would have to furnish to Israelish armies, must

4. Shalmaneser II's Inscription

have been felt by Ahab severely. The second mention of this king occurs in the Monolith Inscription of SHALMANESER II (q.v.). In the list there given of the allied kings of Syria whose forces were defeated by Shalmaneser at the battle of Karkar (near the river P'rontes) in 854 B.C. occurs the name of Ahabbu Sar-lai, which, as most scholars are now agreed,² can only mean Ahab³ of Israel⁴ (or, as Hommel thinks, of Jezreel). Two important questions arise out of this

5. Why was Ahab at Karkar?

record. (1) Did Ahab join Bir'idri (Benhadad I.) of Damascus of his own accord, jealousies being neutralised by dread of a common foe? or was he a vassal of Bir'idri, bound to accept the foreign policy of his suzerain and to support it with (or at any rate through) his warriors on the field of battle? The former alternative is adopted by Kittel⁵ and McCurdy; the latter by Wellhausen and Winckler. To discuss this here at length is impossible. The remarks of Wellhausen will seem to most students very cogent. 'If feelings of hostility existed at all between Ahab and Benhadad, then Ahab could not do otherwise than congratulate himself that in the person of Shalmaneser II. there had arisen against Benhadad an enemy who would be able to keep him effectually in check. That Shalmaneser might prove dangerous to himself probably did not at that time occur to him; but if it had, he would still have chosen the remote in preference to the immediately threatening evil. For it was the political existence of Israel that was at stake in the struggle with Damascus.'⁶ Cp BEN-HADAD, § 2.

It does not follow, however, that we must give Wellhausen's answer to the second question, which is (2) Are the events related in 1 K. 20 22, with the exception of the contest for Ramath Gilead, to be placed before or after the battle of Karkar (854 B.C.)? It is, no doubt, highly plausible to suppose that

¹ For a somewhat different view, see CHRONOLOGY, § 29, n. 1.

² Against Kamph's view, that Ahab is mentioned by a mistake of the Assyrian scribe instead of Joram, cp Schr. *AGF* 370.

³ The form Sar-lai may be illustrated by the vocalisation אֶהָבִי Asarel, 1 Ch. 4:16, which Lag. (*Ubers.* 132) thinks may represent the original pronunciation rather than אֶהָבִי.

⁴ Ki., however, after adopting this view of the course of events in his narrative, turns round, and with some hesitation indicates his preference for the view of Kamph. (*Chronologie der hebr. A.Zn.* 80), held also formerly by We., according to which the Assyrian scribe confounds Ahab with his son Jehoram (*Hist.* 2:273). On the whole question cp Schr. *AGF* 375-377.

⁵ *Hist.* 61. So the conservative critic Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.* 3:379). On the other side, see McCurdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1:27 ff.

Ahab took advantage of the blow dealt to the power of Damascus at Karkar to stake off the suzerainty of Benhadad: so far, at least, it seems reasonable to follow Wellhausen. But it is not likely that, considering the threatening attitude of Assyria, Benhadad would have thought it prudent to fritter away his strength on these 'furious attacks' on Israel to which Wellhausen refers; it is not likely, in short, that the siege of Samaria and the battle of Aphek are to be placed after 854 B.C. It may be asked, if they are not placed thus, where are we to find room for them? In 1 K. 20:23-24, Ahab is represented as gaining the mastery over Benhadad, who has to make most humiliating concessions to him. After such a success, how can we account for Ahab's enforced presence at Karkar as vassal of Benhadad? The answer is that tradition selects its facts, and that the facts which it selects it idealises as an artist would idealise them. We may admit that Ahab, in his obstinate and patriotic resistance to Damascus, was not unvisited by gleams of good fortune; but the fact, which tradition itself records, that he was once actually besieged in his capital, cannot have stood alone. Of Ahab's other misfortunes in war tradition is silent; but we can easily imagine that the power which was too strong for Omri was at last able to force his son to send a large contingent to the army which was to meet Shalmaneser at Karkar.

That the siege of Samaria, at any rate, was before 854 B.C. is rendered probable by the criticism given elsewhere (see JEHORAM, 1, § 2) of the narrative in 2 K. 7. In particular, the kings of the Hittites and of *Muwi*, who are referred to in 2 K. 6, are just those with whom Benhadad would have to deal before 854 B.C., while Shalmaneser was still occupied at a distance.

The above solution of the historical problem is that of Winckler, which unites elements of Wellhausen's view and of that of Kittel.

The last-named critic deserves credit for an ingenious explanation (*Gench.* 2:232) of the magnanimity attributed to Ahab in 1 K. 20:31-34. It will be remembered that, according to Kittel, Ahab sent forces to Karkar of his own accord, not as a vassal of Benhadad. This enables him to suggest that the king of Israel may have spared his rival's life in order to enlist him in a coalition against Assyria, the idea of which (according to this hypothesis) was Ahab's. It must be confessed, however, that this view ascribes more foresight to Ahab than, according to AMOS (2:7, § 5), was possessed by the Israelites even at a later day, and it was certainly unknown to the compiler of our traditions, who make no mention of the battle of Karkar.

We may regard it, then, as highly probable that the battle of Karkar was fought at some time in the 'three (?) years without war between Syria and Israel' mentioned in 1 K. 22:1.

The numbers of the force assigned by Shalmaneser in his inscription to Ahab (2000 chariots, 10,000 men),

as compared with those assigned to other kings,² deserve attention. It is possible, no doubt, as Winckler suggests, that contingents from Judah and Moab were reckoned among the warriors of Ahab.³ This does not, however, greatly diminish the significance of the numbers. After all, the men of Judah were southern Israelites. Even if Moabitish warriors were untrustworthy against a foe such as Benhadad, there is no reason to doubt that the men of Judah would sooner see Israel free from Benhadad than swallowed up by its deadly foe. Ahab was

certainly no contemptible antagonist in respect to the number of warriors he could bring into the field. He himself, like David (2 S. 18:3), was 'worth ten thousand,' and the dread with which he inspired the Syrians is strikingly shown in the account of his last campaign. We read that

¹ *I/6* 50; 2nd and 3rd ed. p. 71.

² Bir'idri (Benhadad) has 1200 chariots, 1200 horse-men, 20,000 men (Schrader, *COI* 1:186).

³ That Jehoshaphat's military support of Ahab was not altogether voluntary is surmised by We. and positively asserted by Wi. That it only began at the expedition to Ramath Gilead is too hastily supposed by Ki. (*Gench.* 2:232 [ET, 2:272]).

AHASUERUS

² See further Bevan, *Daniel* 122, where Ahašyār or Ahsayār is proposed as the original Jewish form.

AHAVA

ΔΗΛΑΝΑ (ΔΗΛΑΝ), a place (Δηλανά, **ΔΕΛΩΝ** [B], **ΕΥΕΙ** [A]), or, as in the parallel 1st Ed 840 (ΠΗΛΩΝ, om. B), **ΘΕΡΑ**, accus. [A], **ΕΨΕΑ** [I.] and **ΕΨΕΑ** **ΣΥΝ** **ΘΗΥΕ** [B], **ΛΟΥΕ** [B.A., in v. 31 **ΣΥΝ** **ΡΑΒ.**], **ΔΟΛΟΥΘ** [I.] in 1st Ed. 850 (cf. for the young men, **ΤΩΝ** **ΠΕΝΤΕΚΟΣ** [B.M.], i.e., apparently **חַמִּישִׁים** for **חֲמִישִׁים** **סָגֵל** **סָגֵל** [Thoms., **ΘΕΡΑ** [B.M.] **ΕΨΕΑ** [I.], a river, near which) **πρὸς** assembled his caravan before its departure for Jerusalem. The site and the river remain unidentified. We know that both were in the Euphrates basin, and that Cassimira (*ibn.*, cp. *Jew. Ant.* x. 5 2; see Be-Rys, *Parat.* ad *ib.*) was not very far off. The form **Theray** (see above) seems to have arisen from **חַמִּישִׁים** for **רָב.**, which is the reading of some MSS for **חַמִּישִׁים** in 1st Ed. 858.

AHAZ (𐤁𐤇𐤆, a shortened form of JETHAH-AZ, the Jihazai of the inscriptions: see *A/1* 220). 1. (A)AZ

1. Syro Ephraim-
itish war.

eleventh king of Judah (733-721; cp. CHRONICLES, § 34, and Isaiah, i § 37). He was young, perhaps only twenty years of age (2 K. 16:1), when he ascended the throne, and appears already to have struck keen observers as having Isaiah by a want of manliness which was quite consistent with tyranny (Is. 37:36). The event seems to have been regarded by Rezin (or rather Rezon) of Damascus as favourable to his plan for uniting Syria and Palestine in a league against Assyria. Pekah, who had just become king of Israel by rebellion and assassination, was only too glad to place himself at the disposal of Rezin, who alone could defend him from Tiglath-pileser's wrath at the murder of an Assyrian vassal. Rezin and Pekah, therefore, marched southward, — being safe for the moment from an Assyrian invasion — with the object of forcing Judah to join their league (2 K. 16:5; Is. 8:9; cp. ISAAH, i § 11). They could not but have confidence, however, in any promise which they might extort from Ahaz. For Ahaz, who, unlike Rezin, had no personal motive for closing his eyes to the truth, was conscious of the danger of provoking Assyria. Let us, then, said Rezin and Pekah, place a creature of our own, who can be trusted to serve us, on the throne of Judah (Is. 7:6). Their nominee is called *Ben-Zabab* (see TAYLOR, 1), whom the language ascribed to the allies hardly allows us to identify with Rezin.² He was probably one of Rezin's courtiers, and thus (what a disgrace to Judah!) a mere Syrian governor with the title of king. The attempt to take Jerusalem was a failure. The fortress proved too strong to be taken by storm, and to have prolonged the siege, in view of the provocation given to Assyria and the terrible promptness of Assyrian vengeance, would have been imprudent. Ahaz, too, in his alarm (which was fully shared by the citizens),³ had already made this vengeance doubly certain by sending an embassy to Tiglath-pileser with the message, 'I am thy slave and thy son: come up and deliver me' (2 K. 16:7; this verse should be read immediately after v. 5).⁴

¹ In 2 Ch. 29:1 some MSS of $\mathfrak{B}$ and Pesh. read 'twenty-five' for 'twenty.' This is more natural, in view of the age assigned to Hezekiah at his accession. The 'five' may, however, have crept in from 27:1-29:1. $\mathfrak{B}^{16}$ reads 'twenty.'

² *W. J. F. Finkelstein*, 73:75; cf., however, ISRAELI, *HIST. OF*, 32.

21 See Is. 7:25-8. The latter passage is partly corrupt; but it is clear, at least, that the people of Judah are opposed to distrusting Yahweh's power to save his people, and 'the world' because of 'Rezin and ben-Kendiah'. The 'waters of Shiloah' are a symbol of Yahweh (cf. Is. 38:1; Is. 38:10). So 'Ché, 'Isaïele' (*SABT*). The interpretation of *Is.* 38, which paraphrases *פָּרַח* (AV and RV, ungrammatically, 'rejoice in') by *ῥοδωσάτωσαν ἑξῆτι βασιλεία*, is certainly wrong, though supported by some ancient names (Ges., Ew., Knab, Schaff), but it is opposed to Is. 7:2-8. Even were the supposition that there was a large party in the capital favorable to Rezin and Pekah more plausible than it is, it would still be unwise to base the supposition on a passage so strangely expressed and of such questionable accuracy as Is. 38.

⁴ If the statement of the compiler in 2 K. 163 that Ahaz

AHAZ

One man, Hersh ben Amoz, had kept his head cool amid this excitement. He assured Abaz on the

2. Isaiah's advice.

Samaria themselves would almost immediately become a prey to the Assyrian soldiery (Is. 7:49, 6:8, 1:47) (4a). He bade Ahaz be wary and preserve his competence (עָזְרוּךְ יִשְׁתָּמֵךְ) – to take no rash step, but quietly perform his regal duties, trusting in Yahwe. When the news came that Ahaz had hurriedly offered himself as a humble vassal to Assyria in return for protection from Rezin, Isaiah changed his tone. He declared that Judah itself, having despised the one means of safety (trust in Yahwe and obedience to his commands), could not escape punishment at the hands of the Assyrians. Under a variety of figures he described the havoc which these dreaded warriors would produce in Judah – a description to which a much later writer has added some touches of his own (Is. 21:25; see *SHOT*).

Was Ahaz right or wrong in seeking the protection of Assyria? Stale has remarked that "he acted as any

3. Ahar's policy.

Robertson Smith thought that 'the advice of Isaiah displayed no less political sagacity than elevation of faith.' 'If Abaz had not called in the aid of Tiglath-pileser, his own interests would soon have compelled the Assyrian to strike at Damascus; and so, if the Judean king had had faith to accept the prophet's assurance that the immediate danger could not prove fatal, he would have reaped all the advantages of the Assyrian alliance without hiding himself in the perilous position of a vassal to the robber empire. As yet the schemes of Assyria hardly reached as far as Southern Palestine.'² There is some force in this. The sending of tribute to Assyria was justifiable only as a last resource. To take such a step prematurely would show a disregard of the interests of the poorer class, which would suffer from Assyrian exactions severely. It is doubtful, however, whether the plans of Assyria were as narrowly limited as is supposed. Tiglath-pileser did not, even after receiving the petition of Abaz, attack Damascus instantly. First of all he invaded Philistia and Northern Arabia.

We shall have occasion to refer again to the important chapter of Isaiah which describes the great encounter between the king and the prophet (see *ISAIAH*, II, § 2 *ib.*). Suffice it to say that we misunderstand Isaiah if we connect his threat of captivity in chap. 7/, too closely with the foreign policy of Ahaz. It was not the foreign policy but the moral weakness of Ahaz and his nobles which had in the first instance drawn forth this threat from Isaiah (Is. 7:8-16). Nor can we venture to doubt that, if Ahaz had satisfied the moral standards of Isaiah, this would have had some effect on the prophet's picture of the future. 'Visions' and 'tidings' of men of God such as Isaiah are not merely political forecasts: they are adjusted to the moral and mental state both of him who speaks and of those who hear.

It is not to Isaiah or to a disciple of Isaiah, but to the royal annalist, that we owe the notice that the tribute of Ahaz was derived from

4. Consequences.

the treasury of the palace and of the temple, and that Ahasd had not spare even the sacred furniture (2 K. 16: 17).⁴ It would be interesting to know whether he sent the brazen oven on which the brazen 'seal' had hitherto rested (they were copies of Babylonian sacred objects, and properly symbolised Marduk) to Tiglath-pileser, or whether he melted them off on his son (2K. 18: 16) and Sennam, say 'his sons', with 2 Ch. 28: 19 is correct, we may perhaps assign the fearful act to this period.

$$t = 6.1 / 1.1 = 5.5$$

³ On the text of a killing, which is, however, not a killing, see

⁵ On the text of 2 K. 16-17, which is corrupt, see St. Zdz. 11* 6163.

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down for himself. It is more important, however, to notice that the time, apparently, the tribute for Assyria was paid without any increase in the taxation. Israel, we may suppose, would have approved of this.

For this reason, it is more probable, though not, indeed, to such an extent, that modern speculation about the prophetic books demands that it is in this generation required. Dinnicus has 732. Sennacherib, there was a partial capture of Judah in the next reign. It was after the first of these events that Ahaz first came in contact with an Assyrian king. In 734 the name of Jathah of Judah occurs among the names of the kings who had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser, but we have no reason to suppose that he paid it in person. It was in 734, after the fall of Dinnicus, that he paid homage in person to his superior. On this occasion he saw the altar that was at Dinnicus (2 K. 16:10), and, on aesthetic grounds, liked it better than the bronze altar which had hitherto been used at Jerusalem for burnt offerings. It probably an Assyrian altar for the Assyrian principle introduced their own cultus into the cities. So Ahaz sent a model of the altar to the priest. Uriah (Isa. 46:1), who at once introduced upon the pattern and transferred the old position. This was doubtless, against the protest of those who in his earliest extant prophecy so strongly deplored the love of foreign fashions. Possibly, however, the similarity of the two phrases the expression, "the steps of the altar" (Isa. 46:1, 46:11). Nor is it likely that the prophet's suggestion of a return to the old cultus was a worship is traceable in 2 K. 23:12; and the difficulty in the passage (see Kamphaus's *Text* 1883, 1884).

The reign of Ahaz was inglorious, but not uneventful. It was a severe blow to the country when Rezin, on the accession of Ahaz, captured Lath on the Arabian Gulf, and carried it to its former possessors, the Edomites; but at the close of Ahaz's reign Isaiah was able to contrast the peace enjoyed by the poor of Yahweh's people with the chastisement inflicted by Assyria on the restless Philistines.³

Other readings of $\mathfrak{B}^A$ are: $\alpha\chi\alpha\varsigma$ [H often, Δ^1 vel forte Δ^2 once, Λ once, Q twice], $\chi\alpha\alpha\varsigma$ [V twice], $\alpha\chi\alpha\beta$ [V, 2 Ch, 18]. In Jcr, 22 (5) $\mathfrak{B}^A$ $\alpha\chi\alpha\varsigma$ 'Abah' takes the place of the true reading 'Abah' of $\mathfrak{B}^A$ (see $\Delta^1\chi\alpha\beta$, 1 [end]).

T. K. C.—W. E. A.

AHAZIAH (אֲחִזְיָהוּ, אֲחִזְיָהוּ, 'the whom Yahwé supports'; אֲחִזְיָהוּ *ʾaḥizyāhu* B.A.L., for other readings see end of no. 2). 1. Son of Ahab and Jezebel, and king of Israel (853-851? B.C., Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 28 and table in § 37). A poor successor to the heroic Ahab. Once more Israel must have been dependent on Damascus, while Moab (see AHAAB, § 2) continued to enjoy its recovered independence. The single political action reported of him is his offer to JEHOASHAPAT (7:26) to join in a trading expedition to Uphir (1 K. 22:47). The close of his life is described in a prophetic legend of very late origin (see ELIJAH, § 3). He fell through the lattice of an upper room in his palace in Samaria, and though he lingered on a sick-bed for some time, did not recover. The story (2 K. 1:2-17) is a painful one, and was used by Jesus to point the contrast between the unchastened zeal of his disciples and the true evangelical spirit (1 K. 9:45-6). The one probably historical element is the consultation by Ahaziah of the oracle of Baal-zebub of Ekron. To most of Ahaziah's contemporaries his

¹ Schr. *CO* 1 240 255; *Wi. G.B.* 1 274.

² For אֲדָם read אֲדָם ; cp. the קֶרֶם , אֲדָמִים for אֲדָמִים .

³ The heading of Is. 14:28-32 is probably correct. See Che. *ntw* Is. 80*f.*; but cp Dahm *ad loc.*

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action would have seemed quite natural¹ (cp. a K. 582 ff.)

2. Son of Jehoram for forty and Abiah's daughter Athaliah, king of Judah (443-424 B.C.). Cp. CHRONICLES, I, 32, § 28 and II, 1 in § 37. He was only twenty-two when he ascended the throne, and only one event in his brief reign has been recorded: the part which he took with Jehoram king of Israel in a campaign against Hazael of Damascus. The kings of Israel and Judah laid siege to Ramoth in Gilead (the place before which Ahab lost his life in battle) which was still held by the Arameans. Jehoram withdrew wounded. Athaliah also went to his home, but afterwards visited his sick father at Jezreel. During this visit JIHU (7.7.1) revolved, and the two kings (equally obnoxious to Jehu) went forth in their chariots to meet him. Athaliah saw his uncle Jehoram pierced by an arrow, and took to flight. As he fled in the direction of BEIRUT, he was overtaken (7.7.2, 2.7.29, 3). Jehu dashed after him with the cry, "Hear ye, O!" At the ascent of Gur by Telmou, on the road to Jerusalem, he too was struck by an arrow. Thereupon he turned his horse south-west, and reached Megiddo, but died on the way, and was buried in the royal sepulchre. The conflicting account in the Samaritan version whatever its source derived, is of

K. 8. 9. 21. $\alpha\chi\sigma\varsigma\alpha\iota$ [P]; $\alpha\chi\sigma\varsigma\alpha\iota$ [A]. In $\alpha\chi\sigma\varsigma\alpha\iota$ [Ch. 8. 11. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838.

[illegible]

AHER אֶהָר, אַפּ [B], אֹפּ [V], om. [L Pesh.];
// , very doubtful Benjaminite name (1 Ch. 7:12+).
See THE SHIM, 2; DAN, § 9; BENJAMIN, § 9 n. a.

He (*On 6a*) explains the name as meaning 'the other one,' and conjectures it to be a euphemism for Han, the express mention of the name of this tribe seeming in more than one instance to have been deliberately avoided. (See however DAN, § 3.) On the other hand *QDAI* reads 'his son' for 'the sons of' (92 for 93), and the name is entirely wanting in *Q* and Pesh., the former (and perhaps originally also the latter) connecting Hashim (هشام, *hūšā*) with what goes before (see *Id.*). See also *ADARAB*.

ΔΗΓΓ (778, § 52, probably abbrev. from **ΔΗΓΑΓΓ**).

1. In genealogy of GAB, 1Ch. 5:1st (Vg. wrongly translates, *fratres quoque*; Pesh. and Sy. om.) & Sy¹ accords with the preceding name Buz (בִּזְיָאָה) [B], אֲחֵי (brothers) [A].

2. In genealogy of ASUK (§ 5, n.), 1Ch. 7: 4th. Sy¹, attaching part of the following name (see ROTHAM), produces Αϰδ(ουα)[A], or Αϰ(ουα)[B]; but Sy¹ has *noy*.

AHI, NAMES WITH. See **ABI, NAMES WITH.**

ΑΗΙΑΗ, frequently in AV* and once (Neh. 10:26 [25]) inconsistently in RV. See **ΑΗΙΑΥ**, *l. 4*.

ΔΙΑΜ (אֲדָמָה, § 65, for which we should probably point אֲדָמָה, 'mother's brother' [cp. אֲחִי, analogous to the Sub. p.n. אֲחִי, 'sister of his mother']; cp. *HN* 64, n. 2), one of David's heroes, 2 S. 23:3; **ΔΙΑΜΑΝ** (בָּא), om. [L], 1 Ch. 11:35; **ΔΙΑΙΜ** (בָּא), *ΔΙΑΜ* [L]. See *DAVID*, § 114.

AHAN (1778, § 65, 'relative, cousin,' cp *ሕና*;
 ሕናዊ [B], ሕና [A], ሕናዊ [L], .AHV), a Mamas to-
 name (cf Ch. 71, 1). See *SHIMDA*.

ABIEZER אֲבִיעֶזֶר. § 44. 'the [divine] brother is help,' cp Abiezer, Eliezer; ΑΒΙΕΖΕΡ [BAFL.]).

1. 16. Ammishaddai, chief of the Danites, temp. Moses [P]
(Nu. 14: 225 ex. [F]: 7667: 10 25)†.

¹ Smend, *AT Kel.-gesch.*, 127.

² So 2 K. 526. In 2 Ch. 22² his age is given as forty-two (2 K. 20); but this is clearly miswritten for twenty-two (so B¹; cp 21 5 20).

AHINOAM

AHIO

αχιοαμ [A. αμ. sup. rts. A¹]. cp 1: 18; 2 Sam. 23 (αχιοαμ [B]). 32 (αχιοαμ [B]); 1 Ch. 31 f.

AHIO (אֲחִיו). §§ 24, 43, possibly, if MT is correct, 'brother of Yahwē' or 'Yahwē is brother.' The analogy of other names ending in *ā* seems against this view; Jastrow, *HB*, 1894, p. 101.

1. In genealogy of Benjamin (§ 9 ii, β), 2 S. 21: 1; 1 Ch. 13: 17 'his brethren,' and We reads אֲחִיו, 'his brother'; see Dr. (in each case, however, שְׁבַת has αἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, i.e., אֲחִיו, in 2 S.).

2. In genealogy of Benjamin (§ 9 ii, β), one of the sons of Beriah, who put together the inhabitants of Gilead, 1 Ch. 8: 11 (ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, 'his brother' [B], or ἀδελφοὶ αὐ, 'his brethren' [A], or ἀ. αὐτοῦ, 'their brethren' [L]; Be. and Kau. אֲחִיו; We. אֲחִיו [De Gent. l. 29]; Ki. אֲחִיו).

3. In genealogy of Benjamin (§ 9 ii, β), son of Jehiel, the 'father' of Gilead; 1 Ch. 8: 11 (ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ [B], αὐτοῦ αὐ, [L], or αὐ, [L], or αὐ, [L] (BA om. αὐτοῦ).

AHIRA (אֲחִירָא). אֲחִירָא [BAFL]; אֲחִירָא; *AHIRA*. A Naphtalite family-name reported in P (Nu. 1: 15 29 7283; 19: 27 f.). The old interpretation 'my brother is evil' must be abandoned. Either *ā* is miswritten for *ē* (see the Pahlavene characters), in which case we get the good Heb. name Ahiram,¹ or we have here a half-Egyptian name meaning 'Ra' (or Re' - i.e., the Egyptian sun god) is brother or protector' (so Che. *Isr.* 2: 144). The latter view is quite possible (cp the Egyptian name Ptahiri). The Canaanites, who were strong in the territory of Naphtali, were very receptive of foreign religious influences.² Cp ASHER, HUR, HARNEPHER. The reading of Pesh. (uniformly Ahira) is no doubt either merely a natural variant, or a copyist's substitution of a more normal for a rarer form; cp AHRA. T. K. C.

AHIRAM (אֲחִירָא). § 44. cp Jehoram; אֲחִירָא [AL]. אֲחִירָא [B]. אֲחִירָא [F]; *AHIRAM*. 1. In the genealogy of Benjamin (§ 9 i, i); Nu. 26: 38 (where we have also the gentle *Ahiramite*; אֲחִירָא; אֲחִירָא [F], α. α. α. [B], α. α. α. [A], α. α. α. [F]) - Gen. 46: 21, where 'Ahiham, Shephuphan' ought no doubt to be read for 'Thi and Kesh, Muphan' (שֶׁפְּהֻפָּן for שֶׁפְּהֻפָּן, cp Rosin). In the similar list in 1 Ch. 8 we find in 7: 1 AHIRAM [A] (אֲחִירָא), and in that in 1 Ch. 7: 6 f. in 12: 1 AHIR [A] (אֲחִירָא), cp HIRSHIM, 2; DAN, § 6.

2. Perhaps we should read Ahiham also for AHIRA (cp. c) in Nu. 16, etc.

AHISAMACH (אֲחִישָׁמַח). 'the [divine] brother sustains'; אֲחִישָׁמַח [B]. אֲחִישָׁמַח [AFL]; Jos. (ΑΜΑΧΟC, ΙCΑΧΑΜΟC), a Dantz; Ec. 31: 6 (ΑΙCΑΜΑΧ [B]) 35: 34 38: 23 [F]. See DAN, § 9 n.

AHISHAHAR (אֲחִישָׁהָר). §§ 35, 44. 'the [divine] brother is dawning light' cp Ahmor, Shehariah; אֲחִישָׁהָר [B]. אֲחִישָׁהָר [A]. אֲחִישָׁהָר [F], in genealogy of Benjamin (§ 9 ii, α), 1 Ch. 7: 1 f. See JIRIAFL, I.

AHISHAR (אֲחִישָׁר). § 41. Solomon's comptroller of the palace (1 K. 4: 6 f.). The name, however, is suspicious.

αἰ gives the double rendering, αἰετὶ ὡς ἀεὶ αἰετὶ, and αἰετὶ ὡς ἀεὶ, and perhaps even a third meaning, αἰετὶ ὡς ἀεὶ ὡς ἀεὶ; αἰετὶ should be αἰετὶ, which αἰ has, and may be the true & reading. But A. I. (αἰετὶ αἰετὶ) has yet to be accounted for. For αἰετὶ we should probably read אֲחִישָׁר, Zolnd, who has just been mentioned, is described as not merely a priest but 'the officer (pl. of) over the palace' (so Klc). See Zolnd, l. 1. T. K. C.

AHITHOPHEL (אֲחִיתופֶּל). § 45, meaning uncertain; אֲחִיתופֶּל [BAFL]. Apc. Jos. 1, a Gilonite (see Gilon), a counsellor of David much esteemed for his

1. Apc. Jos. in 3 K. 2: 46 f. [B] answers to Adoniram (cp 1 K. 16) of MT.

2. On names of foreign origin in Israelite names, see under EUDAB, and NAMI, § 12, 1, 84.

AHLAB

unerring insight (2 S. 15: 12 16: 23). His son EITAM (cp. 1) was, like Uriah, a member of David's body-guard (2 S. 23: 34; cp DAVID, § 11 a i), and since Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, is described as the daughter of Eliam (2 S. 11: 3), it has been conjectured that Ahithophel was her grandfather, and that indignation at David's conduct to Bathsheba led Ahithophel to cast in his lot with Absalom's rebellion. This, however, is a mere possibility, and ambition would be a sufficient motive for Ahithophel's treason to David, just as the slight involved in Absalom's preference of Hushai's counsel to his own was certainly one chief cause of his final withdrawal from Absalom. At last, indeed, he had full possession of the ear of the pretender. It was by his advice that Absalom took public possession of his father's concubines, and so pledged himself to a claim to the throne, from which there was no retreat (2 S. 16: 20 f.). Ahithophel was also eager in his own person to take another bold and decisive step. He wished to pursue David with 12,000 men and cut the old king down in the first confusion and entanglement of his flight towards the Jordan (2 S. 17: 1-4). This plan was defeated by Hushai, whereupon Ahithophel, seeing that all hope was gone, went to Giloh and strangled himself.

In 1 Ch. 11: 36 'Ahithophel the Gilonite' has been corrupted into 'Ahijah the Pelonite'; אֲחִיהָר הַפֶּלֹנִי for אֲחִיתופֶּל הַגִּילוֹנִי; cp Klc. Sam., ad loc. (αἰετὶ) [BAFL]; and see below, end.

W. G. A.

AHITOB (אֲחִיתוֹב). § 45, etc.; 1 Esd. 8: 2 RV, 4 Esd. 1: 1 RV. See below, AHITUB, 2.

AHITUB (אֲחִיתוֹב or אֲחִישָׁב). § 45; cp Ahi tabu A. I. 5, no. 11: 14. אֲחִיתוֹב [BAFL];

1. A member of the family in which the priesthood, first at Shiloh, then at Nob, appears for some generations to have been hereditary. He was grandson of Eli, son of Phinehas, and elder brother of Ithobad (1 S. 14: 3; cp 1: 21). His son, Ahijah, is mentioned as priest in 1 S. 14: 3; another son, Ahimelech, appears as priest in 1 S. 22: 10 12: 20. It is unnecessary with Thénius and Bertheau to identify Ahimelech with Ahijah; but that Ahitub, the father of Ahimelech, is identical with Ahitub, the father of Ahijah, is clear from 1 K. 2: 27, which implies that Ahitub, the son of Ahimelech (1 S. 22: 20), was of the house of Eli. Nothing further is directly told of Ahitub; but, if Wellhausen's suggestion that the destruction of Shiloh (Jer. 7: 6) took place after the battle of Aphek (1 S. 4) be accepted, the transference of the priestly centre from Shiloh to Nob (1 S. 22: 9-11), will have taken place under him.

The description of Ahitub as father of Zadok (2 S. 8: 17 1 Ch. 18: 16, 1 Ch. 6: 15 34: 51) is due to an ancient and early corruption of the text in Samuel, which originally ran 'Ahitub, the son of Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, and Zadok were priests' (for the argument see We. *1 S.* 17: 6).

2 and 3. Father of a (later) Zadok, mentioned in 1 Ch. 6: 11 f. (15: 17 f.), and in pedigree of Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 1) Ezra 7: 2-1 Esd. 8: 2 2 Esd. 1: 1 (in the last two passages AV Ahithophel, RV Ahithob); and a priest, father of Abiathar and grandfather of Zadok, in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra, ii. § 5, 8, 15 [c] d), 1 Ch. 9: 11. Neh. 11: 11 (אֲחִיתוֹב [B], אֲחִיתוֹב [A]). These references, however, are probably due to intentional or accidental amplification of the original genealogy, and do not refer to any actual person. Kyle, apparently takes another view; see his notes on Ezra 7: 5 and Neh. 11: 11.

4. Ancestor of Judith; Judith's father, AV following אֲחִיתוֹב, *Ahitob*; so also B. Syll. 1 om. B.

G. R. G.

AHLAB (אֲחִלָּב). § 45, 'fat', 'fatty'; אֲחִלָּב [BAFL]. 1. A. A. A. A. A. (Cheremot Gannan points out the place-name Ahilab, N. of Tyre (*Riv. Lib.* 1867, p. 503)). A Canaanite town claimed by Asher (Jud. 1: 1), and referred to probably in Josh. 19: 20, at the end of which verse there appears to have been originally a list of names including (by a correction of the text) Ahilab and Achizib.¹ See HET NATH.

1. Josh. 19: 29 ends thus, אֲחִלָּב וְאֲחִזִּיב, which AV renders 'at the sea from the coast to Achizib,' and RV 'at the sea by the

AI

AIAH

occupied by Benjamites; Ezra 2:28 (אִיאָ [PA]) = Neh. 7:32 (אִיאָ B.S., at A) = 1 Esd. 5:21 (אִיאָ and אִיאָ only; 7:20 L.). In the time of Eusebius (OS 181, 76, Αγγα) it was once more deserted; but its situation was still pointed out. Its name was prophetic of its history. Or had it some other name before its destruction by Joshua?

2. (אִיאָ without article; פִּאִי Q¹; Symm. ἡ ἰσχυρὴ) an Ammonite city, the first in Jer. 19:1 is correct (S¹ omits; K¹ thstein in Kau. HS and Co. in SROF, after Graf, read 'Ar 72). T. K. C.

AIAM, more strictly Ayyah (אִיאָ, 'falcon'). 1. An Edomite tribal name individualised, Gen. 36:24 (AV, AM); אִיאָ AD. S. [1; S precedes], אִיאָ L. (= 1 Ch. 140 (AIO) B., אִיאָ AL. L.). The tribe seems to have broken off from that of Zibon, and to have been less important than that of ANAM (q.v.). To identify this insignificant Aiah with the 'goodly land' in which Semihyt the Egyptian exile found a home, according to the old story (so Maspero, RZ¹ 2:1723; PS¹ 18:16-96) is unsafe. On the Iaa (Maspero, Aia) of the story of Semihyt, see WMM 15, n. Eur. 47.

2. Father of Saul's concubine Rizpah (2 S. 3:7, אִיאָ vel forte אִיאָ B¹, אִיאָ vel forte אִיאָ [L¹], IoA. A¹, Σαῦα L.), Σαῦα Jos. 2:18 ff., Αἰα BA, Αἰαία L.). To draw a critical inference (with Moz, Die Bibel des Jos. 35 f.), from L's Σαῦα in 3:7 seems unwise. We must not assume that Ziba is the original reading rather than Aiah. A and S could very easily be confounded, and from Σαῦα to Σαῦα was but a step. The name of one of Rizpah's sons was Mephibosheth (Meribai), and the son of Jonathan, whose steward was Ziba, was also called Mephibosheth (Meribai). The question as to the source or sources of the passages in which RIZPAH (q.v.) is referred to, remains therefore where it was.

AIATH (אִיאָ), Is. 10:28f. See AI, 1

AIJA (אִיאָ), Neh. 11:31. See AI, 1.

AIJALON, or (Josh. 10:12 19:42; 2 Ch. 28:18f, all AV) less correctly AJALON (אִיאָלֹן from אִיאָ 'hart'; אִיאָלֹן B.A.L.).

1. A town in the Shephelah, assigned to Dan in Josh. 19:42 (אִיאָלֹן B., אִיאָלֹן A), εἰ. L.; but with אִיאָלֹן 2:4; for Elon), and named as a Danite Levitical city in 21:24 P; (אִיאָלֹן A) = 1 Ch. 6:60 '54 (corrected text, see Ball ad loc. in Ellicott's Bible; εἰλαμ B., ηλαμ A.). It is the modern Yidd, situated on a ridge on the south side of the broad level valley of Ajalon, well known from Joshua's poetical speech (Josh. 10:12; אִיאָלֹן L.), and now called *Merj* (the meadow of) *Ibn Umar*. It is about 5 m. from Lower Beth-horon, and 14 from Jerusalem.

In the time of the Judges it was still in the hands of the Amorites (Judg. 1:35; apparently misread at ἀραο B.A.L., and translated a second time μωριων [B], which, however, stands for HERES in L.), but was afterwards occupied by Benjamites, 1 Ch. 8:1 (אִיאָלֹן B.), אִיאָלֹן [A], אִיאָלֹן L.; ep. 2 Ch. 11:15. The Chronicler states that Rehoboam fortified it (2 Ch. 11:15, אִיאָלֹן B.), אִיאָלֹן [A], and that Ahaz lost it to the Philistines (2 Ch. 28:18, אִיאָלֹן B.), on whose territory it bordered. In 1 S. 14:1, the occurrence of the word is doubtful. For 'to Ajalon' Klost and Budde (SROF) read 'until night.' S¹ omits altogether. Some fresh references to Ajalon are derived from Egyptian sources. For instance, Shushak (Sheshonk I.) mentions Ayurun - i.e., Ajalon - among the conquered cities of Judah in his Karnak List, and there is an earlier mention still in the Amarna tablets, where Aahina appears as one of the first cities wrested from the Egyptian governors. A vivid sketch of the battle-scenes of the valley of Ajalon will be found in G.A.S.M. HG 210-13.

2. (Josh. 12:12; Αἰαία B., Νεῖκα AL.), a locality in Zebulun, the burial-place of Eilon (q.v., n. 1 f.).

AIN

Its name ought probably to be pointed אֵינֹן (Ēlōn), and etymologically connected with אֵינֹן or אֵינֹן, 'oak' or 'terebinth' (see TURKISH, § 11, indicating a sacred spot. Cp ALLOS, 2. T. K. C.

AIJELETH-SHAHAR, UPON, RV 'set to Aijelet

hash-Shahar (אֵינֹן הַשָּׁהָר, ἡ πόλις τῆς ἀντιλήψεως τῆς ἐωθενῆς B.S.A.); Aq. ἡ πόλις τῆς ἀλάφου τῆς ὀρθρινῆς, Ps. 22, title. If we consider the tendency of the phrase, 'Upon ALAMOTH (q.v.), to get corrupted, it seems highly probable that 'Aijelet' should rather be read 'Alamoth' (A and S confounded), while Shahar should perhaps rather be שִׁיר הַשָּׁהָר, 'a new song.' (The article prefixed to Shahar may be in the interests of an exegetical theory.) The latter corruption has very probably taken place in Ps. 57:9 (see Che. Ps. 57:9). A 'new song' would be a song upon a new model.

AIN (אֵינֹן). 1. If MT may be followed, this is the name of a city in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15:32) assigned to Simeon (197; ep. 1 Ch. 1:1). According to Josh. 21:16 it was one of the priests' cities; but the parallel list in 1 Ch. 6:59, 44, probably correctly substitutes ASHAN (q.v.) which is mentioned in Josh. 19:7 (MT S¹ alongside of Ain as a distinct place. The name being thus removed from this list, Ain always appears in close conjunction with Rimmon, and Mihlah (III' 7:52, 53, 'Ain') suggests that the two places may have lain so close together that in course of time they joined. Hence he would account for the EN-RIMMON (עֵין רִמְמוֹן; cm. B.S.A.; κ. εν ριμμων S¹ a mg. ad.; κ. εν ριμμων L. 1 of Neh. 11:29. But if we consider the phenomenon of S¹ (see below), and the erroneous summation of M¹ be adhered to) in Josh. 15:32, it becomes evident that Bennett's thorough revision of the readings in his Joshua (SROF) is critically justified (cp ASHAN), and that the real name is EN-RIMMON (q.v.).

How, indeed, could a place dedicated to the god Rimmon (Rammān) have been without a sacred fountain?

Josh. 15:32, καὶ ἐρριμὸν [B], καὶ ριμμὸν [A], καὶ αἰν καὶ ριμμὸν [L]; Josh. 19:7, αἰν καὶ ριμμὸν [A], αἰν καὶ ριμμὸν [L], but ἐρριμὸν [B]; Josh. 21:16, αἰν [B] which favours S¹ ASHAN (q.v.), αἰν [A], αἰν [L], which harmonise with MT. In 1 Ch. 1:1 (ε. ριμμὸν [B], κ. ηρ [L]) Ps. sup. 105, [A¹] followed by ριμμὸν [A], κ. ἐρριμὸν [L]) we should also, with K¹, read En-rimmon.

2. (אֵינֹן), the article being included; (עֵין) πηγὰς B.A.L.; Vg. (contra) fontem Daphnim; Tg. Onk. as MT; for the rest see below.) A place mentioned in Nu. 31:11 to define the situation of one of the points on the ideal eastern frontier of Canaan; 'to Harbel on the east side of Ain' is the phrase. Though both AV and RV sanction this view of אֵינֹן, it is more natural to render 'the fountain,' and to find here a reference to some noted spring. Jerome thought of the spring which rose in the famous grove of Daphne, near Antioch; in this he followed the arguments of Ps. Jon. and Jerus. which render '(the) Riblah' (רִבְלָה) by 'Daphne,' and 'the fountain' (אֵינֹן) by 'Amutha.' Robinson² and Conder prefer the fountain which is the source of the Orontes. Both these views rest on the assumption that Riblah on the Orontes has just been referred to, which is a pure mistake (see RIBLAH). The fountain must at any rate be not too far N. of the Lake of Gennesaret which is mentioned at the end of the verse. Most probably it is the source of the Nahr Hasbany, one of the streams which unite to form the Jordan (see RIBLAH). From this fountain to the 'east shoulder' of the Lake of Gennesaret a straight line of water runs forming the clearest of boundaries. If, however, we place Baal-gad at Bannus, we should then, of course, identify 'the fountain'

¹ Except of course in Josh. 21:16 (see above). In Zech. 14:10 the first half of the name is omitted (see EN-RIMMON).

² See RIBLAH. R. C. S. view (cp. Vg. on the Daphne) of Vg. (connecting it with the spring at Daphne, near Tlepchady) seems erroneous.

AIRUS

with that w^{ch} springs from the famous and romantic cavern at the southern base of the Hermon mountains. It should be added that it is not impossible to alter the pointing and read אִירָא (eastward) of Ijon, Ijon being mentioned elsewhere as on the N. frontier of the land of Israel. But then why did the writer introduce it merely incidentally?

T. K. C.

AIRUS (אִירָא [A]), 1 Esd. 5:31 AV = Ezra 2:47 REPHAN, 3.

AJAH (אִיָּה), Gen. 36:24† AV = RV ALAH (A, V, 1).

AJALON (אִיָּלֹן), Josh. 10:12 AV = RV AHALON, 1.

AKAN (אִקָּן), Gen. 36:27† = 1 Ch. 1:43 AV JAKAN.

AKATAN (אִקָּטָן [BA]), 1 Esd. 8:38† RV = Ezra 8:12 HAKKATAN.

AKELDAMA (אִקְעֶלְדָּמָא [B]), Acts 1:19† RV, AV ACELDAMA.

AKKOS (אִקְקֹס [B]), 1 Esd. 5:38† RV = Ezra 2:61 HAKKOS, 1.

AKKUB (אִקְקֹב), 'posthumous,' but the name seems corrupt: אִקְקֹב [BA], אִקְק [1, 2]. b. Eisehai, six generations removed from Zerubbabel: 1 Ch. 3:24 (אִקְקֹב [B], אִקְקֹב [A], אִקְקֹב [1, 2]).

2. The Bne Akkub, a group of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9); EZRA 2:42 (אִקְקֹב [BA], אִקְק [1, 2]); Neh. 7:45 (אִקְקֹב [B], אִקְק [1, 2]); 1 Esd. 5:38 (אִקְקֹב [BA], אִקְק [1, 2]); RV DAVEN; אִקְקֹב [A], אִקְקֹבֹת [B]. Akkub is a porter in the list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A], § 15 [C] A); 1 Ch. 9:17 (אִקְקֹב [B]) = Neh. 11:17 (אִקְקֹב [1, 2], cp. 1 Esd. 10:24, 1 Esd. 10:25 (where, however, the name is omitted between Shallum and Teled). He is mentioned also in Neh. 12:25 (אִקְקֹב [BA], cp. [1, 2]; om. B⁹ V).

3. An expounder of the Law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 [C]; cp. i. § 8, ii. § 16 [3], 15 [1, 2]); Neh. 8:7 (אִקְקֹב [1, 2], om. B⁹ V) = 1 Esd. 9:43 (EV, JACOB); אִקְקֹבֹת [A], אִקְקֹבֹת [B].

4. The Bne Akkub, a family of NEPHINIM (q.v.) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9; EZRA 2:45 (אִקְקֹב [B]) Neh. 7:45 (אִקְקֹב [A], אִקְק [1, 2]; om. B with MT, EV) = 1 Esd. 5:30 (אִקְקֹב [BA]; AV ACFA; RV AKUB).

AKRABATTINE, RV; AV incorrectly ARABATTINE 1 Macc. 5:3†, Jos. Ant. xii. 8:1; אִקְרַבַּטִּינָה [BA]; אִקְרַבַּטִּינָה [A]; אִקְרַבַּטִּינָה [C]. The district intended is no doubt that to the SE. of Judaea, in Idumaea (see AKRABIM). There is no sufficient ground for the opinion of Ewald that the Edomites had settled as far N. as another Akrabatta, a toparchy or district in Central Palestine, to the N. of Judaea (Akrabatta, אִקְרַבַּטִּינָה, etc. Jos. B⁹ iii. 35 Pl. I⁹ v. 14 iv. 93 g); אִקְרַבַּטִּינָה [A], OS⁹ 21461), apparently represented by the modern 'Akrabeh, 8 m. SE. of Nablus. (The reading ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ in 1 Macc. must therefore be rejected.) See Schur, Hist. 1220 n. 2, 3158.

Doubtless, however, we should identify with 'Akrabeh the ΕΚΡΕΒΕΛ (εἰρεβηλ BA), εἰρεβηλ [A]; חֲרִיבִי, near Chusi, on the brook Mochnur (Judith 7:18†), the names being almost the same in the Syr. (= Talm. חֲרִיבִי).

T. K. C.

AKRABBIM, Ascent of, so always in RV; also Nu. 34:4 in AV which has in Judg. 1:36 'going up to Akrabim,' in Josh. 15:3† mg. 'to Akrabim,' text מַלְאֲכֵי-אִקְרַבִּימ (מַלְאֲכֵי עֲקֻרְבִּימ, i.e., 'ascent of Scorpions,' [πρὸς ἀναβάσειν ἀκραβειν [BA]; ascensus scorpionum, mentioned in Josh. 15:3 (ἀκραβειν [sup. ras. A⁹ V]) ΕΚΡΑΒΕΙΝ [1, 2]) as one of the localities marking the southern frontier of Judah.

It must have been one of the passes leading up from the southern continuation of the Ghôr into the wate mountain country to the west. Knobel identifies it

1 Cp. BAKKIK.
2 The reverse supposition is sometimes held, viz. that the material is derived from the place-name. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

ALAMMELECH

with the pass of es-Safa, leading up towards Hebron out of the W. el-Fikreh on the road from Petra. Robinson (BAR⁹ 230 f.) describes this pass as being 'as steep as a man can readily climb.' 'The rock is in general porous and rough, but yet in many spots smooth and dangerous for animals. In such places a path has been hewn in the rock in former days; the slant of the rock being sometimes levelled, and sometimes overcome by steps cut in it. The vestiges of this road are more frequent near the top. The appearance is that of a very ancient pass' (BAR⁹ 230). Robinson, however, identifies this Nakh es-Safa with Zophath or Hornath, and not with Akrabim (see also HATTAH, MOUNT). Scorpions are of frequent occurrence throughout this neighbourhood.

AKUD (אִקְוָד [B]), 1 Esd. 5:30 RV = Ezra 2:45 AKKUB, 4.

ALABASTER (ἀλαβάστριν [accus. Ti WH⁹ Mk. 11, also with art. τὴν α, W & H after B⁹], τὸν α, Ti after N⁹ V; τὸ α, 1R after G, etc.; also F in Lk. 7:37; cp. ο ἀλα [B], τὸ ἀλα [A] 2K. 21:13 [for πῶς 'dish,' 'cup']) was found in large quantities in Mesopotamia, and from it are made the huge bulls who have to be seen in the British Museum and in the Louvre. The alabaster of the ancients was a stibnite carbonate of lime, hence called by mineralogists 'Oriental alabaster' to distinguish it from the modern alabaster, which is the sulphate of lime. See EBB⁹, 317, ALABASTER. In Greek the word ἀλάβαστρος or ἀλάβαστρος is frequently used of vases or vessels made to hold unguents, as these were generally fashioned out of this material, which was thought by many (cp. e.g., Pl. I⁹ vii. 3) to preserve the aroma of the ointment: Theophrastus (H. 15:14) is able to speak of 'golden alabasters.' Many alabaster vases have been found in Egypt, and the specialised sense given to πῶς in the Egyptian Greek version of Kings (see above) is natural enough. The town of Alabastron, near the famous quarries of Hat-nub¹ (cp. Erman, Anc. Eg. 470, n. 3), was well known for the manufacture of such articles (in fact it seems to have derived its name from the material)². Many of these go back to nearly 4000 B.C. and often show fine workmanship. Similar articles have been found in Assyria dating from the time of Sargon (8th cent. B.C.).

Such a vessel was the 'alabaster cruse' which was emptied upon Jesus's head by the woman at the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany (Mt. 26:7 = Mk. 14:3 Lk. 7:37†). The expression 'brake' in Mark does not refer, it would seem, to the breaking of a seal or of the neck of the vessel; the object was to prevent profanation of the vessel by subsequent use for any commoner purpose (cp. Comm., ad loc.).

ALAMETH (עֲלֵמֶת), 1 Ch. 7:9 AV, RV ALEMETH.

ALAMMELECH, RV ALAMMELECH (עֲלֵמֶת מֶלֶךְ [Ba], עֲלֵמֶת [Gl], עֲלֵמֶת [v.d. Hooghi]; εἰλεμελεχ [B], εἰλεμελεχ [1, 2]; om. A⁹), a place in Asher on the border of Zebulun (Josh. 19:26†), the name of which is possibly echoed in that of the Hady el-meleh, which drains the plain of the Buttauf (Asochis), and joins the Nahr el-Mukatta' (Kishon). So Di. Buhl. The pointing of the Heb. is peculiar: עֲלֵמֶת is usually explained as if עֲלֵמֶת 'sacred tree of Melech'; but ע can hardly have been assimilated to מ, nor is this the best reading. Possibly the real name was עֲלֵמֶת (עֲלֵמֶת), El Melech; cp. El Paran. The authors of the points may have wished to avoid confusion with the personal name Elmelech. Or the name might be a corruption of elumak (see ALMUG TREES), if Solomon was able to naturalise this tree.

T. K. C.

1 Near Tell el-Anatina (see JSR. 41674 [194]).
2 The reverse supposition is sometimes held, viz. that the material is derived from the place-name. The ultimate origin of the word is unknown.

ALAMOTH

ALAMOTH, UPON (על-עלמות), a technical musical phrase of uncertain meaning; cf. *Music*, § 6.

(a) Ἰς, ἡ τοῦ [1] ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων [KKT] = $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$; sm.
 Λ: Λι. ἐπὶ φανερῶν τῶν $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$; Symm. ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰσίων);

[illegible]

Thus we find it three times forming part of a heading of a psalm, but the *psalmist* should be restored as *psalmist* from its present position to the heading of Ps. 49, on the analogy of Ps. 46. On the two half-translations of AV and RV from a lively type, Alamothe, (set to Alamothe), the former psalmist, that the phrase denotes the particular nature of the accompaniment; the latter, that Alamothe, be the name of a tune. Most moderns explain for *sopra* as 'Almothe' having the correct meaning 'tuneless'. Whether *sopra* two voices would be suitable for Ps. 46, the musician reader may judge. Gratz and Weismann suppose a reference to some *Flamite* instrument. There is, however, a more probable source. See PSMMS, and cp. MITH-ABSEN, MAHMAHI, NABILOTH, and AHLEH-SHABAR.

ALCIMUS (ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ) occasional forms -IN.
 (1 Macc. viii. 10; ii Macc. viii. 8). Several cursive MSS of I
 and 2 Macc., and in Jos. *Jnt.* xi. 97 with add. καὶ ὀν-
 οκ, if [α]lak e[ph]aic; m. *Jnt.* ix. 103, and one cursive at i Macc. vii simply if α]lak[e]phaic; *Lxx*, 2 P¹. = 1 lak-
 m or lēlak-m, for which he adopted the like-sound-
 ing Greek name by which he is known, cp NABIS, gōn),
 a priest of the race of Aaron (*i*, *Cuth.* ix. 10), admitted
 by the named writer of i Macc.; 'of the seed of
 Aaron' (*2* 7. 10); Zuleika though not of the family
 of Christ is not of the race (*2* 4. 10; xxi. 10).

ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ('we are not the priests in the house') (*εἰς τοὺς οἴκους*) with 'not' of the stick of the high priests [at all] (*οὐκ ἐστὶν τῆς ῥάβδου ἀρχιερέων γενεά*); but this was here followed by Jos., as on other grounds apparently before, and we may conclude that Alcimus was not to be reckoned 'to the chief priest's office' than his enemy, the Hasm. who were of binary priests.

When, therefore, the victorious king of Syria, DEMETRIUS I. (7.25, 2) determined (I Macc. 7.9) to support his claim to the 'high priest's' office (7.5) with force, Alcimus was a representative not only of the Hellenising party but also (7.13) largely of the legitimist party, the Assideans (7.1).

The treaty (C. Min. 112a) of Lysias . . . and the youthful Antiochus V. Luptat at Antioch, with a further aim of the Assyrians and made it possible for the latter to identify themselves with the friends of Judas (C. Min. 112b) had been immediately followed, if we may trust Ant. 137, by the execution of the now "impossible" high priest Menelaus (p. 77.) C. Min. . . our most important source . . . having mentioned Menelaus at all, say . . . that of what took place between his tenure of office and the definite appointment (*κατανομα αὐτοῦ ἐπισημαίνω*, 72) (p. 2 Mac. 14:13 *κατανομα*) of Alimus by Demetrius. According to the same passage in Jos., which states also that a young Onias, son of Onias III., made his way to Egypt on the death of his father (in which, however, see Jos. 20: 18; ISRAEL, p. 90). Alimus became (*γενετο*) high priest (*ἐγένετο*) the death of Menelaus, the office being indeed bestowed (*ἐδόθη*) to him by the king (Antiochus V. according to the present context). According to 2 Mac. 14 a too, Alimus had been some time high priest before his appointment by 14 kings. We know real, nothing certain about the events of this short interval. We first reach firm ground with the intervention of Demetrius.

Demetrius did not mean to resume the hopeless policy of his uncle Epiphanes (or the Assideans would have

¹ γένους μετ' τοῦ Ἀσώτου.

2. *Supra*, 11, pp. 7-8.

ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ἀδὰμ·

Although we cannot of course trust 2 Mac. 11:7, 'mine and stral glory (την προγορευην δοξαν). According to 2 Mac. 11:10, Alcimus's faith was his: - *hugareia* Hellenising (ἐκουσας, 143), contrast 'by compulsion', *kara anagkēn*, 153). Cf. Köster, *Th. 1* 12538 [78].

ALCIMUS

held aloof); but he wanted Alcinous and his friends to help him in crippling the Hasmorean party of political independence.

There would be a special reason for Alcimus being active against the Hasmonaeans if he was shrewd enough to foresee (what we now know) that their ultimate goal must be the high priesthood. (On the other hand the 'calumnies' [v. 27] put into his mouth by the author of 2 Mac. [14-17] that Judas had already been made high priest seems historically impossible; it belongs to the 'fictitious story' of 2 Mac. [v. see next note].)

Bacchides (17.7.1) was the agent selected for the task.¹ At first the presence of Alcimus was a great help; his legitimacy was a source of strength.

This would be a special weight if his predecessor Mendelssohn really be a grandchild, with H. Mace, (3 + 1) as a 'Benjamin' and with Williamsen (*Hib.*, 2, 6, n. 1), and ed. 3, 5, n. 3) and of the Toldike (see, h. a. v., I. m. i. s., *Pter* 1809, n. 77, and cp I. m. i. s., 2, 6). If we could find it's laboured there would be a special point in his biography, more so with Jose b. Jozef, k. r. i. s. t. o. f. Sanderin (Jusm. b. *Rio*, *Kat.*, ch. 67); his father, *Rio*, *Bath.*, 1, 11, 1).

41. The mass of the people seem to have followed the Athenians in accepting Alcimus (t. Macc. 7:13) 'first'; cf. W. *Phoc. u. Sid.* 84, n. 21; but the severity of the measures taken by the representatives of Demetrius,² sixty men (perhaps the 50 that had been till now much implicated with the Hasmonean party)³ being slain in one day (t. Macc. 7:20), in face of solemn pledges of peaceable intentions, entirely changed the situation. Fear and dread fell on all the people (t. Macc. 7:12). After some further sacrifices Blacchus considers 'his task accomplished and returned to Antioch'. Two late seventies, however, had turned the heart of the people again to Judas, who was trying to to maintain his position (t. Macc. 7:24), and Alcimus judged it prudent to withdraw (ibid. 7:25). He had of course no difficulty in bringing further incriminating charges against Judas (*ibid.* 7:26, 27, 28, 29, 30). This time NISANOR (3:1) was entrusted with the task of restoring Alcimus. During the various exciting incidents of the next 2 years, the diplomacy, battles, and death of Nicanor, we hear nothing of Alcimus (t. Macc. 7:36-43).

Of course in the rejection of our Nicanor's law and the recovery of the Maccabean party (the report, perhaps, he was sent, (It is at this point, in fact, that *3 Macc* 10:10) make a man die,⁵ but this belongs not to the story there followed, but to the suggestion to the high-priesthood, on which see *Macc* 11:18 f. § 4 and op. cit. below.)

When Bacthides came a second time (c. 140 B.C.) to carry through what Nicator had been unable to accomplish, Judas failed to find adequate support and fell (140 B.C.), and the Maccabean party were without a leader. Menus was once more installed, and probably accepted by all except the Maccabees, who ere long chose Jonathan as successor to his brother.

How far the Hellenistic tendencies of Menenius carried him we do not know. At his death (c. 170 B.C.) he seems to have been engaged on some changes in the temple enclosure, the nature and even the object of which we do not know with any certainty.

According to this, Jesus has had no mind in intention of pulling down the wall of the temple (ἐκκαθάρσει καὶ οὐκ οὐκ κατασκευάσει τοῦ ναοῦ, *Int.* xii, 10-12, 5). M. G. states (61 p) that it was the wall of the inner court of the temple (τοῦ τῆς ἀνάης τῶν ἁγίων τῆς εὐρυτείας) that he commanded (ἐνετείλατο) to pull down, adds that he pulled down the works (ἔργα) of the priests, and then affirms the popular statement that he began the pulling

1. See 1 Mac. 7:1, on the distorted account in 2 Mac. 7, where 14:1 has to do duty for both 1 Mac. 7:1 and 7:17, cf. Kosterle, *ThT* 12:533-535, and on the displacement of Bacchides to 2 Mac. 8:1, cf. 5:4 f. (cf. the placement of Bacchides in Jos. *BJ* i. 12).

2. How far these transpositions are to be attributed directly to Minius (so apparently 1 Mac. 7:14 ff. 23), and how far they were due to Bacchides (so apparently *Ant.* xii.103; cf. 1 Mac. 7:16) we cannot say.

³ His uncle being, according to *Ber. Kabbah* and *Bahz Bathaz* (Hag.), of the number.

⁴ On the motive of the author of 2 Mac., in representing Nicanor as native to his master (2 Mac. 14: 2-5) and thus born, not alien, to his race.

⁹ And when he was dead the people bestowed the high-priesthood on Judas, who, hearing of the power of the Romans, etc. (*Act. 1. 18-19*).

¹ The text assigns him variously three years (*Ant.* xx, 103) or four years (*ib.* xii, 106) of office.

down. It seems rash to assume that this confused account is in its original form. If the last clause is not an interpolation (and there is cursive MS authority for its omission, see H & P), and even perhaps if it is, should we not perhaps read 'to pull' for 'he pulled' (*καθάραι* for *καταλύναι*)?

The much discussed question what the wall (*τείχος*) referred to was, we have really not the means of determining. Its identification with a low barrier in the Herodian temple beyond which Gentiles must not pass, the *adyk* (2:2) described in *Matt. 24* is at the best precarious (see the remarks of Schürer, *op. cit.* 1:176, n. 5 and the discussions there referred to).

The somewhat sudden death of Alcimus (1 Macc. 9:55 f.; cp. however, *Ant.* xii. 106, *αρχὴν ἡμέρας*) was naturally treated by his enemies as a sign of divine displeasure. The moderation (such as it is) of the writer of 1 Macc. was not at all to the taste of the later rabbis (see the stories in Haimbinger, *KE* 428 f., Derenbourg, *Hist. Pal.* 52, n. 2). That on the whole, however, Alcimus did not interfere much with ritual and practice is plain, or at least probable, from this last act being all that is mentioned against him, and even in this case we do not know his motive (cp. Grimm *ad loc.*, and We 216, *116*² 262). Still, if he has been rather severely judged, even for the evidence supplied by the opposite party, Wellhausen (*loc.*) seems to go to the other extreme.

The historical importance of this, perhaps in himself somewhat insignificant character (who figures all the more strikingly on the scene that we cannot find very clear traces of any immediate predecessor or successor²), lies in the fact that his tenure of office formed a turning-point in the development of Jewish parties.³ The Assideans refused to follow the Hasmoneans. Two generations later, the meaning of this became more apparent (see ASSIDEANS, PHARISEES, ESENESES).

The primary source is 1 Macc. 7:40. Cp. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 97-112, xv. 104, and on the relation of these see MACCABEES, FIRST, i. § 9. On the relative value of 2 Macc. 14 see the elaborate article of K. G. R. 'De polemiek van het tweede boek der Makkabeen', *ibid.* 124:1-552 [78], especially as cited above; on parties, We 196, n. 2nd, § 4 v. 76 ff., Lucius *loc. cit.* on later Jewish sentiment concerning Alcimus, Haimbinger, *KE* 428 f.; on 2:2, etc., *ibid.* 411 § 6, n. 5, and Grätz in *M. W. J.* 1876, pp. 355-397; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3:4564 ff.

ALCOVE (חֲבִיטָה), Nu. 25:17 RV mg., AV TENT (q.v.).

ALEMA (עֵל אֶלְמַוִּיִּת 'A', -אֶל־מִי, [N?], -אֶל־עֵי־מִי, N. 4:10, 10:11 V, Syr. *ܐܠܡܐܝܬܐ*, in *Almas*), a place mentioned along with Bosora, Carnaim, etc. (1 Macc. 5:26).

Ben = Gilead cannot be, as some say, the Beer-sheva of Is. 15:8 as belonging to Moab, and the Ben of Nu. 21:6 (see Bosora). It has been placed by Abenul at Alma, S. of Edrei, and by Schumacher at Keir el-Ma, E. of Lake of Galilee; but it is probably 'Uml, 10 m. SW. of the Lajja, and of Basr el-Hariri, which is probably Bosora. (Cp. Buhl *Topog. des N. Ostjordanlandes* 13; We. *HG* 212 [3rd ed. 257] n.) G. A. S.

ALEMETH or **ALLEMETH** (אֶלְמֶת; so everywhere Bu G), except 1 Ch. 7:8 'in pause' אֶלְמֶת, ALAMETH, רַמְּעֶשֶׁת B, אֶלְמֶת־עַמֶּי A; ordinary edd. have אֶלְמֶת, whence RV ALLEMETH in 1 Ch. 6:60 [45] =

Josh. 21:17, where the form is ALMON, רַמְּעֶשֶׁת, רַמְּמֶלֶת B, אֶלְמֶת־עַמֶּי A, [L]; usually רַמְּמֶלֶת B, אֶלְמֶת־עַמֶּי A, a Levitical town in Benjamin (1 Ch. 6:60, 45, רַמְּמֶלֶת A) the name of which appears in 1 Ch. 8:36 (רַמְּמֶלֶת B, רַמְּמֶלֶת A, אֶלְמֶת L) = 9:42 f. (רַמְּמֶלֶת B, אֶלְמֶת L) as that of a descendant, or 1 m. of BENJAMIN (q. 9, 1, p. 1). See also ZALMON.

¹ The seventeenth of the thirty-five festivals prescribed in *Megillah* (Talmud - Yerushalmi, 3rd Mon. 15:1, 15:2, 15:3, 15:4, 15:5, 15:6, 15:7, 15:8, 15:9, 15:10, 15:11, 15:12, 15:13, 15:14, 15:15, 15:16, 15:17, 15:18, 15:19, 15:20, 15:21, 15:22, 15:23, 15:24, 15:25, 15:26, 15:27, 15:28, 15:29, 15:30, 15:31, 15:32, 15:33, 15:34, 15:35, 15:36, 15:37, 15:38, 15:39, 15:40, 15:41, 15:42, 15:43, 15:44, 15:45, 15:46, 15:47, 15:48, 15:49, 15:50, 15:51, 15:52, 15:53, 15:54, 15:55, 15:56, 15:57, 15:58, 15:59, 15:60, 15:61, 15:62, 15:63, 15:64, 15:65, 15:66, 15:67, 15:68, 15:69, 15:70, 15:71, 15:72, 15:73, 15:74, 15:75, 15:76, 15:77, 15:78, 15:79, 15:80, 15:81, 15:82, 15:83, 15:84, 15:85, 15:86, 15:87, 15:88, 15:89, 15:90, 15:91, 15:92, 15:93, 15:94, 15:95, 15:96, 15:97, 15:98, 15:99, 15:100, 15:101, 15:102, 15:103, 15:104, 15:105, 15:106, 15:107, 15:108, 15:109, 15:110, 15:111, 15:112, 15:113, 15:114, 15:115, 15:116, 15:117, 15:118, 15:119, 15:120, 15:121, 15:122, 15:123, 15:124, 15:125, 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where he was killed at Alke after a reign of five years, 150-145 B.C. (1 Macc. 11.13-12). For classical references see *Dict. Class. Biog.*, v.7; Schürer, *GH* 1.178, n. 10; and for the history of the time see ISRAEL, § 70, MACCARTHEES, i. § 5.

3. Son of Simon of Cyrene, mentioned together with his brother, REPHUS (1 Macc. 13.21).

4. A member of the family of the high priest in Acts 46, probably to be identified with the third son of Annas, called Eleazar by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 22). See ANNAS.

5. Of Ephesus, a Jew, who was 'brought forth' (*προεβιβασεν* [Text. Rec.] from the multitude, or 'brought down' (*κατέβη* [D], etc.) or (more probably) 'instructed' (*συνεβ.* [BMA], cp RV mg) by the Jews, and unsuccessfully attempted their defence in the theatre, on the occasion of the tumult excited by Demetrius, the silversmith (Acts 19.35). There is no conclusive reason either for or against identifying him with:

6. The coppersmith (6 *χαλκουργ*), who is described (2 Tim. 4.14) as having done Paul 'much evil' (at his trial?).

7. Mentioned with Hymenaeus (2 Tim. 1.19 f.) as having 'made shipwreck concerning the faith' (1 Tim. 1.19 f.), and as having been, in consequence, delivered by the apostle unto Satan. Whether or not he is to be identified with no. 6 above, we cannot tell. In some texts of the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, he appears with Demas and Hermogenes as a hypocritical companion of Paul; in others it is 'Alexander the Syrian' who is mentioned. See Lipsius, *Apok. Ap. Gesch.* ii. 1462-466.

ALEXANDRIA (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ [V.V.], 3 Macc. 3.1; gentile ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ [BMA], Acts 18.24). The site of the city was chosen by Alexander the Great during his passage from Memphis down the

1. The city. Canobic (Canopic), or most westerly, branch of the Nile, on his way to the Oracle of Ammon (331 B.C.).

Holm remarks that it was a novelty to call a city after its founder, this particular form of name having previously been made only from names of deities (e.g., Apollonia); it indicates Alexander's desire for divine honours, a claim supported by the priests of Ammon (Holm, *GH Hist.* 3.384 E.D.). The city was laid out by Demetrius under the king's supervision, 12 m. W. of the Nile, and thus its harbours were not clogged by the Nile mud, which is carried east by the current.

It lay on the neck of land, 2 m. broad, interposed between the Mareotis lagoon and the sea. A mile distant, parallel with the coast, lay the island of Pharos, connected with the city by a dam (which served also as an aqueduct to supply the island), seven stades in length (hence called the Heptastadion), pierced with two openings. Two harbours were thus created, both protected by projections from the mainland.

The western harbour was called that of Eumostus, after a king of Sili, son-in-law of Ptolemy I. (but see Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 195, for another suggestion). The eastern harbour was then the more important, although it is not so to-day. Its entrance was marked by the huge lighthouse (built on the island by the Cnidian Sostratus) which gave its name (*pharos*) to all similar structures. Opposite to it ran out the point of Lochias.

Bordering on the great (eastern) harbour was the palace-quarter (Brucheum), the abode of the Macedonians. The western division of the city, occupied previously by the village Rhacotis, continued to be the Egyptian quarter. The Jewish colony was in the east of the city.

Lake Mareotis was connected with the sea by a canal, and as it communicated with the Nile, the periodical flood prevented the accumulation of silt and the formation of morass. To this, and to the constant Etesian winds, Strabo traces the salubrity of the site (p. 793). The lake was the haven for the products of upper Egypt coming directly from Syène, as well as for those of India and the East, brought by way of Arsinoë on the Red Sea and the royal canal to the Nile or through Berenice or Myos Hormos, lower down the coast. Hence the commerce of the lake was more valuable than that of the outer ports, whose exports largely exceeded their imports (*ibid.* p. 793). Alexandria became the great port of transshipment for eastern commodities, while Egypt, under the Ptolemies, also took the place of the Black Sea coast as a grain-producing country. Most of her grain went to Italy (cp. Acts 27.6-28.11; Jos. *BJ* vii. 2; Suet. *Tib.* 50). Near Ostia was a sanctuary modelled on the Alexandrian temple of Sarapis, with a

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mariners' guild (*CIL* 1447). Even under the Lagids Alexandria contained a large colony of Italians engaged in the trade with the West (cp. *Epiph. Epigr.* 1600-602). For the importance of the trade to Rome see Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2.252 I.F.

Alexandria was not organised as a πόλις—i.e., it possessed neither deliberative assembly nor senate (πόλις),—but from the first was merely a 'royal residence of the satrap king, never a foundation of Graeco-Macedonians

2. Its constitution. with city privileges in a foreign land' (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 76). The Burgess body was Greek (primarily Macedonian),—standing alongside of the native Egyptian and the foreign elements not reckoned Hellenic, in somewhat the same way as the English in India alongside of the natives (Momms. *Prov. of Rom. Emp.* 2.262 ET). Chief among the non-Hellenes were the Jews, occupying two out of the five wards, apparently here not on the Ghetto system, but on the basis of original settlement; they were naturally attracted by the commercial advantages of the city, and were also deliberately settled there by the founder (Jos. *c. Ap.* 24. *BJ* ii. 187). Josephus asserts that the Alexandrian Jews had equal rights with the Macedonians and other Greeks. This, though technically an exaggeration, was probably practically true, seeing that such rights can only have been privileges enjoyed by the Greeks over the natives; but it is doubtful whether the Jews were free from the poll-tax. Of all the non-Hellenes, the Jews alone were allowed to form a community within that of the city, with a certain amount of self-government. 'The Jews,' says Strabo (quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72), 'have in Alexandria a national head of their own (ἐθνάρχης), who presides over the people and decides processes and disposes of contracts as if he ruled an independent community' (ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελεῖς). Josephus traces their legal position to Alexander, but it was apparently Ptolemy I. who settled them in Egypt in large numbers (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1; App. *Syr.* 50). The general result was that 'in acknowledged independence, in repute, culture, and wealth, the body of Alexandrian Jews was, even before the destruction of Jerusalem, the first in the world' (Momms. *op. cit.* 2.267 ET). Cp. DISPERSTON, §§ 7, 15 ff.

Of the development of the city, and especially of the foundation of the institutions which gave it its place in the history of literature and science, little is known. The famous Museum was

3. Letters. probably founded by Ptolemy I., aided by the advice of Demetrius of Phalerum, who migrated to Egypt on his expulsion from Athens (307 B.C.).

The name (*Μουσείο*) points to an Attic origin. No detailed description can here be given. Besides the materials are very scanty. It was a royal foundation, with a common hall, porticoes, and gardens, for the exclusive use of literary and scientific workers dependent on royal bounty, under the presidency of a priest who was the king's nominee; it was the 'first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government' (Holm, *op. cit.* 4.317 ET). It was not a teaching establishment or training-place for youth, but a home of research adequately endowed. Attached to it was the Library, with more than 500,000 volumes (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 21).

The Museum and the Library combined were essentially a centre of learning, not of creative power. In their artificial atmosphere exact science and literary criticism flourished with brilliant results; but literature decayed—perhaps the uninspiring environment of the city had no slight effect upon its art and poetry (Mahaffy, *Greek Life* 195).

The Museum served as a model for subsequent foundations—e.g., that of the emperor Claudius—both Jews and Christians at a later time had similar centres of learning in the city. The fate of the library is uncertain; it is doubtful whether it was accidentally burnt along with the arsenal in 480 C. (C. *IL* 3111). The words of Dio, 43.48 ὥστε ἅλλα τε καὶ τὰ νεώτερα, τὰς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σιτοῦ καὶ τῶν βιβλίων—παλαιστῶν ἐν καὶ ἀμειψῶν, ὡς ἔασι, γυμνασίου, καθάρσιον, πρὸς τὸν ἅλιν ἐκ τῶν σπέρων τοῦ βιβλίου (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.* 4.40).

Ptolemy II. established a supplementary library in the Satrapion, in the quarter Rhacotis. In science,

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especially, Alexandria maintained a sort of primacy throughout the imperial period, and residence in the Museum was the hall-mark of learning (cp. Acts 18²⁴, and a $\phi\lambda\omega\sigma\phi\omega\varsigma$ ἀπὸ Μουσείου, in H. Heckerhassius, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 14.5). Alexandrian physicians, in particular, were regarded as the best in the empire; cp. $\epsilon\upsilon$ Ἐφεσὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροὶ (Wood, *Ephesus*, Appendix, Inscriptions from Funerals, etc., 7, 1. 6).

In Roman times Alexandria was the second city in the empire, and the first commercial city in the world

4. Character. (Strabo, p. 798; *μεγίστην ἐμπειρίαν τῆς οἰκονομίας*). At the end of the Ptolemaic period she numbered upwards of 300,000 free inhabitants, and in imperial times still more (Diod. 17.52). Mommsen (*op. cit.* 2.202 ET) develops the comparison between her and Antioch—both 'monarchical creations out of nothing' (Lauts. viii. 33).

The latter excelled in beauty of site and in the magnificence of her imperial buildings; the former in her suitability for world-trade. In the character of their population and their attitude towards their respective national religions, the similarity between the two cities is close. The Alexandrian mob, like that of Antioch, was capricious and turbulent; the smallest spark kindled a conflagration to be quenched only with blood (Thod. I 24, Dio 39 47).

Polibius (3114) says that a personal visit to the city filled him with disgust at the demoralisation produced by the constant presence of massed mercenaries necessary for keeping under control the morgeled Greeks, the degenerate descendants of the Greeks; compared with the *paucis* the native Egyptian element (B² 3110). A vivid illustration is found in the bloody scenes which heralded the accession of Ptolemy V. (Pol. 1.59-33). A point of similarity with the Antiochians was the fondness of the Alexandrians for giving nicknames (c.p. Plutarch, *Antiochus*, 21.12: καὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλητικῆς τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρίαις ἐκράτειν. Id. 1.91; Sen. *ad Helv.* 190: 'Lopax et in contumeliam praetorum incognosca provincia . . . etiam periculosae placuit'). The Ptolemies had even a nickname, and even Vespasian (for his tax on salt fish, was called the 'sardine-dealer' (Sen. *epist.* 122: *salisarius*). As regards the status of the highly composed population, the Roman emperors mostly retained the old state of things. The Alexandrians continued to stand quite apart from the rest of the country in character and in privileges (c.p. Philo, *in Isai.* 1.1: *ὅτι* 4457) so much so that the Alexandrian franchise was a necessary preliminary to the acquisition of Roman citizenship (Play. *epist.* 1.1222: *Admittis sum a peritibus decessis ne ante e Alexandrian civitatem impetare, deinde Romanam* (Latin esset 1221us = *Is. c.* 46.24). The Egyptians of the Nomes were unable to gain Roman citizenship, like other provincials, by enlistment in the legions.

The greatness of Alexandria has led some to speak of its founder as though he were endowed with more

5. Its success. Alexandria was more than human foreknowledge, and had foreseen the future of the city as a centre of Hellenism and queen of the Levant. Others regard the city as merely a Greek emporium, a second and more successful Naxos, owing to accident its rise to the position of a cosmopolitan capital. Nevertheless, it was the only city in the world which

Nevertheless, it must have been evident to Alexander that, after the destruction of Tyre, the great trading area of the Levant was for the moment without focus (Hogarth, *Tycho and Alex.*, 12), and the site actually selected was the only one possible on the Egyptian coast (though Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptol.*, 12, calls this in question). Egypt, further, offered peculiar facilities for that amalgamation of Greeks and Macedonians which he desired, and, owing to its support of his secret belief in his divinity, it had a special place in his affections. The success of Nearchus undoubtedly exerted an influence in the way of directing attention to the W. of the Delta; and it is not without reason that Cleomenes, a native of Naucratis, created financial governor of Egypt, is called one of the architects of Alexandria (Justin 134). Nor should we fail to take account of the fact that the island of Pharos was the traditional landing-place of Odysseus (Hom., *Od.*, 1-55). This influence is distinctly asserted in the story of the dream which directed the king to the site opposite Pharos (Plut., *Alex.*, 26).

In fine, considering Alexander's economic designs and achievements in the far East, and the success of his eastern colonies, we cannot venture to deny that he consciously created a centre for a new mixed race, with a definite dream of the possibilities afterwards realised.

The modern town stands mainly on the site of the old one.

6. Sites not recoverable. All the great monuments of the Ptolemaic age seem to have stood within the present inhabited

6. Sites not recoverable.

ALMON-DIBLATHAIM

area, or on ground now absorbed by the sea; but the site of no ancient building is known, except that of the Casareum, which body was deposited. The Sema or Soma, in which Alexander's of *Nebi Dami*, the most sacred locality in Alexandria. The first person known to have seen the body was the emperor Septimius Severus (194, 70-13).

The general result is that, owing to subsidence, the remains of Ptolemaic Alexandria are now below water level, and that nothing is to be hoped for from the site (*Except. Expl. Fund Report*, 1894-5). See, also, DUNSTON, § 7.

Literatur.—Strabo, pp. 791-799; Herondas, *Mim.* 1. 28 f.; Kriepel, *Zur Topogr. des alten Aer.* (Leip. 1872); Weizner, *Das Aie.*, *Muscarum* (Berl. 1875). Pamy-Wissowa's *Realencyclop.*, 'Alexandria' (Fuchstein), and 'Alexandrinische Literatur' (Kinack).
W. J. W.

ALGUM (אֶלְגוּם), 2 Ch. 28 9 to f. † See ALMUG.

ALIAH (אֲלִיָּה, Kt.), Gen. 36:40 = 1 Ch. 1:31. ALVAH.

ALIAN (אֱלִיאן), 1 Ch. 140 = Gen. 3623† ALVAN.

ALIEN (נָכַר, Job 19:15 Ps. 69:8; בֵּן נָכַר, Is. 61:5; נָכַר, Ex. 18:3, RV 'sojourner,' Dt. 14:21†, RV 'foreigner'). See STRANGER.

ALLAMMELECH (אלמלך) [v. d. Hooght], etc.).
Josh. 19:26† RV=AV ALAMMELECH.

ALLAR (אללר [B]), 1 Esd. 5, 36† RV = Ezra 2, 59
IMMER, 2; cp also CHERTIN, 2.

ALLEGORY (ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΟΥΜΕΝΑ [Ti.WII]), Gal.
4:24f. See PARABLES, §§ 1, 3, 5.

ALLELUIA (ἀλληλουγία [Ti.], -ia [WH]). Rev. 19 r 3/. 6f. See HALLELUJAH.

ALLEMETH (עלמת; but Bt. Gi. עלמת), 1 Ch. 660
[45, RV = AV ALLEMETH].

ALLOM. RV **Allon** (αλλων [B]), 1 Esd. 5 34 = Neh. 7 59 AMON, 3.

ALLON (אלון), Josh. 19:33 AV. As a proper name this rightly disappears from RV. See BLAZANANNIM (Greek readings at end).

ALLON (אלון; cp *Elon* and see *Aljalon*, 2; *Δύων* [*B.* *ἄλλων* (*A.* *χαλ.* *L.*)], a *Simeonite* (1 *Ch.* 437)).

ALLON-BACHUTH, RV Allon-Bacuth (אלון-בכוחות), i.e., 'the ark of weeping,' see also BACHUTH.

ΒΑΛΑΝΔΕ ΠΕΝΘΟΥΣ BAL.)': the spot 'below Bethel' where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried (Gen. 35 8f Ex.). According to another tradition (cp DEBORAH, 1), however, it seems to have been a palm tree (Judg. 45); or rather, perhaps, *allin* could be used of a palm tree, just as the cognate words *al* (in Elpharim) and *elath* are undoubtedly used. In 1 S. 103 it seems to be called 'the terebinth 2' (ἱσσο, δριος BAL.) of Tabor, where 'Tabor' (θα.θωρ BAL., τῆς ἐλκερκῆς [L.] may be a bad reading for 'Deborah' (Θεμνης).

ALLOY (סגל), Is. 125 RV mg., EV 'tin.' See METALS.

ALMODAD (אַלְמוֹדָד, or rather as in **G**^{al} and **Vg**,
דָּדִלְמוֹ, Elmodad, i.e. 'God loves'; a Sabaean name
 [ZDMG 37.13]; **ΕΛΜΩΔΑΔ** AL, one of the de-
 scendants of JOKTAN (q.v.); Gen. 10.26 (**ΕΛΜΩΔΑΔ**
 Φ, **ΙΕΛΜΩΔΑΔ** [L]) = 1 Ch. I.24. See Glaser,
SBZ 280, 425, and cp *Modadi* on a primitive
 B.b. contract-tablet (Hommel, *AHT* 114).

ALMON (עלמן). Josh. 21: 18† = 1 Ch. 6: 65. [45]
 ALMETH (עלמת).

ALMON **DIBLATHAIM** (עֲלֹן דִּבְלַתַּיִם), on form of name see NAMES, § 107; **עֲלֹמֶן** **דִּבְלַתַּיִם** BAI, i, a station of the Issachites between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Abiram, Nu. 33:46 and 17. **דִּבְלַתַּיִם**

ALMOND

אלגדאין [A] v. 47; apparently the same as BETH-DIBLAITHAIM (7.v.).

ALMOND, ALMOND TREE, ALMOND BLOSSOM

(קֶרֶן, קָרֶן [ADL] Gen. 41:1, Num. 17:8-21) קָרֶן [B]; אֲמִיגְדָלוֹן בְּשֵׁל, Eccles. 12:5; as an adjective קָרִינִיחַ [BQ and practically S.A.], Jer. 1:11; קֶרֶן = 'made like almond blossoms,' עֲקֵטֵי-פְּרִי־מִנִּי קָרִינִיחַ: BATH, Ex. 25:31 f.; קָרֶן-וֶטָא BATH 37:10 f.). The Hebrew root means to 'wake' or 'watch'; and the tree is said to be so named because it is the first to awake from the sleep of winter.¹ The etymology is alluded to in Jer. 1:11 f.

The almond is referred to in the story of Jacob, who (Gen. 43:11, f.) instructs his sons to take with them into Egypt a present of the fruits of Palestine including almonds. The verisimilitude of this detail cannot be questioned. It was natural for a Hebrew to presume that Palestinian almonds would be prized in Egypt, nor need we trouble ourselves as to the exact date of the acclimatisation of the almond tree on the banks of the Nile.²

The original native country of the almond (*Prunus Amygdalus*, Stokes) was W. Asia, from which it has gradually spread, in the main probably by human intervention, throughout the Mediterranean region. Almonds are still an important article of commerce in the Persian Gulf, nor is there anything improbable in their being exported from Syria into Egypt in early or even in more recent times. No ancient writer, according to Celsius (*Herod.* 1:293), mentions them as grown in Egypt.

The 'cups made like almond blossoms' on the branches of the golden candlestick, consisting each of 'a knop' or knob 'and a flower' (Ex. 25:31 f., 37:10 f.) represented, says Dillm. (*ad loc.*), 'not the corolla but the calyx of the almond flower.' Some have proposed to translate עֲקֵטֵי 'awakened' i.e., fully opened (as opposed to closed buds); but this is certainly untenable. In Jer. 1:11 an almond staff seen by the prophet becomes, from the associations of its name, a symbol of Yahweh's watchfulness. The most interesting reference is in the difficult passage Eccles. 12:5. There are three clauses in the verse, and in each unfortunately there is some obscurity. It is the first, rendered by AV, 'The almond tree shall flourish,' [RV 'blossom'], which now concerns us. As regards this, it has been doubted, (1) whether קֶרֶן by itself can mean the almond tree; (2) whether the pinkish-white blossoms are a likely metaphor (according to the ordinary view) for an old man's white hairs; and (3) what is the meaning of the verb (קָרַן). The consonants of the Heb. text support the meaning 'he will reject the almond,' i.e., will be unable to eat it, though a delicacy; but the vowel-points and all the ancient versions have the same rendering as EV. This seems on the whole more probable. Though Jer. 1:11 is not sufficient to prove that קֶרֶן can mean the tree, the equivalent form in Syriac, *ḡadlā*, appears to have this sense. The metaphor is possible if we remember that the flowers come out as a pale flash on the dark leafless branches; if the metaphor is to be pressed closer, the flowers are, as Koch describes them, 'white or of a pale red.'³

(2) See HAZEL.

N. M.—W. T. D.

ALMS. The English word is derived through the

1. **Terms.** A.S. form 'almesse' from the eccl. Lat. *elemosyna*, which again is borrowed from

¹ Syriac has the same word in the form *ḡadlā*; the Arabic for almond is *luz*. Hebrew *luz* (see HAZEL).

² Lag. *Cyrenaica* 45. Cp. Plin. 16:25 (quoted by Celsius): 'Ex illis quæ hieme aquila exorientem concipit, floret et maximum amygdala mense Januario; Martio vero pomum maturat.'

³ Cp. Maspero, *Paragon of Cities* 27.

⁴ Prof. Ch. Yenc. informs us that the wild almond, now rare, was noticed in a gash of Hermon by Robertson Smith, who found its blossoms distinctly white. Tristram speaks of many almond trees on Mt. Carmel (*NHB* 332).

ALMS

the Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη*. The Greek word, which is exceedingly rare in classical authors, means *pity*, and in the Greek of the NT (Lk. 11:41 12:11 Acts 3:2 f., 10:10 f., 10:43) signifies also a special result of pity—viz., relief given in money or kind to the poor. In biblical Hebrew there is no corresponding word, and it is not even quite certain that the technical and restricted use of the word *ἐλεημοσύνη* occurs in O. No doubt in such passages as Eccles. 7:10 and Tob. 4:7 12:11, the author or translator has almsgiving chiefly or even exclusively in view. Still *ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην* does not in itself mean more than *ἔσθω ἡμεῖς*, 'to do that which is merciful or kindly.' On the other hand, the NT use of 'to give *ἐλεημοσύνας*' etc., is quite decisive for the specialised sense of the word.

The close connection between religion and deeds of mercy frequently appears in ancient religion. The

2. **OT estimate.** Bedouin Arabs, maintaining thereon a perennial usage, regard the wayfarer as 'the guest of Allah,' to whom hospitality is due (Douglas, *Ar. Des.* 1:226). The sacrificial meal often included an act of charity to the poor. Thus the poor were allowed to take handfuls from the meal-offering made to the Arab god, al-'Okaisir (WKS *Rel. Sem.* 12:22), and the same use of sacrifice was familiar to the Greeks (see, e.g., Xen. *Anab.* v.39). Indeed the general law of sacrificial feasts was open-handed hospitality in which the poor shared. The OT, however, carries this beneficent tendency farther than any other ancient religion. It made systematic provision for the poor, and institutions of this kind can be traced throughout the religious history of Israel, from the eighth century onwards. Indeed it is significant that in the OT scarcely a trace of beggars and begging in the strict sense is to be found (see, however, 1 S. 2:6 Ps. 109:10). In the 'Book of the Covenant' (see EXODUS, ii. § 3), Ex. 23:10 f., the Hebrew landowner is directed to leave his land fallow each seventh year 'that the poor of thy people may eat.' The merciful spirit of the Deuteronomist is conspicuous in the stress he lays on the care for the poor. Every third year the owner was to bring forth a tenth from his granaries and bestow it exclusively on the poor, including the Levites (Dt. 11:28 f.). According to a custom still preserved in Palestine, every Israelite was free to pick and eat grapes from his neighbour's vineyard, or to pluck ears from the cornfield, as he passed along (Dt. 23:24 f., 23 f.). Out of consideration for the poor, the owner must not, in a grasping spirit, glean to the uttermost his cornfield, vineyard, or oliveyard (Dt. 24:19-22). The earliest part of the Priestly Code, viz., the 'Law of Holiness' (see LEVITICS), reflects the same precept (Lev. 19:9, 23:22); besides this, in Deuteronomy and generally in the later writers of the OT, private and voluntary almsgiving is especially commended. On the whole it may be said that the prophets plead the rights of the poor as their advocates, while in Deuteronomy and in post-exilic literature, the needy Israelite is commended to the charity of his brethren. See, among passages too numerous to quote, Is. 58:7 (a very late passage) Prov. 14:21 19:17 Ps. 112:9 Job 29:12 f. One reference to almsgiving—viz., Dan. 1:27[24]—deserves special notice. Probably the force of the Aramaic words is 'redeem' or 'make good thine iniquities . . . by showing mercy to the poor,' and if this interpretation of *ḡadlā* be correct, we have here a clear implication of the later Jewish doctrine that alms had a redemptive or atoning power.

In the OT Apocrypha and in Rabbinical literature almsgiving assumes a new and excessive prominence. So much was this the case that *ḡadlā*, which in the older writings means 'righteousness' in general, came to be used for almsgiving in particular, and this use of the word has been naturalised in the Arab. *ḡadlā* 'alms for God' (*Kor. Sur.* 9:104, etc.;

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ALOES

The following citations furnish examples of the propitiatory virtue ascribed to alms in later Judaism: 'Shut up mercy (*ḥesed*) to me, O alms, to thy treasures, and it shall deliver thee from all afflictions' (Ecclus. 29:14); 'Mercy (or 'alms') 'delivereth from death' (Ecclus. 29:15); 'Through alms a man partakes of eternal life' (*Ḥagigah* 12b, 37a); 'The who says, I give this piece of money as alms, that I do not buy some, may indeed eternal life, is a perfectly righteous man' (*Pesahim* 114a); 'Ref. from Weiser, *Altjudenth.* 1860, 276 ff.); 'Almsdeeds are more meritorious than all sacrifices' (*Sam.* 47 f.); 'Assim-offering makes atonement for Israel, so alms for the Gentiles' (*Ḥagigah* 12b, 37a); 'Ref. from Levy, *NH* 18, v. 3285).

Alms were systematically collected in the synagogue of the Diaspora for poor Jews in Palestine (this custom is mentioned by Jerome as existing in his time), and also every week for the poor of the synagogue itself. Officers were appointed to make the collection, and boxes for the reception of alms also were placed in the synagogues (Vitring, *Syn. Vet.* n. 11). In Mk. 124*f.*, however, the reference is not to alms-chests but to one of thirteen trumpet-shaped boxes, placed in the court of the women to receive contributions towards the expenses of the temple worship (Schür., *G/T* 2.283).

Jesus, then, did not need to awaken zeal for almsgiving among his countrymen: it was there already.

4. NT. and there was apparently more occasion for it, since in the NT we meet with persons who were, in consequence of bodily infirmity, beggars by profession (Mt. 10.46 Lk. 18.35 In 9 f., and note the technical term *πρωταίτης*). He purified it from the ostentation which often corrupted it (Mt. 6.2-4); he accentuated the feeling of compassion, without which it is worthless (Lk. 10.33); above all, he taught that the dispensation which gives alms by mechanical rule and bargains with God for compensation here or hereafter should yield to that impulse of the new heart which sees the supreme reward in likeness to a heavenly Father (Mt. 5.45). We cannot wonder then that, in the infant church at Jerusalem, without compulsion or rigid communistic system (see Acts 5.4), there was an ideal charity which made 'all things common' (Acts 1.32), and prompted rich men like Barnabas to sell their property for the sake of the needy (Acts 1.36 f.). No doubt the expectation that Christ's second coming was at hand stimulated this uncalculating generosity; but low esteem of worldly goods and love of the brethren were the mainsprings of this new development. It is also significant that the first election of Christian officers was made to secure a due distribution of alms. The Gentile churches, moreover, were bound to the mother church at Jerusalem by the offerings which they made for the poor in that city (Rom. 15.26 f. 1 Cor. 16.1-3 2 Cor. 9.1 f. Acts 21.17). Of course almsgiving found other channels. The author of the epistle to the Hebrews assumes that it is a necessary feature of the Christian life, and speaks of it as a sacrifice of thanksgiving which continues after the Jewish altar has been done away with. From very early days each church had its lists of poor (1 Tim. 5.9) and its common fund (Ignat. *Ad Polyc.* 4); and whereas in heathen clubs 'charity was an accident, in Christian associations it was of the essence' (Hatch, *Origins of early Christ. Church* 30). Cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, especially § 5. W. L. A.

[BA]. ἀπ. [L]. 1 K 10¹¹ f. f. אֶזְרוֹמִים P¹ CYR¹ [BA]. 2 Ch 28 [9] 9 f. f. (π. ἀπελεκητά. L. γ. ω; ἀπελ., L. γ. ω) yielded a precious wool, which was brought to Sodomén, along with gold and gems, from OPHIR (q. r.; cp. Σε. μόν) by the ships of Itham, and was used to make "pillars" (מַסְכֹּת, ἐπιστήθια [BA]. RV mg. "a railing," 1 K. 10¹² = 2 Ch. 9¹¹ מַסְכֹּת, ἀναστάεις [BA]. RV

¹ The two forms, though differently rendered by 𐍆 and other variants, are obviously variants of the same word. The etymology is unknown.

'terraces') for the temple and the palace, as well as 'harps and psalteries.' In 2Ch 28⁷, these trees appear along with cedars and brs among the products of Lebanon, with which Solomon asks Hiram to furnish him; but there is no mention of them in the parallel passage in Kings.¹

The very various opinions that have been held as to the identity of the tree are enumerated by Celsius (*Herod.* I, 74 r).

There may be mentioned: (1) The Jewish traditional rendering is 'coral'; but this is obviously unsuitable, unless we may understand by 'coral-wood' simply a red wood. (2) Kuntli takes it to be 'Brazil-wood', the *bakum* of the Arabs, a red dyewood found in India. (3) Most moderns, following Celsius (see his reasons, *op. cit.* 1779 p. 8), believe it to be 'santalwood', probably of the redder sort (*Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Lam.), which is still used in India for purposes similar to those recorded below. The ancient varieties yield no high; but see

The evidence appears to point to some valuable local wood brought (like lign albes and cassia) into the Eastern Mediterranean by the ancient commerce of the Red Sea. If we may assume it to be a real wood adapted for dyeing, it may well be either (1) brazil-wood (a name of uncertain origin; the French *bruisse*, a glowing coal, has been suggested; it was transferred to the S. American country) = *Casipinna Sappan*, Linn., a tree of India and the Malay Isles, apparently the *hakkam* of the Arabs; or it may be (2) red sandal-wood, *Pterocarpus Santalinus*, Linn., an odorous dye-wood, still surviving as a colouring matter in pharmacy,³ a native of Southern India, where it is much valued for temple pillars. Possibly both species may be included under the expression, *lignum aloë*.

[6 in 2 Ch. 28 9¹⁰ f. gives *Ḥāḏā ḥāḏāra*, which agrees with the Chroniker's statement that the alghum-wood came from Lebanon. Cheyne, therefore, proposes to identify 'alghum' (the form attested by the earlier record, that in Kings) with *Ḥammuku*, the name of one of the trees used by Sennacherib in building his palaces. The tree seems from its name to have been of *Hamite* origin; but so useful a tree may have been planted in Hermon and Lebanon. For *ḥmd* in 1 K. 10 ii, it is possible to read *ḥmḥ*. Less probably we may suppose with Hommel that this hard and rare wood was 'a product of the trade of Ophir.' See *Isis*, T. 9470 f. 528 ('98), and cp *ALAMUḤLECU*.] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ALNATHAN (ΕΛΝΑΘΑΝ [Λ]), 1 Esd. 8.44, RV
ELNATHAN, 2.

ALOES and (once) **Lign Aloes** (לִּיגְנֵי אֱלֹהִים; Num. 216
 עֲקֻנָּהי בַּאֲלֵי; Ex. lign aloes'; Ps. 77, 78 טֹחַן אֱלֹהִים
 1. **Substance.** מוֹי בַּאֲלֵי; or לִיגְנֵי Ps. 45² [9].
 עֲקֻנָּהי אֶל אֱלֹהִים; Cant. 1:4 אֱלֹהִים
 [BA], אֱלֹהִים [N] אֶל אֱלֹהִים. Syn. ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ, Jn.
 19:40 אֱלֹהִים [BA]³, the modern *aglio-wood*, a precious
 wood exported from SE. Asia, which yields a fragrant
 odour when burnt. It is entirely distinct from (1) the
 common bitter 'aloe' used in medicine, to which alone
 the name was given by classical writers,⁴ (2) the plant

¹ The *Chronicle* has probably mistaken an imported article of iron handaxe for a native product of Phoenicia.

² Jerome renders *thyia* - i.e., 'citron wood' (*Callitris quadrivalvis*, Vent.) - an Algerian tree inordinately valued by the Romans for tables, and likely to have been known in biblical times or to biblical people.

⁴ *I.e.*, *λίγνιον αλόν*, a hybrid phrase; *vide* Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*

⁷⁰ The critical student will not fail to observe that three of the four OT passages in which **מִסְכָּח** or **מִסְחָח** occurs belong to books or parts of books which eminent critics have regarded as post-exilic, and may be reminded here that the occurrence of rare plant names is one of the phenomena which have to be considered in fixing the period of such documents. He will also notice that the reading of the fourth passage has on good grounds been amended. See the close of this article. — E.D.]

⁶ This latter is described, among ancient writers, by Pliny (H V 274) and Dioscorides (322), and its bitterness alluded to by Juvenal (6181; 'plus aloeis quam mellis huius').

ALOES

commonly known as the American aloe (*Agave americana*), celebrated for the long period which elapses before its flowering. The biblical wood must probably correspond to that described by Dioscorides (112) under the name ἀγλαύχου¹ (cp Ges. *Thes.* 2888): 'a wood imported from India and Arabia, resembling thymic wood (Rev. 1812), compact, aromatic, in taste astringent and rather bitter, with a skin-like and somewhat variegated bark'. He speaks of its medicinal use—sweetening the breath and improving the internal condition of the body—and adds that it is burned instead of frankincense (cp Ar. *Kutur* and see INCI NSI).

The Hebrew name עֵשֶׂה or עֵשֶׂה and the Greek ἀγλαύχου² are almost certainly, and the Greek ἀλὼν³ and English *aloe* not improbably, derived from the same Sanskrit word *agaru*=eagle-wood (see especially Vnde's *Hobson-Jobson*, art. 'Eagle-wood').

This appears in Pali as *agaru* or *agala*, in Marathi as *agaru* or *agaru*; probably another form is the Malayalam *agil*, whence Portuguese *agila*, Fr. *bois d'agile*, and Eng. *eagle-wood*. The Malays call it *Kayu* (wood) *agala*, evidently the same name, though which way the etymology flowed it is difficult to say (Vnde, *loc. cit.* [Hammel, *Exp.* 1: 3545, compares *agalluh* (vnt. *akuchun*) in Am. Tab.]).

It is, however, possible that Gr. ἀλὼν, Syr. *alawa* (or *elawa*), Pers. *alawa*⁴ have an entirely separate origin; the SYRIAC word often means the bitter medicinal aloes (so in the majority of references quoted in PS *Thes.*, v. r.), and the Persian word is so explained by the lexicographers.⁵ In that case we have an instance of what is not uncommon in language, viz., that two things have arrived at the same name from different starting-points.

The 'aloes' and 'lign aloes' of the Bible are thus identified with the product of some tree of the genus

3. Source. *Aquilaria*, the chief home of which is in SE. Asia. According to Arab writers there were many different varieties of the *aghalu* or *ad* found in different parts of India and Ceylon, differing from one another in value according to the greater or less compactness of the wood, though all had the property of yielding a fragrant vapour if burned when dry.⁶ They speak of its use in perfuming clothes and persons, thus illustrating Ps. 15: 9 and Cant. 4: 14; and there are parallels to the usage mentioned in Pr. 7: 17.

It would seem that the kind of eagle-wood most likely to be introduced into Europe in classical times was that yielded by a tree generally distributed through the Malayan region, which in early Eastern commerce would therefore naturally be associated with cassia. This is *Aquilaria malaccensis*, which is figured by Rumphius under the name of *Garo*, and has from ancient times been esteemed by the Chinese. To this day 'it is the most important product of the forests of S. Teisseret and the Mergui Archipelago'. Another kind is obtained in NE. India from *Aquilaria agallocha*, but it is less likely that this should have formed an article of commerce in biblical times. Other kinds were obtained from the East in the Middle Ages; what the early Arab travellers have to say about them may be seen in Hymock, *Pharmacographia India* 3: 218, 220. They were similar but no doubt inferior products derived from different trees, and are probably to be regarded as comparatively modern substitutes.

Eagle-wood consists of diseased wood, infiltrated with odoriferous oil and resin. It occurs in irregular pieces varying in colour from grey to dark brown. It

¹ In later Greek also called ἐυαλόν.

² This latter passed into Arabic as *aghalu* or *aghalukht*; but Arab writers usually call it *al-'ad* 'the wood' *par excellence*, or *al-'ad al-Hindi*, 'the Indian wood'.

³ These three are evidently forms of the same word; but here again it is difficult to say which way the etymology flowed.

⁴ On the other hand, in the single instance mentioned by Huys (Suppl.) of the occurrence of the same word (*alawa*) in Arabic, viz., in a poem quoted by Al-Makkari (*Hist. and Lit. of Arabs in Spain*, ed. Huys, etc. 2: 776, l. 13)—it seems to have the same meaning as the biblical word. Describing the pride of certain people, the poet says, with allusion to the old Arab custom of lighting fires in prominent places near their dwellings to attract wanderers to hospitable entertainment, 'and they throw on the fire of hospitality, from pride, their *alawa* and their *kib*' (the latter also is said to be a species of *agallocha*).

⁵ See the Arabic references discussed at length in Celsius, *Hierobot.* 1: 135-171.

ALPHAËUS

is found in the centre of the tree, and the search for it is laborious. The account of Dioscorides (see above, § 1) is accurate. The exterior, which cannot of course be the bark, is veined with a darker colour.

As regards the importation of this substance into W. Asia no difficulty arises when we remember the undoubted fact of a trade carried on by China with India and Arabia in early times, of which Ceylon was probably a chief depot. See on this subject Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacographia* and ed., p. 520 f. A difficulty, however, appears when we consider Biblical words (Num. 21: 3 f.):—

'How good are thy tents, O Jacob,
Thy dwelling places, O Israel!
As valleys strewn with fat,
As gardens beside a river,
As lign aloes which Yahweh has planted,
As cedars beside waters.'

The wood may, indeed, have been imported by the Phoenicians, and thus be mentioned side by side with myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, etc., the spices of Arabia and India; but how could a Palestinian writer use, as a suggestive simile for the expansion of Israel, the growth of a tree which *ex hypothesi* was never seen in Palestine, but only far away in SE. Asia? The difficulty is pointed out by Dillmann, who remarks, 'Perhaps the original reading was עֵשֶׂה (palms, Ex. 15: 27; Gen. 11: 6).' The word suggested, however, seems generally to mean 'cerebrius', Prof. Cheyne points out the parallel in Is. 61: 2. *Prickly Pteleanthus*, though often only a bush, may be a tree of from twenty to forty feet.

S. M. W. E. T. D.

ALOTH (אֶלוֹת) According to 1 K. 1: 6 Solomon had a prefect, Baanah, 'in Asher and in Aloth' (עַן וְתַי מַאֲלָא (B). . . . גַּלְאֲלָא (L. omitting 'Asher'; עַן אֲשֶׁר וְתַי מַאֲלָא (A)). It is better, as in RV and Kau. *HS*, to read 'in Asher and Bealoth.' See BAAL-VII-III R. Klossmann, recognising that a more northerly place is desirable, suggests the emendation 'Zebulun' (notice 'Naphtali,' 7: 15, and 'Issachar,' 2: 17).

ALPHA AND OMEGA (ΤΟ ΑΛΦΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ Ω) [Ti. VII] Rev. 18: 216 and [Ti. Δ in B] 2213. For similar use of first and last letters of the alphabet in Rabbinic writings see Schottgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ* 1: 26 f.

ALPHABET. See WRITING.

ALPHAËUS (ΑΛΦΑΙΟΥΣ [Ti. VII]; Heb. [Aram.] אֶלְפָּאֵי [אֶלְפָּאֵי]), either a contraction from אֶלְפָּאֵי or a gentilicium from the place-name Heleph; on account of the α W & H write 'Αλφαίος).

1. Father of Levi the publican, named only in Mark (Mk. 2: 14 = Lk. 5: 27 = Mt. 9: 9 [where Matthew is usually identified with Levi]).

2. Father of the second James in the lists of apostles (Mt. 10: 3; Mk. 3: 18; Lk. 6: 15; Acts 1: 13; see APOSTLES, § 1), not to be identified with Clopas and so made a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. See CLOPAS, § 3.

There is no reason for identifying (1) and (2). The Itala, it is true, and apparently also the more important of the MSS known to Origen, as well as D, read 'Ιάκωβον instead of Αλεω in Mk. 2: 14; but if this had been the original reading, it would be impossible to account for the subsequent substitution for James of a quite unknown Levi. The reading 'Ιάκωβον arose simply because, at a very early date, a copyist knew of no son of Alphaeus but James, and therefore took Αλεω for an error which he was bound to correct. If the Alphaeus of Mk. 2: 14 were to be identified with the Alphaeus of the lists of apostles, on the assumption that Levi and the second James were brothers, then we should expect to find these two

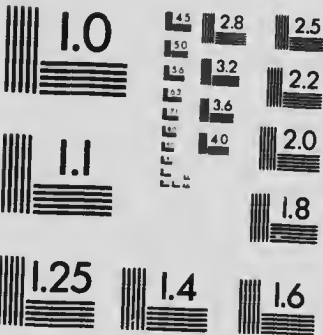
¹ Instead of אֶלְפָּאֵי Q¹ reads אֶלְפָּאֵי, 'Levi'; but this is obviously unsuitable. Cp its rendering in Pr. 7: 17 (רֹחַ עֵץ אֶלְפָּאֵי מִוֶּנֶּה).

² But see SHOT, Heb. on Is. 46, and cp CEDAR.



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brothers forming a pair in the lists just as Peter and Andrew do, or John and the first James. This objection to the identification, however, is valid only on the assumption that Levi under the name of Matthew was admitted into the number of the twelve.

The Syrian writer Annas in the 14th cent. makes Alphaeus accompany Nathaniel (identified with Bartholomew) on his journeyings through Nisibis, Mesopotamia, and the rest of Western Asia (Lipsius, *Apoc.*, i. p. 95 seq. ii. 261 f.). — I. W. S.

ALTANEUS (ΑΛΤΑΝΝΑΙΟΣ *A'*). RV MALTIAN-
NEUS, 1 Esd. 9⁹† - Ezra 10₃₃ MATTENAI, 2.

ALTAR.¹ The Heb. **זֶבֶח** means literally 'a place of slaughter or sacrifice' (cp. Ar. *Madhah*,² and Syr. *Madkēha*). The Gk. and Lat. terms,

1. **Names.** *Μαθητήν*. The Gk. and Lat. terms, *μαθητής* (ep *μαθητής*, *ana* ep *ἀκούω*), *disciple* (ep *discipulus*), on the other hand, describe the form of the altar as a raised structure without reference to its purpose. Occasionally (23 times) *Θ* uses the Gk. word *βωμὸς*; as a rule, however, *βωμ* is rendered by *θεοστασίριον*. The translation thus effected is close and exact; but *θεοστασίριον* is unknown in classical literature, being apparently confined to biblical, Jewish,³ and ecclesiastical writers. In the NT *βωμὸς* occurs only once (Acts 17:23), and there the writer is speaking of an altar used for heathen worship. Elsewhere *θεοστασίριον* is always employed.

We have, then, in the Hebrew word an accurate definition of the altar; it is a place of sacrifice. Why

2. Primitive idea. an altar should be required in order that the victim may be slain in a manner accountable to the law.

to the worshipper, is not so obvious as we might at first be inclined to think. We might deem it a sufficient explanation to say that the altar served ends of obvious convenience, the flesh of the victim being placed on a raised platform specially appropriated to this object, the sacrifice was separated from contact with common things and from contamination, while a means was provided for performing the rite with due solemnity and in full sight of those who desired to associate themselves with the sacred offering. There is evidence, however, that in primitive times the altar possessed a much deeper significance than this. (The development of this primitive idea is traced elsewhere. See IDOLATRY, § 2; SACRIFICE; MASS-BAIL.)

To the Arabs any stone might become for the nonce an altar, and evidently their Hebrew kinsfolk followed

3. Usage. originally the same ancient way. Thus, after the victory of Michmash, when Saul was told that his hungry warriors were devouring the flesh meat which they had taken as booty, without reserving the blood as an offering to Yahwé, he commanded his people to roll a great stone towards him, and on this natural altar the blood, the mysterious seat of the soul, was poured out, so that all was in order (1 S. 14 : 35). It is to be observed that here there is no question of burning. In Gideon's sacrifice, of which we have an account in Judges 6 : 21, the offering of cooked flesh and unleavened cakes is indeed consumed by fire miraculously kindled; but the altar on which the gifts are placed is simply a rock, and the broth of the cooked flesh is poured out upon it or at its base.

According to Ex. 20:24-25, on the other hand—a passage which, whatever be its date (see EXODUS, II, § 3), may represent an ancient usage—the altar is to be of earth—a material used in early times by other nations—e.g., Carthaginians, Romans, and Greeks (for references see Dic. *ant. heb.*—or, if of stone, then of unhewn stone, the reason given being that an iron instrument would

¹ On references to Greek altars see UNKNOWN, *God and Abominations*, ii.

² The Arabic *ḥaṭṭ* 'it does not mean 'altar.' It has acquired that meaning through transliteration of the Bible. It is also used in the sense of 'trench' (on which see WRS *Rec. Sem* (2) 244, n. 1); and the marks on *ḥaṭṭ* *ḥaṭṭ* are not.

sometimes state it, in Philo, but also in Eupolemus, *Ep. Arist.*, Jos., and other Jewish authors.

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destroy the sanctity of the altar. Originally, it can scarcely be doubted, the idea was that changing the form of the sacred stone would drive the deity from his abode (cp *Idolatriy*, § 40; but such ideas had passed away when the compiler wrote, and iron tools continued to be forbidden in deference to ancient custom no longer understood. Further, the altar here prescribed was to have no steps. In this way the person of the sacrificer was to be saved from exposure, an object secured by the priestly legislator in a very different way,—viz., by making "linen breeches," or drawers, part of the priestly attire. Altars so constructed might be erected all over Israel; see *HIGH PLACE*, § 2*f*. On the recognition of the altar as a sanctuary for homicides see *WRS Rel. Sem.* 183 *f*., and cp *ASHTUM*.

Very different was the altar erected in the fore-court of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The first

4. Solomon's temple. Book of Kings (9:25) makes direct mention of the fact that Solomon built an altar on which he offered sacrifices to the Lord.

times a year. So, too, in 804, reference is made to the altar which 'stood before Yahwē'—i.e., in front of the temple proper—and it is described as the 'brazen altar' (מִזְבֵּחַ נְחָשׁ). Thus the material itself offers a striking contrast to the altars of earth and stone which had been in use previously. Like the rest of the temple and its furniture, it was the work of a Phœnician artist. HIRAM-ABI (2 Ch. 2:13, perhaps rightly; see, however, HIRAM, 2). Unfortunately, the account of the altar, which we should expect before 1 K. 7:23, is wanting.

The text of the passage has been mutilated because a later editor, mis-interpreting 1 K. 54 (itself a very late insertion), supposed that the furniture of the Tabernacle, including, of course, the brazen altar, had been moved by Solomon into his temple, so that no further altar of this kind was needed. The excision of the passage describing Solomon's brazen altar must have been effected in comparatively modern times, for the Chron. le. shows that he had it before him in the text of the Books of Kings which he used (see St. in *ZATW* 3:17 [3]).

The Chronicler (2Ch. 11) gives its dimensions. It was 20 cubits long and broad by 10 cubits high. Now, these are precisely the measurements of the altar in Ezekiel's temple (Ez. 43:13ff.). The prophet really constructs his ideal temple of the future from his recollections of the old temple in which he may very well have served as a priest. We shall, therefore, not go far wrong if, with most modern archaeologists, we take Ezekiel's description as applicable to Solomon's altar. On that supposition, although the altar was 20 cubits broad and long at the base, the altar-hearth¹ was only 12 cubits by 12. The altar consisted of three platforms or ledges, the higher being in each case two ells narrower than the lower ledge. At the base was a gutter (EV 'the bottom,' RV mg. 'the hollow,' Ez. 43:13) one ell broad (πρὸς ἑκατὼτα, κοίλευα, κοίλευα in G), intended apparently for the reception of the sacrificial blood; and there was a similar gutter at the top round the altar-hearth. At the four corners on the top

5. Horns of altar, etc. Possibly they represent, as Stade has suggested, the beginning of an attempt to carve the altar stone into the form of an ox, which symbolised the power of Yahweh² (Nu. 23.22-24). Be that as it may, down to the latest times the horns of the altar were regarded as specially sacred, so that in the consecration of priests (Ex. 29.12) and in the ritual of the sin offering (Lev. 4.7) the blood was sprinkled upon them. It has been inferred from Ps. 118.7 that at one time the horns were used also for fastening the victim; but the meaning of the words is exceedingly obscure, and no conclusion of any value can be deduced from them.

The ascent to the altar was made by a flight of steps

¹ The word for hearth or place for burning, which should probably be written $\text{N}^{\text{N}}\text{-R}$ (see ARN 1, 2), occurs not only in Is. 29: 24 Z_1 but also on the stone of Meshia ($\text{P}^{\text{P}} 100: 6$).

² Robert on Smith, however, regards the 'horns of the altar' as a modern substitute for the actual horns of sacrificial victims, such as the heads of oxen which are common symbols on Greek altars (*KS* 436).

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on the E. side, and it is plain that an arrangement of this kind was absolutely necessary, when we consider the great height of the structure.

On the whole matter we must remember that Solomon had no strict rule to follow: he simply desired, with the help of Phoenician art, to consult for the splendour

6. Ahaz's altar.

of the royal worship. We need not, therefore, wonder that one of his successors, Manasse, with the co-operation of Uriah the priest, constructed a new altar after the pattern of one that he had seen at Damascus, and made it the chief place of sacrifice.

Solomon's altar was placed, as has been already implied, in front of the temple proper. Can we identify the exact site? Not perhaps with anything like certainty, but it is

7. Site.

worth while to mention the theory advocated by Willis, and more recently by Nowack. The Kubbet es-Sakhra, or dome of the rock, which stands on the temple site, covers a great rock pierced by a channel which passes into a sink beneath, and is connected with a water-pipe. The rock has been an object of the highest veneration to Christians, and (especially) to Moslems. It has been supposed that the rock stood on the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (on the name see ARAMAH), that it was there David saw the angel (2 S. 24.18 ff.), and erected his altar, and that Solomon (2 Ch. 3.1 ff.) afterwards included the ground within the temple site. Solomon would naturally build his altar on the spot already chosen by his father and hallowed by the apparition; nor is it incredible, when we consider how tenaciously Orientals, under changed modes of belief, cling to the old sacred places, that David and Solomon built their altars on the rock now covered by the Kubbet es-Sakhra. The story of the apparition to David would, on this hypothesis, find a parallel in the apparition to Gideon (Judg. 6.11 ff.), and in that to Manoah (Judg. 13.19). The perforation, the water, and the sink would be explained as means for carrying off blood and offal from the altar. It is true, as Dean Stanley has pointed out, that the rugged form of the rock would make it unsuitable for a threshing-floor; but that is no reason why the rock should not have stood 'by the threshing-floor' and been the place where the angel appeared. Cp. ARAMAH.

Within the temple proper, and in front of the Debar or innermost shrine, stood another altar, mentioned in

8. Altar of shewbread.

1 K. 6.25 ff. The text, which is corrupt, should be emended thus, with the help of ἑστῶς (ἐκδορῶν): 'he made an altar of cedar in front of the Debar.' From Ez. 41.22 we learn that it was 3 cubits high by 2 cubits broad, and that the altar had 'corners' which took the place of the horns of the brazen altar. Ezekiel speaks of it also as a 'table.' Upon it, from ancient times (1 S. 21.6 ff.), the shewbread was placed before Yahwe, to be afterwards consumed by the priests.

We assume here that the TABLET (7.7.1), as described by the 'priestly writer,' is an ideal structure.

9. P's brazen altar.

Said to have been made at Sinai, it was in reality an imaginary modification of the temple, suitable (so it was supposed) to the circumstances of the time when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness.

(a) The altar, called simply 'the altar' (Ex. 27.1 30.13 40.7 32, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (Ex. 30.23 31.6, etc.), or 'the brazen altar' (Ex. 38.3 39.34), stood in the outer court, and was square, 5 cubits broad and long, by 3 high. Instead of being wholly of brass, it was a hollow framework of acacia planks overlaid with brass. It was thus small and portable. It had four 'horns'; midway between top and bottom ran a projecting ledge (so RV, AV 'compass'; 27.2; 27.5), intended, perhaps, as a place for the priests to stand upon when they ministered, though the meaning of the word and the purpose intended are disputed.

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Below this ledge there was a brazen grating (so RV, AV 'grate,' 27.4) or NETWORK (7.7.1), $\text{רֶשֶׁת} \text{בְּרָזָה}$ רֶשֶׁת , which may have been a device to support the ledge and admit the passage of the blood poured out at the base of the altar. There were four brazen rings at the corners of this network, and into them the staves for carrying the altar were inserted. These staves, like the altar itself, were of acacia wood, overlaid with brass. So, too, the altar utensils: אֵשֶׁת , רִמְסֵי or pans for clearing away ashes, מַטְבֵּחַ or shovels, מַטְבֵּחַ לֵאשׁוֹן or scoops for catching the blood and sprinkling, מַטְבֵּחַ לֵאשׁוֹן fleshhooks for flocks, מַטְבֵּחַ or fire-pans for removing coals, etc.—were all of brass. Perpetual fire was to burn on this altar (Lev. 6.12 ff.).

(b) Ezekiel, as we have seen, mentions an altar within the 'holy place,' which he also calls 'the table' (Ezek. 41.22), 'which stands before Yahwe.' The

10. P's 'table.'

'priestly writer' calls it 'the table' (Ex. 25.23 37.10), 'the table of the face or presence' (Nu. 17.1 שֻׁלְחָן פָּנֵי cp. RITUAL, § 2), because it stood before Yahwe (Ezek. 41.22), 'the pure table' (Lev. 24.6). In 2 Ch. 29.1 it is spoken of as 'the table of shewbread' (שֻׁלְחָן לֶחֶם —lit., the table on which rows of loaves were laid—to describe the purpose for which it was intended. It was of acacia wood overlaid with gold, and was 2 cubits long, 1 cubit broad, 1½ high. It was surrounded by a golden rim or moulding (so, Ex. 25.11; see CROWN), and at the bottom there was a border or ledge (מַטְבֵּחַ , Ex. 25.23, IV 'border'), with a golden rim of its own. Where the feet of the table joined the ledge, golden rings were placed for the insertion of staves. The table was furnished with deep plates (מַטְבֵּחַ , Ex. 25.29, EV 'dishes'), 'spoons' or sancters (מַטְבֵּחַ) for the incense (Lev. 24.7), 'flagons' (מַטְבֵּחַ , Ex. 25.29 [see FLAGON]) for the wine, 'bowls' (so EV, מַטְבֵּחַ 25.29) for pouring the wine in libations.

(c) The altar of incense (מַטְבֵּחַ קִטְוֶה , Ex. 30.1, or מַטְבֵּחַ קִטְוֶה), also called 'the golden altar' (Ex. 39.38), belongs only to the secondary sections of the Priestly Code. Ezekiel knows of

11. P's incense altar.

no altar within the temple proper save the altar of the shewbread, and originally 'the golden altar' was only another name for this table. The Priestly Code, in its original form, speaks of the brazen altar as 'the altar'; and, whilst in Ex. 30.10 the high priest on the day of atonement is to place blood on the horns of the altar of incense, in Lev. 16, where the solemn ritual of that great day is minutely prescribed, nothing is said of an altar of incense. The mention of the altar in the books of Chronicles and Maccabees (as also in the interpolated passage 1 K. 7.45) is due simply to the influence of these novellæ in the 'Priestly Code.'

This altar was to be made of acacia wood; it was to be 2 cubits high, 1 cubit broad and long; the flat surface on the top (so, Ex. 30.13, AV 'higher place,' RV 'base'), and the sides and horns, were overlaid with gold. It had a golden moulding round it (so, and beneath this at the four corners were golden rings for the staves, which also were overlaid with gold.

In the reign of Darius a new altar of burnt offering was built, probably on the old site (cp. Hagg. 2.15), but, in accordance with the law in

12. Post-exilic. Ex. 20.25, of unhewn stone (1 Macc. 4.44 ff.). It was desecrated, and, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii.54), removed by Antiochus Epiphanes. A new altar, also of unhewn stone, was built by Judas Maccabæus. Within the temple proper were the table for the shewbread and the golden altar of incense (1 Macc. 1.22 1.50 ff.); but the latter, as far as it was distinct from the table, seems to have been introduced late, for Hecateus (*Jos. c. 11*, 122) mentions only the

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candlestick and one altar (or table) as the furniture of the holy place.

In Herod's temple the altar of burnt offering in the court of the priests was still of unhewn stones. The Mishna (*Middoth* 3:1) states that it was

13. Herod's temple.

32 cubits square at the base, and gradually narrowed to 24 cubits at the top; but the dimensions are differently given by Josephus (*Juv.* 5:6), and, before him, by Ptolemy (Müller *Fragm.* 2:304). The priests approached it by an ascent of unhewn stone. There was a pipe to receive the blood, which was afterwards carried by a subterranean passage into the Jordan, and there was a cavity beneath the altar for the drunk offerings. On the N. side were brazen rings for securing the victims. A red thread marked the place for sprinkling the blood. The altar of incense stood within the holy place, between the golden candlestick and the table of shewbread.

As we have seen (§ 1), the word *θυσιαστήριον* is frequently used in the NT for the Jewish altars; and the 14. NT. Apocalypse speaks of the 'golden altar' (8:3, and 'altar' in the same sense *παύσι*), because the writer pictures the worship of heaven under forms drawn from the old temple worship. In a passage which is unique, the author of Hebrews (13:10) speaks of a Christian altar. The altar is, of course, not material but spiritual; it is the cross on which Christ offered himself, and the author is following the same line of thought when he exhorts believers 'to do good and communicate, since with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'

For the origin of altars see *THEOLOGY*, § 2; SACRIFICE; *Hebr. Place*, § 3, and WRS *Rel. Sem.*; for the Hebrew altars in later times Beninger's and Nowak's *Hebr. Arch.* (both works 1904). See also Stade, 'Text d. Beriches im Salomon's Bauten' (*Z.ATW* 3:129 ff.), Smend's *Ezekiel* (20), Cornill's critical text of Ezekiel (36), and the comm. of Bertholet in *ATW*. For an account of the older literature on the archaeology of Ezekiel's temple see Batcher, *Proben ATlicher Schriftklärung*, 1333.

AL-TASCHITH, RV Al-Tashheth (תַּשְׁחִיתָ)

צִיָּה אֶל־, Symm., *μη διαφθεیره*; Symm. Ps. 75:1, *περι αφθαρείας*. It is usual to supply *עַל* or *עַל* before the phrase (Ps. 57-59 75 f. headings [v. 1]), and to explain 'To the tune of "Destroy not" (cp Is. 65:8; so WRS *OTW* 209). If, however, the view of the musical notes in the headings taken in Psalms is correct, there can be no doubt that the phrase is corrupt, and that we should read with Gratz תַּשְׁחִיתָ, 'on the Shemith' (see *SHEMINITH*).

ALUSH (אֲלוּשׁ; Sam. שִׁינִי; *αίλου* [AFL], -*λειμ* [B]; *Alus*), a desert station of the Israelites between Dophkah and Rephidim (Nu. 33:13 f. + 12). Not identified with certainty; but see Di. on Ex. 17:1. The Ar. (ed. Lag.) reads *al-wathanain*, 'the two idols,' probably because the translator understood by Alush the heathen temple at Elusa (see *BERED*, i. 1, and cp. WRS *Alin*, 293 f.). See *WANDERINGS*, §§ 12, 14.

ALVAH (אֲלָוָה; *αλφα* [ADEL] = *הָלָוָה* *Alv.*), Gen. 36:40 = 1 Ch. 1:51 f. *Alv.* (EV *ALLAH* after *Kz.* *הָלָוָה*; BA as above; *αλφα* [L]), one of the 'dukes' (?) of Edom (*q.v.*, § 4). Cp *ALVAN*.

ALVAN (אֲלָוָן; *αλων* [A], -*ων* [DE], -*ων* [L]) transposing *λ* and *ν*, Gen. 36:23 = 1 Ch. 1:40 f. *ALLAN* (L), but in many MSS *אֲלָוָן*; so *αλογαν* [L], but *αλων* [B], *αλων* [A], a name in the genealogy of Seir. Cp *ALVAH*.

AMAD (אֲמָד; *αμιμα* [B], *αμαδ* [A], *αμφαδ* [L]), an unidentified point in the border of Asher (Josh. 19:25 f.). *Am* presupposes Ammiel. There are several other place-names compounded with *am*. See Gray, *HPV* 43 f., who rightly declines the explanation of

¹ *Am* points to a reading *עֲמִי*. Elim. Perhaps the writer, wishing to fill up the interval between the wilderness of Sin and Rephidim (cp Ex. 17:1), repeated Elim, the name of an earlier station. See *ELIM*.

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Am'ad as 'people of eternity.' *Am*'s *αμφαδ* may point to *עֲמִי* (EUPAL) for which *Am* in 1 Ch. 8:11 gives *αμφαδ*. This may be correct. T. K. C.

AMADATHA, RV Amadathus (αμαδαθου [B]), Esth. 10:3, etc. See *HAMMATHA*.

AMAL (אֲמָל; *αμαδ* [BA], *αλαμ* [L]), in genealogy of Ashur (§ 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7:35 f.

AMALEK (אֲמָלֶק; *αμαληκ* [BAL], but *αλ* 1 S. 15:25 [A]; gentile, *Amalekite*, *αμαληκ* [BAL], but also *αμαληκ* [BAL]), a tribe with

1. *Seat*, which the ancient Israelites, at several periods of their history, were engaged in warfare. According to two passages, each of which confirms the other, there appears to have been a time when Amalekites dwelt even in Central Palestine; in the Song of Deborah we read of 'Ephraim whose root is in Amalek' (Judg. 5:14; *Am*), however, *εν κοιλιάδι*, and Pirathon in Ephraim (the modern *Pirata*, about 6 m. WSW. of Nablus) was situated 'on the mountains of the Amalekite,' or 'of the Amalekites' (Judg. 12:15, *αμαλ* *Al*). Of these northern Amalekites nothing further is known. According to several passages of the OT, the home of Amalek was in the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula, the modern *Tih*, S. and SW. of Judaea. It is scarcely safe to conclude from Nu. 13:29 11:25 13:45 that they once had settlements also in southern Judaea; still less can we build any such theory upon Gen. 14:7, although the geographical allusions in this chapter have more authority than the legendary narrative itself. When the Israelites

2. *Exodus*, came out of Egypt into the desert of Sinai, they had an encounter with the Amalekites at Rephidim (Ex. 17:8-16), which is not very far from Mount Sinai (Nu. 33:15). It was natural enough that the nomads, who lived on the scanty products of this region, should do their utmost to expel the intruders, nor can we wonder at the mortal hatred with which the Israelites thenceforth regarded Amalek. That the narrative, in spite of its legendary features, has a historical foundation cannot be doubted. The story of an encounter in the desert of Paran—i.e., the *Tih* itself (Nu. 14:33-34)—is probably nothing more than a less accurate version of the same struggle, which, it is true, can hardly have been limited to a single skirmish. Whether the account of the Deuteronomist (Dt. 25:17-18) was derived from any other source besides Ex. 17:8 f. is not quite clear, although he mentions one additional circumstance, namely 'the cutting off of those who were wounded (?)'—the term *שָׁחַת* was perhaps suggested by *שָׁחַת* in Ex. 17:13. The verbal repetition of the curse is worthy of note. In 1 S. 15:2, there is an obvious allusion to the passage in Exodus.

The mention of the Amalekites in Judg. 3:13 is perhaps due only to an ancient dittography (*אמלק* *Am*, a reading which, at all events, must have been known to the author of the Maccabean Psalm 83—see *q.v.* [§]); but it may be questioned whether Budde is justified in considering the reference to the Amalekites in connection with the Midianites (Judg. 6:33 7:12) as a mere gloss; it is in fact by no means improbable that besides the Midianites various other nomadic tribes made incursions upon the Israelite peasantry at the period in question.

The account of the wars of Saul against the Amalekites (1 S. 15) is unfortunately not altogether trustworthy.

3. *Saul and David*. Even in its original form it must have contained many exaggerations; and it has been subjected to considerable revision.

The high figures which appear in the narrative have no historical value. The same may be said of the vast extent attributed to the Amalekite territory in a passage imitated from Gen. 25:18 (1 S. 15:6). We may with some certainty, however, conclude that the very first king of Israel inflicted severe losses upon the wild nomads (cp *SAUL*, § 3). In this connection we read of King Agag (the only

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Amalekite proper name known to us, it may be noticed in passing, to whom the words of Balaam in Nu 21.7 refer. The description of the death of Agag, obscure as it is, has a very antique colouring, and reminds us of Judg. 8.21. Popular tradition has strangely interwoven the fate of the Amalekites with that of Saul.

According to one story, which does not agree with the narrative in 1 S. 31, Saul was slain by an Amalekite, who forthwith carried the news to David, but instead of being rewarded was put to death. Even in the book of Esther, composed many centuries later, reference is made to the enmity between Saul and Agag, as the Ra'abim long ago observed: the righteous Mordecai is descended from the one, and the wicked Haman from the other.

At the moment when Saul fell on Mount Gilboa, the Amalekites, as it happened, were signally defeated by David. An ancient and well-informed narrator tells us how David, an exile at the court of the king of Gath, while professing to be very differently occupied (see Actus, DAVID, § 5), was in reality carrying on a war of extermination against the aboriginal tribes, in particular the Amalekites (1 S. 27.1). On one occasion the Amalekites profited by his absence to seize his residence, Ziklag, and carried off all its inhabitants. He pursued them, however, made a sudden attack with a band of only 600 men, rescued the whole of the spoil, and slew them all, with the exception of 400 who escaped on their camels (1 S. 30). Even the details of this narrative may, for the most part, be regarded as historical; it is obvious that the struggles here described were not wars on a large scale but mere raids such as are usual in the desert.

In after times Amalek does not come into prominence. The words of Balaam, which describe it as 'the first-born of nations' (i.e., primeval nation?), and at the same time foretell its overthrow, are spoken rather from the point of view of the age in which Balaam is placed than from the point of view of the real author, who seems to have lived about the eighth century B.C. (cp BALAAM).

4. Later times. According to the remarkable notice contained in 1 Ch. 14.17, 500 men of the tribe of Simeon, under leaders whose names are specified, exterminated the last remnant of the Amalekites in the mountain country of Seir and settled down in their place. Hence it would appear that the last Amalekites dwelt in the mountains of Edom. With this it agrees that Gen. 36, the substance of which must be at all events pre-exilic, represents Amalek as the son of Esau's first-born, Eliphaz, by a concubine—i.e., as an Edomite tribe of inferior rank: see Gen. 36.12 (of which 1 Ch. 1.5 is an incorrect version), and compare 7.16. The concubine in question is Timna, according to 7.22 (= 1 Ch. 1.39), a sister of Lotan of Seir, and according to the second list in 7.41 ff. (where Amalek is omitted), an Edomite tribe or settlement. Thus the remnants of Amalek are, to some extent, reckoned as members of the Edomite race.

The mention of Amalek among the contemporaneous enemies of Israel, by a psalmist of the Maccabean period (Ps. 83.7-9), is merely an example of the poetical licence whereby an ancient name is applied to a modern people, just as, e.g., Greek writers of the sixth century A.D. call Goths 'Scythians.' As far as we can judge, the Amalekites were never a very important tribe; at their first appearance in history they are threatened with total destruction, and it would seem that neither Egyptian nor Assyrian records allude to their existence.

5. Late writers. Ancient Arabic authors, indeed, describe them as a mighty nation which dwelt in Arabia, Egypt, and other countries, and lasted down into post-Christian times. The present writer, however, thinks that in his short essay 'On the Amalekites' (Göttingen, 1864), he has succeeded in proving that these and other similar statements are either fancies suggested by passages in

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the OT, or else deliberate fictions, and therefore have no historical value. At the present day this opinion seems to be generally accepted.

One branch of the Amalekites, it is true, appears to have lasted somewhat longer than the rest. When Saul attacked the Amalekites he ordered the

6. Kenites. *Kenites* to separate themselves from the doomed people, on the ground that they had shown kindness to Israel at the time of the exodus (1 S. 15.6). The Kenites must therefore have belonged to Amalek, or must, at least, have stood in close connection with them (cp Judg. 1.16 as in *S/10/1*). Thus we find that the oracle of Balaam (Nu. 21.26 ff.) mentions this people, under the name of Kain (7.22, *LY mg.*), immediately after Amalek. Their friendly relations with Israel are, moreover, shown by the fact that, according to Judg. 1.16, the father-in-law of Moses was a Kenite (elsewhere a Midianite), and also by the fact that his descendants entered Palestine in company with the tribe of Judah. Hence the Kenites are reckoned as a part of Judah (1 S. 30.29, cp 1 Ch. 2.55); but according to the more accurate view they were a distinct people, though they dwelt in the south of Judah, and were recognised as kinsmen by David (1 S. 27.10). From 1 Ch. 2.55, it would appear that the Rechabites, with whom the nomadic life had become a religious institution, were included among the Kenites (Jer. 35.2 K. 10.15.23).

In another district, the great plain of S. Galilee, we meet with Heber the Kenite (Judg. 1.16). For W. Max Müller is mistaken when he derives the name from a city called Kên (*cf. Is. u. Eux.* 17.1); the Song of Deborah reckons Jael, the wife of Heber, among 'women in the tent' (Judg. 5.24), which shows that the people in question are nomads. Accordingly we have no right to regard these Kenites as wholly distinct from those in the South.

The oracle of Balaam mentions Kenites in the rocky hills of the South, foretelling that they will be carried away captive by the Assyrians. Gen. 15.19 includes the Kenites among the ten nations whose land God will give to Israel.

This people must therefore have been a nomadic tribe, which, at least in part, belonged to Amalek, in part was absorbed into Israel, and in part, it may be, maintained a separate existence for some time longer. It is not impossible that the Bedouin tribe, Kaim, which dwelt in the desert of Sinai and the neighbouring districts about six centuries after Christ, may be connected with the Kenites (Kaim) of the OT, as the present writer, following Ewald, has stated (*op. cit.*). At the present time, some further arguments might be brought forward in favour of this hypothesis, which, however, is still very far from being absolutely proved.

On the other hand, there are many objections to the theory that Cain, the fratricide, is a representative of the

7. Cain. Bedouin tribe of the Kenites, as well as to other hypotheses of Stade (*Z. 17 H. 14* 250-513 [194]), great as is the acuteness with which they are supported. A few points alone can be here referred to. Cain, the brother of Abel the shepherd, is expressly described as a *husbandman*. After his evil deed he becomes 'a wanderer and a fugitive'—i.e., an outlawed, homeless criminal. This is something quite different from a nomad, who regularly goes to and fro within the same pastures in the 'desert.' That the Kenites, from among whom Moses fetched a wife, and who have a good name almost everywhere in the OT, were a tribe of smiths¹ (and therefore of parish), has no evidence in its favour, nor can we find any indication that the later Arabian tribe of Kaim (Bal-Kaim) was of such a character. In the Ar. *Kaim*, which, it is true, also means 'smith, craftsman,' several words appear to be combined. Besides, blood-vengeance, which is first mentioned in the story of Cain, is by no means a

¹ Similarly Sayce, *Races of OT* 118. 'They formed an important guild in an age when the art of metallurgy was confined to a few.' See however Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1280-282.

AMAM

peculiarity of nomad tribes; it prevailed also among the ancient Israelites, who of course were agriculturists (see also *GEN.* § 4 f.).

AMAM (אָמאָם; CHN [B]; אַמאַם [AI.]), an unidentified site in the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15:26f.).

AMAN. 1. (AMAN [A], ADAM [B], NAḌAB [N]) Ward of Tobit's nephew Achicharus (Scunacherib's vizir, Tob 1:22), who barely ill-used his benefactor, but came to grieve himself while his victim escaped (Tob 11:4); called Nadan in romance of Ahikar (see ACHICHARUS), and no doubt, therefore, the same as NAḌAB (נאדב[ar] [B] na.ḏab [N]; ناهد: *nahath* [Vg.], *nahat* [It.]), the ἐξάδελφος (V 'brother's son') of Achicharus (Tob 11:3f.), probably to be rendered, in accordance with the romance, 'sister's son' or accompanying father. See ACHICHARUS.

'1. 01.01.01]

Tobit

Ann. 1

Achiacharus (Job. 121 f.) singular

 $\sin \tau$

i.e., Nadas (romance)
pr ob. Amas (Job, 14 10).

7. (amar [B&M]) 'Rest of Esther' 107, etc. See HAMAN.

AMANA אַמָּנָה 'firm, constant'; אַמָּנָה translates 'from the top of Amana' ἀπὸ ἀπῆς πύργους; **אַמָּנָה**; *Amāna*. 1. The name of a mountain, in Cant. 48, where 'the top of Amāna' is introduced parallel to 'the top of Senu and Hermon.'

⁴With me from Lebanon. O bride, with me from Lebanon come ;
From the summit of Amana, from the summit of Senir and
Hamon.

In the preceding diachronic reference is made to Lebanon. Evidently the post means some part of the range of Anti-Lebanon, probably the Jebel ez Zebedūni, below which is the beautiful village of Zebedūni and the source of the Nahr Biraḍā (the Heb. ARAB. *q. v.*). In inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. and Sennacherib the mountain ranges Lebanona and Ammanana are coupled (*Del. Par.* 103 f.).

2. Considering how well the form *Amnana* is attested, it becomes a question whether in 2 K. 512 we should not adopt the Kt. in preference to the Kt., and read 'Amnana' (so AV mg.) or AMANAH (so RV mg.) as the old Hebrew name of the Nahr Barada (see ARABAN).

Many MSS with the two Soncino and the Brescia editions have this reading in the text in Kings; Targ. and Pesb., with the Complut. ed. of **B** and the Syro-Hex. text, also presuppose it.

AMANA (אמנה Kr.), 2 K. 5₁₂† RV = AV

AMARIAH (אַמַּרְיָה [and אֲמַרְיָה, see nos. 5, 6, 7] 'Yahwē hath spoken' [see NAMES, § 33] or 'promised'. Less probably 'man of Yahwē' on analogy of Palm. n. pr. אֲמַרְיָה 'man of the sun,' see Baethge, *Beitr.* 89 n. 1. אֲמַרְיָה [אַמַּרְיָה] [B M.], a name occurring frequently, but with the exception of (1) only in post-exilic literature.

i. b. Hezekiah, an ancestor of Zephaniah (Zeph. 1.1, $\alpha\mu\phi[\epsilon]\nu$ [BA], $\alpha\mu\phi\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ [S*], $\pi\text{-}\pi\upsilon\alpha$ [S^b vol.], $\alpha\mu\phi\upsilon$ [S^c vol. Q]). The readings with 'o' as the second vowel suggest the pronunciation, 'Amori' = Amorite. Another ancestor is called 'Cushi', i.e. the Cushite.

2. In list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii, § 5 [6] § 15 [1] *a*), Neh. II 4 (אֲשֶׁר־עִמָּנוּ [BA], אַמ. [X], יְהוּדָיִים [L]) = 1 Ch. ii 4. *YHWD*, abbreviated form (יְהוָה, אֲשֶׁר־עִמָּנוּ [BA], -בְּרִי [L]).

3. One of the two Bani in list of those with foreign wives (*Ezra*, i. § 5 end), *Zēra* 10 42 [*aapia*] [H], [*aaparia*] [AL]).
4. A priest in Zerubbabel's band (*Ezra*, ii. § 6 b), Neh. 12 2 ([εὐσταθίου] [*eustathiou*] [B], [*mepia*] [K], *qu.* [k' ⁴], [*aaparias*] [L]), cp. i. 13 [*aapasia*] [k'], and in list of signatures to the covenant (see I ZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10 3 14 [*aaparias*] [L]). A comparison of

¹ For another suggested compound of $\pi_2(N)$ see MERIBBAAL.

AMASAI

the lists in Neh. with 1 Ch. 24 makes it plausible to identify 'Amariah' with the priestly house of 'Ammer' (7: 14) whose institution is ascribed to David's time (see EMMERT, 2).

In the following (nos. 5-8), the unhistorical nature of the context strongly suggests that the name is introduced merely to give an air of antiquity to this priestly family.

5. Chief priest, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 19:11 יְהוֹשָׁפָט; Jos. ἀμειβιστας).

c. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah, 2 Ch. 31:15 (חֲזַקְיָהּ; μαριας [H.A.], αμ. 111).

7. One of the line Helbron, a Kohathite Levite (αμαδια [E]); 1 Clc 23 17; in 24 23 אַמַּרְיָאס (αμαριαν [A]).

(g) Amariah occurs twice in the genealogy of the high priests, (a) as a son of Merath; 1 Ch. 6.7, 8 (*amariaq* [A]; Jos., *Amparion*) (b) as 1370 (*amaraia* [B], i.e., MA misread MAA), and (c) as a son of Azaziah, 6.11-13, 37 (*amariaq* [A]; cf. L^a, 17; (*amaraia* [BA] *Amariel* [L]) 1 Esd. 5.2 (*amariaphon* [H] *amariop* [AL], I.V. *amari*), as in 4 Esd. 12, *Amariel* [ed. Bentley]), probably the same as c above (cf. llo.). See further Hittin Petrus and note that the supposition recurrence of the name Amariah, Ahitub, and Zadok (p We. *Proph.*²⁴ 222).

AMARIAS (ΑΜΑΡΙΟΥ [-Α]), 1 Esd. 8:2 = Ezra 7:3
AMARIAH (אֲמַרְיָהוּ),

AMASA (אֲמָסָא; rather, perhaps, אֲמִישָׁא, *Amiṣṣai*, cp אֲמִישָׁאִי [B in 2 S. 19, BA in c. 20, A in c. 17], אֲמִישָׁאִי [A], אֲמִישָׁא [L, always; A occasionally], and other variants, see below; cp אֲמִישָׁאִי, *AMASAI*. The form *Amasa* rests on a false etymology [from אֲמָסָא = אֲמָסָא]; cp אֲמִישָׁאִי, so Marq. *Fund.* 24).

1. Son of Abigail, the sister of Zeruiah and David (1 Ch. 2:16 f., 2 S. 17:25 *אַבְגַּיִל* [B], *-gā'ail* [A]). His father was Jether a Jethite—*not* an 'Israelite' or an 'Ishmaelite' (see ABIGAIL, 2). He was among those that fell away from David to ABSATON (? 7:7), who entrusted him with the command of his forces (2 S. 17:23). In spite of this, David thought it prudent to conciliate Amasa by a promise of the same position in his own army, JOAB (? 7:3) having earned the king's displeasure (2 S. 19:13 [14] *אַמָּסָא* [A]). On the renewal of revolt under Sheba (2 S. 20:1), in which according to one view he was implicated, Amasa was entrusted with mustering the men of Judah (? 7:4). Joab soon took his revenge upon his rival, Amasa having failed to appear at the appointed time. David commissioned Abishai (2 S. 2:18) to go with his men in pursuit of the rebels, and Joab naturally joined the party. The cousins met at Gibeon, and while Joab was pretending to give Amasa a friendly *shalev*, he gave him a deadly blow² (2 S. 20:8-10). The paragon is not interested enough in the unfortunate man to tell us whether he ever received an honourable burial (? 2 *אֶשְׁכָּחָהּ* [B once], *אַשְׁכָּחָהּ* [A once]). See SEFEA, ii. 1 (end).

His death is referred to in 1 K. 25 ἀμεσσα [B], -σσα [I], ἀμμεσα [A] and in 32 (ἀμεσσα [B]; A omits). (The β of ἀμεσσαβ in 1 Ch. 217 [B] may come from the following Hebrew word.)

2. (ἀμασ[ε]ίας [B.M.]), an Ephramite, temp. Abaz (2 Ch.
2812f).
T. B. C.

AMASAI (אִמַּסַּי, perhaps rather to be read אִמַּשַׁי, Ammishai [so We. *II* Cr²¹ 24, n. 2], cp אִמַּשִׁי in 1 Ch. 6:23 35; אִמַּסַּי [B.L.], -ע [S]). 1. A name in the genealogy of Kohath (1 Ch. 6:25 [10], אִמַּסַּי [B.], -מַסַּי [A.], -סַי [L.]; 1 Ch. 6:35 [20], אִמַּשַׁי [B.], -מַש [A.]).

2. Chief of David's 'thirty,' 1 Ch. 12:18 [19]; see DAVID, § 11 *a* iii., to whom the Chronicler ascribes an obviously not very ancient poetic speech.

It has been very anciently identified with Amasa (e.g., by Ew.) and with Abishai, who is called Abisai in 1 Ch. 11:20. Kienhorst corrects to 'Abishai' (*SCHOT, ad loc.*). Neither Amasa nor Abishai, however, occupied the rank of chief of the thirty, according to the lists in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11. The matter is of no great moment, since the connection in which Amasai is mentioned in 1 Ch. 12 does not permit us to use the passage for historical purposes. The Chronicler's conception of Saul's fugitive son-in-law is dominated by the later view of David as

¹ Most critics change *Abishai* here and in n. 7 to 'Joab,' (the reading of Pesh.), but perhaps mistakenly. See *Rev. SBOT*, ad loc.

² See Dr., or Bu., for restoration of the text.

AMASHAI

the 'anointed' of Yahwe and the founder of the one legitimate dynasty (We. *Israhel* 1).

3. A priest, temp. David (1 Ch. 15:24).
4. Ancestor of Maluth, a Kohathite Levite, temp. Hezekiah; probably a family name; cp no. 1 (2 Ch. 29:12; *מאשי* [BAV], *אמשי* [L]).
5. See below, AMASHAI.

AMASHAI, or rather, as in RV, **Amashai** (אֲמָשַׁי), where **א** implies a reading אֲמָשַׁי based on a false derivation from אֲמָשַׁי, perhaps really to be read Ammishai, see AMASAI, a priestly name in the post-exilic list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 15 d), Neh. 11:13 (אֲמָשַׁי [BAV], -מאי [L], -מכאי [M]) = 1 Ch. 9:12 where the name is MAASAI, AV MAASAI (מַאֲשַׁי [Ba, Gi], some authorities מַאֲשַׁי [Gi], MAACAIA [B], -מאי [L], MAACAI [M]; *מאשי*, in Neh. *מאשי*).

AMASIAH (אֲמָשִׁיָּה, § 29. 'Yahwe bears,' cp Amos; MAACAIA [B], AHAC [M], AMACIA [L]), one of Jehoshaphat's captains (2 Ch. 17:16).

AMATHEIS (אֲמַתְהִישׁ [B]), 1 Esd. 9:29 AV = Ezra 10:23 AMTHAI.

AMATHIS (אֲמַתְהִישׁ [A]), 1 Macc. 12:25+ AV, RV HAMATH (q. r.).

AMAZIAH (אֲמַזְיָה, and in nos. 2-4, אֲמַזְיָה, § 29. 'Yahwe is mighty,' cp Amos; AMACIA [BAV], -מאי [L], -מכאי [M], -מכאי [L]).

1. b. Jewish; father of Uzziah and king of Judah c. 796-780 B.C. (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 35, 37) 2 K. 14:20 2 Ch. 25. Two points in his favour are mentioned in Kings—viz., that he punished his father's murderers and that he reconquered the Edomites who had revolted (see EDOM, § 8; JORDAN, 2). Whether he was to any extent successful against that restless and warlike people has indeed been doubted, but on grounds which will not bear examination.

Am. 1:11, is, in fact, more than probably a later insertion (see Amos, § 4), so that the inference drawn from this passage by Stade (in 7) and Kittel, that Amos knew of no great calamity befalling Edom in recent times, falls to the ground.

Amaziah's unfortunate challenge to Joash king of Israel (who treated him, according to the narrative, 'as a good-natured giant might treat a dwarf,' 2 K. 11:8 ff.) ended seriously enough, in the strengthening of the old supremacy of northern over southern Israel (see ISRAEL, § 31). It is quite possible that the Edomites took advantage of the weakness of Judah to recover in some degree their independence; but of this we have no information.

The Chronicler assures us (2 Ch. 25:14) that, on his return from the sanguinary battle in the 'valley of salt' (cp 2 K. 11:7), Amaziah adopted the worship of the Edomitish deities, forgetting that such an act would be possible only if the Edomites were either the masters or the allies of the people of Judah.

Like his father, Amaziah died a violent death; possibly, as Wellhausen, Stade, and Kittel suppose, the conspiracy against him was not unconnected with the disgrace which he had brought on his country. The Chronicler's treatment of Amaziah's reign is of special significance for the Chronicler's period (see Bennett, *Chron.* 413-417, and cp Kue. *Fint.* § 51, n. 4).

Sources. The account given in Kings is of composite origin. 2 K. 11:8-14 comes from a somewhat unfriendly source, which may be of N. Israelish origin. The rest of ch. 11 belongs to the Deuteronomistic compiler, who lays stress on Amaziah's better side, and who at the close of his story probably makes use of the royal annals.

2. Priest of Bethel, temp. Amos (Am. 7:10-12). See Amos, § 1.
3. A Simonite (1 Ch. 4:34 *אמשי* [BAV], -משי [L]).
4. A Merarite, temp. David (1 Ch. 6:45 [3] *אמשי* [2] [B], -משי [L], -משי [A]).
- T. K. C.

AMBASSADOR the EV rendering of the following three Hebrew words:—

1. *Mal'akh* (מַלְאָךְ) in 2 Ch. 32:21 (*προσβυρς*), more properly 'interpreter' (as EV in Gen. 42:23 (*ἐρμηνεύς*), in Is. 43:27 [RV mg., *ambassador*, *ἀποστολὴ* [BAV], but Ap. Sym. *ἐρμηνεύς*], and in Job 33:23 (*מַלְאָךְ* have *בְּרִיָּה* [BAV]).
2. *Mal'akh* (מַלְאָךְ) in 2 Ch. 33:21 Is. 30:33 7 Ez. 17:15 (*ἀγγεῖος* to send; cp BDB *Lex.*, ad loc.; *ἀγγεῖος*, a word used indefinitely

AMBER

of any messenger; so, e.g., of a priest (cp Mal. 2:7), a prophet (Is. 42:19; cp *ἐρμηνεύς*), or frequently an angel. *Mal'akh*, accordingly, often approximates to the idea of 'ambassador'; cp the instances sent to Edom, when king of the Amorites, and Ammon (Num. 20:14-21 *προσβυρς*, Judg. 11:12; EV 'messengers').

3. *Shil* (שִׁל) in Is. 18:2 (*ἀμπα* [BAV], and Th., but Ap. *προσβυρς*, Sym. *ἀποστολὴ*, 'hostages,' cp 1 Macc. 1:58 7:52, etc.), 18:37 RV (AV 'messengers'; *προσβυρς*). Jer. 49:14 Pr. 13:17 25:13 (EV in the last, messenger, *ἀγγεῖος*) and Ob. 1:1 (*προσβυρς*, a confusion with *שִׁל* or *שִׁל*). The demon, viz. *שִׁל*, 'to feign one's self an ambassador,' found in MT of J. is, 9 (cp EV) should be read *שִׁל*, 'take provision' (so RV mg. after most versions; cp Bennett, *Isaiah*, ad loc.).

In the Apocrypha 'ambassador' represents *προσβυρς*, *προσβυρς* in 1 Macc. 6:72 11:4 11:41 (*προσβυρς* [RV]) 40 (*προσβυρς* [VD] 13:17 2 Macc. 11:41 (in 1 Macc. 13:42 AV has 'messengers'), and *ἀγγεῖος* in Judith 3: AV (BA here and EV elsewhere 'messenger'). In N. I the word occurs in 2 Cor. 5:20 Eph. 6:20 (*προσβυρς*), Philom. 9 RV mg. (*προσβυρς*).

A distinction between messengers and diplomatic agents naturally presupposes an acquaintance with statecraft hardly possible in Israel before the monarchy, and even in David's time emissaries from one court to another were liable to be abused, although the punishment inflicted upon the offenders may suggest that ambassadorial rights were beginning to be recognised (see 2 S. 10:1 ff.). The first use of *שִׁל*, apparently the only approach to a specific word for 'ambassador,' naturally belongs to the time when Israel had been forced into diplomatic relations with Egypt and Assyria (of whose frequent intercourse with Israel at a much earlier period the Amarna tablets tell us so much). From the nature of the case *שִׁל* is presumably a loan-word.² The employment of the term *mal'akh*, 'interpreter,' is the more interesting since Aramaic was the language of diplomacy for Assyrians and Hebrews; cp Is. 36:1, and see ARAMIC LANGUAGE, § 2. See Post, KAN-HAKTI II, S. A. C.

AMBER (אֲמַרְבָּ, in pause [Ez. 8:2, where, however, Co. regards it as a gloss, אֲמַרְבָּ]).

Cp Egypt. *hsmu*, 'electrum' (cp 'haunze'; see EGYPT, § 36), last note, also Lag. *Ubers.* 221; but cp Eranm. *ZfA* 46 115 [2], and also Eranm. *ib.* 31 454; against

1. **Hashmal** the usual explanation of *שִׁל* see König, *Lehrbuch*, = **amber**. 1. 9. Fr. Del. in *Is.* Del. *Ezekiel* xii. identifies the Egyptian word quoted, and also Heb. *שִׁל*, with Ass. *hsmu*, which he defines in *Is.* 17:1 B as a costly brilliant metal (C). So Hommel, *Die Semit. Wörter* 1450.

The Heb. *hashmal* occurs thrice (or twice; see above) in Ezek. 1, and is rendered by the EV 'amber.' *שִׁל* has *ἤλεκτρον*, Vg. *electrum*, a rendering which most scholars (e.g., Smend) have adopted, supposing, from the context, that some metallic substance is meant, and understanding *ἤλεκτρον* to mean here a certain alloy of gold and silver (Egyptologists have even the same meaning to the apparently related Egyptian word). This interpretation, however, rests upon a mistake as to the ancient use of the term *ἤλεκτρον* (see also EGYPT, § 36, last note).

It is true the name is sometimes used of a metallic substance. Thus, to cite the earliest case, Sophocles (*Trach.* 1036-38) makes Creon speak of *electrum* from Sardis (*τοῦ ποταμοῦ Σαρδῶν ἤλεκτρον*) and Indian gold (*καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ χρυσοῦ*), doubtless meaning by the former what the Greeks commonly called pale gold (*λευκὸς χρυσός*), a natural alloy of gold and silver (one part silver to three or four parts of gold) found native in great abundance in Lydia. That *electrum*, however, was not a term commonly applied to such an alloy seems indicated by the pains which Strabo takes to explain the term as used in metallurgy of the residuum (*καθάρσις*) left after the first smelting of gold ore (*ἀργύριον*). The

1. *שִׁל*, 'ambassador,' appears in *ש* in four other places in Is., viz. 13:5 (for *שִׁל*, a *šing*) 21:2 (*שִׁל* for *שִׁל*) 39:1 (between *שִׁל* and *שִׁל*) and 63:9 (for *שִׁל* compare Dan. ad loc., Che. *Intr.* Isa. 35:5).

2. The connection with Ar. *šār*, 'to go' (Gies. *Is.*), does not commend itself. It may perhaps be compared with Ass. *širātū*, 'stick' or 'sceptre' (see Del. *Is.* *III R.* 2:7); the official derives his name from the emblem of office, originally the courier's stick (C).

3. 14:27, 'and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber,' I saw as the colour of amber'; 8:2 'as the appearance of brightness as the colour of amber.'

4. For a rendering *šil* in Ezek. 14 see Field, *Hexapla*.

himself usually employs the expression 'pale gold' when he alludes to the native alloy. Sophocles, too (L.C.), shows that he is employing the word in an unusual and extended way, by appending the qualifying phrase 'from Sardis.'

Usually the word has quite another meaning.

In Homer, e.g., where the word occurs three and is significantly applied to an article trafficked in by Phoenicians, the trader who captured Lameias is described (Od. 15.460) as laying a golden necklace (αὐτὰ δ' ἡλεκτροῖσι ἐσπύει) string with pieces of electrum (similarly in Od. 18.26, ἡλεκτροῖσι ἐσπύειν). The use of the term in the plural in these passages forbids us by any possibility taking it as meaning the gold and silver alloy.

If, then, by electrum the versions do not mean metallic electrum they must mean amber. There are, however, two kinds of amber, and it remains to consider which is meant. The one, usually a dark red (rarely of a light colour), is found in the south of Europe (Catania, Reggio) and in the Lebanon; the other, usually of a yellow or golden colour, but occasionally darker in hue, has from ancient times been met with in great abundance on the shores of the Baltic (whence our chief modern supply is derived), and also occurs on the coasts of the North Sea. As the Phoenician had red amber thus at his very door, he may early have learned to employ it for purposes of art and ornament, just as he learned his art of dyeing with purple from having the murex in abundance by his shores. Moreover, red amber is, as stated above, also to be found in Sicily, and may have been procured thence. As increased demand called for an increased supply, traders, sailing round the coast of the Aegean in quest of new fishing grounds for the purple-fish, would naturally search keenly for fresh supplies of the precious substance, for the ancients prized amber far beyond its modern value.

Its power of attracting light substances, and the fact that when warmed it emitted a faint perfume, invested it for them with an element of mystery. How far they actually ascribed to it certain medicinal properties, as is still the case in the East with ambergris—an animal substance that has lent its name (adopted by us from the Arabs) to amber—it is impossible to say. As these two substances, which have really nothing in common save the power to emit a kind of perfume, have been called by the same name, the fact that ambergris is prized as an aphrodisiac may perhaps indicate that there was some belief that amber (electrum) possessed some similar potency. This is actually stated by Pliny (VII.311), who tells us that in his own time the peasant women in the regions north of the Po wore amber necklaces, chiefly as an ornament, but also for medical reasons, and goes on to enumerate a number of ailments for which it was regarded as a specific, either taken as a potion or applied externally. That its property of attraction (whence our modern word electricity) was early known to the Greeks is proved by the notice of Thales.

But how would red amber naturally give a name to a metallic electrum? To the eye of the Greek the

essential difference between pure gold and the alloy (to which we have in

English confined the name electrum)

being the pale colour of the latter (λευκὸς χρυσός), any name which he would apply to it to differentiate it from pure gold would naturally be one which would indicate this paleness. The reddish amber of the South would not furnish such a name, having no resemblance in hue to metallic electrum. But the yellow Baltic amber, varying as it does in shade from almost white to a bright golden, would give a fairly accurate description of the alloy, whose hue varies with the proportion of its component parts. Similarly when, in the second passage quoted above from the Odyssey, a necklace of gold set with pieces of amber is likened to the sun (ἡέλιος ὤς), the golden (Baltic) amber answers to the description far better than the red. We may assume, then, that from remote ages supplies of Baltic (yellow) amber as well as of red amber were available.

Nor is this a mere hypothesis. It has been removed from the realm of probability into that of established fact, by the finding of amber in the tombs discovered at Mycenae by D. Schliemann in 1876, and of beads of the same material in his more recent excavations at Tiryns. As the red amber and the Baltic amber differ essentially in chemical composition, Dr. Helm, an eminent chemist of Dantzig, has been able to prove

by actual analysis that this amber is the Baltic variety (Schliemann's *Tiryns*, 1880, App. p. 372).

It was, doubtless, from the German tribes along one of the highways which were in constant use in historic times that the ancient supplies of Baltic amber were obtained. We know that down to the time of Herodotus (about 430 B.C.) the Greeks had not as yet opened up any line of communication with the amber coasts from the side of the Euxine.

Herodotus visited Olbia, and though he has given a pretty full account of those regions, mentioning a trade-route leading towards the East, and though we know from his own words (3.113) that the amber trade was a subject which had excited his attention, he expresses the commonly received opinion that it was obtained at the mouth of the Eridanus (114).

Neither does Baltic amber seem to have reached Greece in his time by any Russian-Balkan route (59). Down to the time of Theophrastus (315 B.C.) it was entirely through northern Italy that the Greeks got their supply of it.¹ The lake-dwellings of Switzerland and the valley of the Po have yielded abundance of beads of Baltic amber, and similar beads are well known in the tombs of central Italy. We need have little hesitation, therefore, in believing the statement of Pliny² (VII.344) that it was brought by the Germans into Pannonia and thence reached the Veneti, who dwelt at the head of the Adriatic.³ As the main lines of commerce change but little through the ages, it was probably by this route that the amber beads reached Mycenae and Tiryns in the bronze age, and articles of the same kind may even have reached Palestine. The bead found at Lachish, however, has been proved, since this article was in print, to be not Baltic amber, but, like that found at Tell-Zakariya (PEFQ, April 1899, p. 107), a resin, and no trace of amber has yet been found in Mesopotamia (Per. Chipp., *Art. Chald.* 2362). Nevertheless it is possible that even the yellow variety may have reached Palestine in the sixth century B.C., and the view of the ancient versions that the Hebrew *hashmal* indicates this substance may be correct.

W. R.

AMEN (אָמֵן);⁴ in G usually ἁγνοῖτο;⁵ in work of Chronieler ἀμῆ, and so in NT very often,⁶ an adj.⁷

1. In OT, signifying stability, used only as an interjection expressive of assent of one kind or another.⁸ Three stages may be distinguished: (1) *Initial Amen*, referring back to words of another speaker; probably the earliest usage, occurring even in common speech⁹ (1 K. 1.36 Jer. 28.11 s., the only certainly pre-exilic Amens).¹⁰ (2) *Detached Amen*, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Dt. 27.15-20 Neh. 5.13; double in

1 They appear to have confused with it a stone called ἀγροῖον or *agrios*; as so often occurs they mistook the region whence the article was transmitted to them for the actual place of production (Theophr., *De lap.* 16).

2 Pliny's statement is confirmed by a remark of Herodotus (1.106) from which it appears that the only knowledge then obtainable respecting central Europe came by way of the Veneti, a fact which shows that the Greeks knew of a line of communication in this direction.

3 Pytheas of Massilia had, in the fourth century B.C., found the Guttones gathering it and giving it in trade to the Tylones.

4 It probably occurs in twelve places in the Hebrew, for in Is. 65.19, although Ap. (ἀπεσπύειν), Sym., Pesh., and Vg. have *amen*, it should probably so (Che. Di. Du. Rys. in *HS*).

5 Perhaps Targ. Jon. אָמֵן (or) be vocalised otherwise, perhaps אָמֵן (as in Is. 25.1, where indeed the Gk. Vss. [but Sym. not, as usual, ἀμῆ, but πιστεῖ] and Vg. read *amen*).

6 *אָמֵן* read also, in a corrupt text, in Jer. 17.11 and in Jer. 31.9. EV has *amen* also; RV even in Jer. 11.5. It occurs in six places in G Apoc. (for Jude. 13.20 cp. Eph. Pesh.). Vg. adds Tob. 9.12 13.23 and 2 Esd. (Neh.) 13.31; in Eccles. 50.2, it is probably late.

7 Eight (eleven) times, ἀγῆσθαι once.

8 There is much variety of text. TR has it in some 119 places, of which RV rejects 19 (see below, § 2).

9 See, however, Baril. *NB* §§ 50 and 76.

10 For three kinds see *Shibboleth* 30a (mid.).

11 It seems most likely that in Jer. 3.19 G read אָמֵן as אָמֵן = אָמֵן אָמֵן.

12 G has it also in Jer. 3.19 15.11 (Is. 25.1 is not pre-exilic).

AMEN

Nu. 5:22 and in Neh. 8:6 (= 1 Esd. 9:47). Amen must have been in liturgical use in the time of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 16:36 = Ps. 106:1). Later, but very similar, are Judith 13:2, Tob. 9:12 (Vg.), and Tob. 8:6. With the fact that none of these relates to temple service may be compared, e.g., Jer. 18:14, 14c. The Chronicler, however, appends Amen (1c.) to extracts from Ps. 105 and 96¹. (3) An apparent final Amen, there being no change of speaker; frequent from NT Epist. onwards, but in OT only (2) in subscription to first three (four) divisions of Psalter and 3 and 4 Macc., and (4) at end of prayer, Neh. 13:6 and Tob. 13:13 (both only in Vg.). In Tob. 14:15 (B8A) we have almost a fourth stage: (4) a simple *subscriptio* Amen, like that, e.g., of the TR of Lk., without, strictly speaking, any preceding doxology.²

Just as Amen translates, as we have seen, by $\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron$ in the Law, the Psalms, and even the Psalter, but has in NT Lk. often avoids (omits or translates) Amen, and so even Mt. and to a less extent Mk. Stage (1) is represented by only Rev. 7:11 + 19:4, 22:20; (2) by Rev. 5:14 and the usage testified to by 1 Cor. 14:16; (3) by usage of Epistles (fifteen doxologies, mostly well-attested; 2 nineteen blessings, mostly ill-attested).³ There is no real instance of (4).

The Amens of the Gospels (fifty-two in Synopt., twenty-five in Jn.) are a peculiar class, declared by Delitzsch⁴ unparalleled in Hebrew literature: initial Amens⁵ like group (1), but lacking the backward reference. The sayings that they introduce are only sometimes at all related to what now precedes them. The double Amen (twenty-five times) of the Fourth Gospel, which occurs even in Jn. 13:33 (= Mk. 14:30, etc.), Delitzsch tried (i.e.) to explain as Aram. *amen amēna* (= *amen amen'na* = Amen Amen), which sounded like Amen Amen ; but Dalman argues strongly against this.⁶ For a suggestion of a different kind see GOSPELS, § 50 n.¹⁰

The key to Rev. 3:14 ($\delta\ \text{Amen}$), 'the faithful and true witness,' is doubtless the traditional Massoretic pointing of Is. 65:16 (at least as odd as Sym.) with possibly a reminiscence of the practice of Jesus and of 2 Cor. 1:20. Here, again, Amen is neut., and the meaning is not quite so clear; but probably Amen has about the same meaning as in 1 Cor. 14:16.

The liturgical use of Amen, vouched for in apostolic times by this last passage, is attested, as regards the Eucharist, by Justin Martyr for the second century (*Apol.* i. 65, $\delta\ \text{παππὸς} \lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota \epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\theta\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\upsilon\ \text{Amen}$), and, e.g., by Jerome two centuries later (preface to Bk. ii. of *Com. in Ep. ad Gal.*, 'ad similitudinem . . . tonitruum *amen* rebat'), while the introduction of Amen in the liturgical service is probably later. Post-biblical Judaism greatly developed the theory of the use of Amen.¹¹ He who pronounced it was greater than he who blessed. It opened the gates of heaven.¹² It must not be uttered in a slovenly or careless way, nor yet prolonged too much.¹³ The synagogue still uses it,¹⁴ and Malactomedans are in the habit of adding it after reciting the first *Sura* of the Koran.

For references to older literature see, e.g., Vigouroux, *Bib. Dict.*, s.v.; for references to passages in Talm. see, e.g., Kohut's *Aruch*, s.v.; for usage of temple doxology (Gratz, *MGH*, 1872, pp. 431-96, and *Palmer* 62 f., 91 f.); for Rabbinic treatment, e.g., Jehuda Khahis, *Seder ha-Mishar*, Pereq. 4 (ed. Mantia, 42); Josef Caro, *Beith Josef* (Orach-Hajim) ed.

4. Literature. Gratz accordingly argues that our Psalms are a synagogue arrangement.

¹ Gratz accordingly argues that our Psalms are a synagogue arrangement.

² This is hardly true of 8.

³ Except Judith 13:20.

⁴ W & H give, in square brackets, also a final 'Amen.'

⁵ All except 2 Pet. 3:13.

⁶ Also Rev. 17 (after 14c); neither doxology (?) nor benediction. Rev. 1:15 1 Jn. 5:21 2 Jn. 13 are excluded in RV. Cp *JGK* 98, n. 2.

⁷ Talm. Stud. ix. *Amēn* *Amēn* in *ZI. Th.*, 1866, pp. 422-4.

⁸ All in sayings of Jesus. The five finals (Mt. 6:13; 28:20 Lk. 24:49; Jn. 21:25 Mk. 16:7c) are wanting in the best MSS.

⁹ See Dalman, *Gram.* 103 (p. 71-77 4th, 228 14th).

¹⁰ See now also Dalman as cited below, § 4.

¹¹ See *Shebu'oth* as above and many other places. For an example of 'Amen' in conversation see *Abot* 2:4a.

¹² *Shabbath* 119b mid. of p.

¹³ *Ber.* 47a.

¹⁴ *Authorities of Daily Prayer-Book*, N. M. Adler, 1901.

AMMI

Venice, 1550, 1 fol. 143^{ab}. On the whole subject see H. W. Hogg, 'Amen, notes on its Significance and Use in Biblical and Post-biblical times,' *JGK* 9:1-24, 1901, and in connection therewith Nestle, 'The Last Word in the Bible,' *Z. v. vort. u. Lom.*, January 1907, p. 175 f. To the above must now be added Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu* 135-7 (1908).

AMETHYST (ἀμέθυστος, ἀμεθυστος [BAF], ἀμέθυστος [L.], *amethystus*, *أمethyst*). The amethyst is a variety

of quartz (SiO₂) or rock crystal (crystal) of a clear purple or bluish violet colour from iron peroxide or manganese, often marked by zigzag or undulating lines (the colour being disposed in clouds). The Greek name (Rev. 21:20; cp Ex. 28:19 = 39:10 [36:10 in B]), which was adopted into Latin, implies, in ancient belief that the wearer of an amethyst could drink wine freely without fear of intoxication. The source of the belief is found in Theophrastus (*Lap.* 31), who is the earliest Greek writer to mention the stone, which he calls *τὸ ἀμέθυστον*. It is a simple case of sympathetic magic, for Theophrastus says (*Lap.* 31) *τὸ δὲ ἀμέθυστον οὐρανὸν τῇ χροῇ*; it is wine-coloured, hence its amuletic potency against the effects of wine. Greek engravers, accordingly, not infrequently cut Bacchanalian subjects on this stone. Hence the point of several epigrams in the *Anthologia Graeca* (e.g., ix. 752, on the ring of Cleopatra, adorned with Methē, Drunkenness; and ix. 748, on a gem engraved with a figure of Bacchus). It seems also to have been believed that the amethyst caused those who wore it to dream, or to have prophetic dreams (cp the extract from Burhān in Lag. *Matth.* 1:236). Hence the engraved *ahlimi* of the 'breastplate' of P (Ex. 28:19 = 39:12; explained by Kimchi as the dream-stone; *מִשְׁכָּנִי* from *דָּמָה* 'to dream') has been commonly identified with the amethyst (thus apparently B), so much engraved by the Greeks. Cp PRECIOUS STONES.

Del., on the other hand (*Heb. Lang.* 36 n.), derives the name from *ahlimi*, an Aramaean people and district often mentioned in Babylonian and Assyrian texts, supporting the suggestion by referring to Semaherib's repeated mention of Arimena and its neighbourhood 'as a rich mine of certain precious stones'. Bonelli considers it an Egyptian loan-word (*akhnūme*), while Di. connects it with *amēn*, the mallow, and adopts the explanation 'green malachite.'

W. R.

AMI (אִמִּי), Ezra 2:57 = Neh. 7:59 AMON (q.v.).

AMINADAB (אִמִּינָדָב [Ti. VII]), Mt. 14 and (אִמִּינָדָב [WH], mg. אִמִּינָדָב) Lk. 3:33¹ AV = RV AMINADAB (q.v.).

AMITTAI (אִמִּיטַי, § 52, from אִמִּיטַי, 'truth,' perhaps a theophorous compound; אִמִּיטַי [BAF]), father of the prophet Jonah (2 K. 14:25 Jonah 1:1).

AMMAH, The Hill of (אִמִּי הַטֵּל עַמִּי; ο ΒΟΥΝΟC ΑΜΜΑΝ [B], -μα [V], ΕΜΜΑΘ [L], ΟΜΜΑΤΟΝ or ΑΜΜ. [Jos. Ant. vii. 13.], an unknown hill 'that lieth before Giah' (?), where Jacob and Abishai stayed their pursuit after Almer (2 S. 22:4). From a comparison of 17:24 and 25 it is probable that we should restore the name also in 17:25 for 'one hill,' AV 'an hill' (אִמִּי הַטֵּל עַמִּי).

See Bn. (*SPT*), Sam. *ad loc.*, following We.'s suggestion that the two hills are the same. Otherwise Klo., who in 17:25 conjectures אִמִּי (אִמִּי), the ascent of Admah.

In 17:24 Sym. (vamp, gully) Theod. (ὄρεα γωγος) and Vg. (*agueductus*) give the word a meaning which it bears only in post-biblical Heb.; moreover, since the word אִמִּי has no article prefixed, it cannot be an appellative here.

AMMI (Hos. 2:1, and, in Lo-ammi, 2:23 [23]). See LO-RUTHAMAH.

AMMI, Names with. The element 'ammi' (אִמִּי) or, at the end of words, 'am' (אִם) has been interpreted in

three different ways viz., as meaning (1) [my] people, or (2) [my] kinsman or uncle, or else as being (3) the proper name of a god.

So long as this group of names¹ was regarded by itself in the light of Hebrew philology alone,

¹ The exact limits of the group are uncertain; for in those cases of several names that have been included in it, it is open to doubt

AMMIHUR

AMMON

Ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἰσὺς τοῦ γεννηθέντος. 'He received His new text, however, appears to regard the name of the Father of the Animatees as Ben-minim (son of my kindred), i. e. 'I should be noted in this connection that the *ἄνθρωπος* 'genitive' in the *ἄνθρωπος* of the *ἄνθρωπος* 'minim' father'. The *ἄνθρωπος* 'animatees' and as they stand examples of 'paganism' in the *ἄνθρωπος* 'minim' point the way, however, to more 'prophetic' and 'new' and we may 'devise' and 'both' 'I then' and 'of' 'I then' 'kindred' in 'I then' 'minim'.

[illegible]

2. Land and People.

ful value, since the edition *Index Hieronymus* of uncertain origin, and may be no longer in its original form (see *Rev. Commun.* 84), and esp. *Die AGS* 123, *Kat. bib. h. 2* 10. At any rate, all that *Su 21* (esp. *Index Hieronymus*) attests is that the Ishmaelites conquered the land of the Amorites 'from Amur unto Laddak' (that is) into (the land of) the Ammonites, and, as the same version continues, 'the border of the Ammonites was Jazer' (so *Lw.*, *Dn.*, *Nobd.*, reading *גזר* with *Boeth.* instead of *גזר*), i.e., the frontier town of the Ammonites towards Ammon was Jazer (see p. 10). According to this statement, the Ammonites occupied the east of the district now called *Belka*, a view which accords excellently with the easterly position of the ancient capital city *Rabbah* or *Rabbath Ammon*, and is no doubt accurate for the period to which *Isb.* belongs.

Little is known of the social condition of this people; but there is nothing to suggest a high degree of civilisation. There were no doubt other 'cities' besides Rabbath (Judg. 11: 32, 38, 41); but they were too insignificant to be mentioned by name. Although the district of Rabbath (see RABATH) was exceptionally well irrigated, the total area of tillage between the Euphrate frontier and the arid steppes to the east was narrow. Some of the Amorinitish clans must have ranged over these steppes as nomads. Their population, too, must have been comparatively small. According to all analogies they would enter from time to time into loose and shifting alliances with the neighbouring tribes; so that their fighting strength would be subject to great and sudden fluctuations.

3. Traditions. The real history of the Ammonites does not begin till the time of Saul, though we have one very interesting and probable tradition from the legendary period of the Judges (see below in *Leubethan*).

We do indeed hear, in a passage that sounds like history (Gen. 14.5), of a people, called Zuzim, whom Chedorlaomer "smote" (Hunt² (222) a name which is most probably corrupt (see 2.1.1.1, ii), but which some regard as another form of Ammon; and it is tempting to identify the *Zuzim* with the *Zamzumim*, whom, according to Deut. 2.20, the Ammonites in early times possessed. But what we hear of the *Zamzumim* has a family likeness to the legends of other aboriginal races which are expelled by more powerful invaders, and the author of Gen. 14.4-5 (he did not write till after 527 B.C. (Kue, *Heb.* 1.34)) in his time there were various influences at work to render the accurate writing of history, and it is even doubtful whether we can safely accept what he tells us of the early

^t Cp also Nestle, *Ilg.* 50, 187 (n).

2 For further evidence in favour of a Semitic god Ammu, see Hammd's review of Meissner's *Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht*, *ZDMG* 49 522 ff. (1951); but cf Jensen's criticism *JdL* 10 242 f. (1951).

1. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

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² Prof. Ryle (*Isaiah and Neh.* 115) thinks that 'the mention of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Egyptians together, suggests the influence of Deut. 23: 1-7 [42f.]'. Guthrie (*SAOT*) assigns the enumeration of the peoples to the Chir side.

AMORITES

10130 (англ.) [1978] 10130

After a rough of two years, the company is

After a reign of thirty years (1862-1892), a Turkish sultan, who had been assumed by some of his countrymen (see Kaffel, *loc. cit.*) to have introduced a profound reformation. Among things he had by religious edicts, was to unite with the people who regarded his death. If his name is derived from the Egyptian (Heliopolis) instead of an interesting proof of the distinctness of political party of Egyptian in Assyria in the years of Achaemenid.

Small α means that M is a small perturbation of M_0 .

[illegible]

collective and always with

The term is used: (1) of a particular people, e.g. *the people of the Jordan*, Nu 21/12, 24; (2) of a group of people, e.g. *the people of the land*, Dt 10/14, 15/22, 16/14, 17/14, 18/15, 19/14, 20/15, 21/14, 22/15, 23/1, 24/1, 25/1, 26/1, 27/1, 28/1, 29/1, 30/1, 31/1, 32/1, 33/1, 34/1, 35/1, 36/1, 37/1, 38/1, 39/1, 40/1, 41/1, 42/1, 43/1, 44/1, 45/1, 46/1, 47/1, 48/1, 49/1, 50/1, 51/1, 52/1, 53/1, 54/1, 55/1, 56/1, 57/1, 58/1, 59/1, 60/1, 61/1, 62/1, 63/1, 64/1, 65/1, 66/1, 67/1, 68/1, 69/1, 70/1, 71/1, 72/1, 73/1, 74/1, 75/1, 76/1, 77/1, 78/1, 79/1, 80/1, 81/1, 82/1, 83/1, 84/1, 85/1, 86/1, 87/1, 88/1, 89/1, 90/1, 91/1, 92/1, 93/1, 94/1, 95/1, 96/1, 97/1, 98/1, 99/1, 100/1, 101/1, 102/1, 103/1, 104/1, 105/1, 106/1, 107/1, 108/1, 109/1, 110/1, 111/1, 112/1, 113/1, 114/1, 115/1, 116/1, 117/1, 118/1, 119/1, 120/1, 121/1, 122/1, 123/1, 124/1, 125/1, 126/1, 127/1, 128/1, 129/1, 130/1, 131/1, 132/1, 133/1, 134/1, 135/1, 136/1, 137/1, 138/1, 139/1, 140/1, 141/1, 142/1, 143/1, 144/1, 145/1, 146/1, 147/1, 148/1, 149/1, 150/1, 151/1, 152/1, 153/1, 154/1, 155/1, 156/1, 157/1, 158/1, 159/1, 160/1, 161/1, 162/1, 163/1, 164/1, 165/1, 166/1, 167/1, 168/1, 169/1, 170/1, 171/1, 172/1, 173/1, 174/1, 175/1, 176/1, 177/1, 178/1, 179/1, 180/1, 181/1, 182/1, 183/1, 184/1, 185/1, 186/1, 187/1, 188/1, 189/1, 190/1, 191/1, 192/1, 193/1, 194/1, 195/1, 196/1, 197/1, 198/1, 199/1, 200/1, 201/1, 202/1, 203/1, 204/1, 205/1, 206/1, 207/1, 208/1, 209/1, 210/1, 211/1, 212/1, 213/1, 214/1, 215/1, 216/1, 217/1, 218/1, 219/1, 220/1, 221/1, 222/1, 223/1, 224/1, 225/1, 226/1, 227/1, 228/1, 229/1, 230/1, 231/1, 232/1, 233/1, 234/1, 235/1, 236/1, 237/1, 238/1, 239/1, 240/1, 241/1, 242/1, 243/1, 244/1, 245/1, 246/1, 247/1, 248/1, 249/1, 250/1, 251/1, 252/1, 253/1, 254/1, 255/1, 256/1, 257/1, 258/1, 259/1, 260/1, 261/1, 262/1, 263/1, 264/1, 265/1, 266/1, 267/1, 268/1, 269/1, 270/1, 271/1, 272/1, 273/1, 274/1, 275/1, 276/1, 277/1, 278/1, 279/1, 280/1, 281/1, 282/1, 283/1, 284/1, 285/1, 286/1, 287/1, 288/1, 289/1, 290/1, 291/1, 292/1, 293/1, 294/1, 295/1, 296/1, 297/1, 298/1, 299/1, 300/1, 301/1, 302/1, 303/1, 304/1, 305/1, 306/1, 307/1, 308/1, 309/1, 310/1, 311/1, 312/1, 313/1, 314/1, 315/1, 316/1, 317/1, 318/1, 319/1, 320/1, 321/1, 322/1, 323/1, 324/1, 325/1, 326/1, 327/1, 328/1, 329/1, 330/1, 331/1, 332/1, 333/1, 334/1, 335/1, 336/1, 337/1, 338/1, 339/1, 340/1, 341/1, 342/1, 343/1, 344/1, 345/1, 346/1, 347/1, 348/1, 349/1, 350/1, 351/1, 352/1, 353/1, 354/1, 355/1, 356/1, 357/1, 358/1, 359/1, 360/1, 361/1, 362/1, 363/1, 364/1, 365/1, 366/1, 367/1, 368/1, 369/1, 370/1, 371/1, 372/1, 373/1, 374/1, 375/1, 376/1, 377/1, 378/1, 379/1, 380/1, 381/1, 382/1, 383/1, 384/1, 385/1, 386/1, 387/1, 388/1, 389/1, 390/1, 391/1, 392/1, 393/1, 394/1, 395/1, 396/1, 397/1, 398/1, 399/1, 400/1, 401/1, 402/1, 403/1, 404/1, 405/1, 406/1, 407/1, 408/1, 409/1, 410/1, 411/1, 412/1, 413/1, 414/1, 415/1, 416/1, 417/1, 418/1, 419/1, 420/1, 421/1, 422/1, 423/1, 424/1, 425/1, 426/1, 427/1, 428/1, 429/1, 430/1, 431/1, 432/1, 433/1, 434/1, 435/1, 436/1, 437/1, 438/1, 439/1, 440/1, 441/1, 442/1, 443/1, 444/1, 445/1, 446/1, 447/1, 448/1, 449/1, 450/1, 451/1, 452/1, 453/1, 454/1, 455/1, 456/1, 457/1, 458/1, 459/1, 460/1, 461/1, 462/1, 463/1, 464/1, 465/1, 466/1, 467/1, 468/1, 469/1, 470/1, 471/1, 472/1, 473/1, 474/1, 475/1, 476/1, 477/1, 478/1, 479/1, 480/1, 481/1, 482/1, 483/1, 484/1, 485/1, 486/1, 487/1, 488/1, 489/1, 490/1, 491/1, 492/1, 493/1, 494/1, 495/1, 496/1, 497/1, 498/1, 499/1, 500/1, 501/1, 502/1, 503/1, 504/1, 505/1, 506/1, 507/1, 508/1, 509/1, 510/1, 511/1, 512/1, 513/1, 514/1, 515/1, 516/1, 517/1, 518/1, 519/1, 520/1, 521/1, 522/1, 523/1, 524/1, 525/1, 526/1, 527/1, 528/1, 529/1, 530/1, 531/1, 532/1, 533/1, 534/1, 535/1, 536/1, 537/1, 538/1, 539/1, 540/1, 541/1, 542/1, 543/1, 544/1, 545/1, 546/1, 547/1, 548/1, 549/1, 550/1, 551/1, 552/1, 553/1, 554/1, 555/1, 556/1, 557/1, 558/1, 559/1, 560/1, 561/1, 562/1, 563/1, 564/1, 565/1, 566/1, 567/1, 568/1, 569/1, 570/1, 571/1, 572/1, 573/1, 574/1, 575/1, 576/1, 577/1, 578/1, 579/1, 580/1, 581/1, 582/1, 583/1, 584/1, 585/1, 586/1, 587/1, 588/1, 589/1, 590/1, 591/1, 592/1, 593/1, 594/1, 595/1, 596/1, 597/1, 598/1, 599/1, 600/1,

24. H. 200. RYms. MEUSM.

Am. 207, and Is. 179 (Cheng, WRS Che, following $\mathfrak{S} \times \mathfrak{S}_n$) with the 111111's.

(ענין) K. Hagenbach 1903

The Amurites are mentioned also in the lists of Canaanitish peoples subjugated by the Israelites (Gen. 15:2; Ex. 33; and elsewhere). The lists commonly include the Canaanites, Gergashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Peizzites, and once, in Gen. 10:12, the Kenites, Kenizzites, Kachmonites, and Rephaim, for which reference must be made to the separate articles. On the variation in the order of these enumerations, which are obviously rhetorical rather than geographical or historical, see Dr. Gress.

The passage in Amos (2:9b) is remarkable, because Amorite is used, precisely as by the Eblait (E), as a general term for the primitive population of Canaan, and because the Amorites, as an extinct race, are invested with a half mythical character (like the Anakim).

Wellhausen (*UH* 341 f.) regards the designation

deep, inscrutable'), post-exile priestly

Amorites as substantially synonymous with that of "Amunites," though not quite so comprehensive. According to this view, the Amorites, in the time of the biblical narrators, are still living in the land (*i.e.*, in the cities of the plain which were not occupied by the Israelites). The Amorites, on the other hand, are thought of as the old inhabitants of the hill-country E. and W. of the Jordan, now inhabited by the Israelites. Thus the Amorites belonged exclusively to the past:

AGARDH [1]. With following No. 100.

They hid their clay and ceased to be rich. (50:15). This explains how it is that, although under ordinary peaceful circumstances the Canaanites are spoken of as the old inhabitants of the land, whenever mention is made of war and conquest, the Amorites at once take their place (Gen. 18:1-6). So Moses' adversaries, Sihon and Og, are kings of the 'Amorites'; and, similarly, it is with the twelve kings of the Amorites that Joshua has to deal W. of the Jordan. Winkler however (6/1 52 ff.) disputes the synonymy of the terms 'Canaanites' and 'Amorites' on the ground that, as 'Amorite' letters show, the *ca* is found as *for* N., as *Sihon* or even further, was called *Ki-ahhi* (= *Canan*), and that

Der 40.5 RV. — See N. J. 3501X.

the Amerite population had its seat in the interior. He explains the distinction in the nomenclatures from the different local origin of the two writers (an Ephraimite and a Judahite respectively). On the extra-biblical facts, and on the inferences to be drawn, see CANAAN, §§ 3-9 and cp. PROPHETIA.

AMOS (אָמֹס, § 56, 'borne' by God¹); cp. AMASAI, Ar. *Omey*, Phoen. אַמַּוַס, אַמַּוַס [BAQ].

1. Prophetic activity.

Amos is the earliest of the prophets of whose discourses and predictions we possess written records with an accompanying statement of their authorship. On the external facts of his life we should know little but for the narrative digression in 7:6-17, which interrupts the series of prophetic visions on the fall of Israel. From a statement there assigned to Amaziah, 'the land is not able to bear all his words,' we may reasonably infer that Amos's ministry in the northern kingdom had lasted for some time, when it was brought to an abrupt close by an act worthy of the H. one Elijah. Amos, it appears, came forward at length in a place where success was more difficult than anywhere else, and uttered a prophecy to this effect: 'Jeroboam shall die by the sword, and Israel shall be carried away from its land.' It was in Bethel, the seat of the royal temple corresponding to that of Jerusalem in the south, and probably at some great festival, that Amos said this; and the priesthood, tutored to its royal hand, took the alarm. Not so much because the prophet had threatened the reigning dynasty (for he had not done so in the interest of any upstart noble) as because he had begun to weaken the moral courage of the Israelitish people (Jer. 28:1). With the half-contemptuous speech, 'Carry thy prophecies to those in the neighbouring country who may think them worth paying for,' Amaziah, the head priest of Bethel, by the royal authority, bade Amos fly from the land of Israel. Amos would not retire without a parting testimony. These are his significant words: 'No prophet, no member of a guild of prophets, in I'; that is, I am no ecstatic enthusiast, like the prophets of Bethel, whose prophesying is a trade, and whose oracles are mere heathenish divination (cp. Mic. 3:1). 'But a sheep-breeder am I,' he continues, 'and one who tends sycomore-trees' (see STICKEL, SYCOMORE); that is, I am above the sordid temptation to take fees. 'Yahwé took me from following the flock; Yahwé said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.' That is, My prophesying has an immediate practical object which concerns the whole nation, and it is due to a moral impulse which has come straight from Israel's God. Then, in answer to the command, Prophecy not against Israel, Amos repeats his message with a startling personal application (cp. Is. 22:17-18).

Such was Amos—a strange phenomenon to the head priest of Bethel, as representing an entirely new type of prophecy. Whence then did this prophet come?

2. Home.

Was he a native of Israel or a 'sojourner' from Judah? The heading of the book (on the origin of which see below, § 4) at first sight appears to be decisive in favour of the latter view. Buddie has made it probable² that we should render 'Amos, who had been among the sheep breeders, (a man) of Tekoa.' In any case, Amos is represented as a Tekoite. Now, there is no trace in ancient or in modern nomenclature of more than one Tekoa (תְּקוֹא). That Amos belonged to the southern kingdom has, nevertheless, been doubted.³

¹ Read אָמֹס with Oort, We. (ἀμω, ἀπόλος); cp. 1:1. Mesha is also called אָמֹס (2 K. 3:4). The word refers to a breed of stunted sheep, valued for their fine wool (see SMITH).

² Kohut, *Script. Studies* 20:1-6 ff.

³ According to Oort, Amos was an Israelite who cultivated sycomores in his own country, but after his expulsion dwelt among the shepherds of Tekoa (*Ph. P.* 2:121, etc., 1910). Graetz (and so formerly Oort), following Kimchi, supposes a second Tekoa in the north.

on the twofold ground (1) that the interest of Amos is absorbed by (northern) Israel, and (2) that Tekoa lies too high for sycomores to be grown there. As to the first point, Amos, though deeply interested in Israel, is not, like the native Israelitish prophet Hosea, a sympathetic observer of the life and manners of the north. The inner impulse from above sending him to Israel is psychologically accounted for by the vastly greater importance of Israel as compared with Judah in religion, in politics, and, we may add, in literature. As to the second, Amos may very well have possessed a plantation of sycomores in some low-lying district in the Shephelah or in the Jordan valley (see SYCOMORE). We may accept it, then, as a fact, that Amos was a Judahite, and springing from a place famous in the time of David for the quick wits of its inhabitants (2 S. 11:3).

3. Preparation.

The situation, too, of Tekoa, was well fitted to develop the future prophet's capacities. From the extensive view which his own hill commanded, he would gain, at any rate, a sense of natural grandeur, though we must not infer from this that he was capable as a Tekoite of writing Am. 4:1 and the parallel passages.⁴ Not far off, he would meet with the caravans of the Dedanites (Is. 21:13) and other Arabian peoples, and would imbibe from them a longing to see other men and manners. Possibly, too, such an idiom as אָמֹס אָמֹס (1:3) may be explained from Arabian influence (so We.).⁵ Whatever the social position of Amos may have been, he was not tied to the soil, and may, before his journey to Samaria, have wandered, either on business or from curiosity, far away from home and have seen and heard much of which his neighbours were ignorant. To suppose this is not to deny that even the stayer at home had opportunities of hearing news,⁶ but to try to understand the alertness of Amos's intellect, the width of his knowledge, and the striking culture and refinement of his style. At any rate, it is plain that he studied thoroughly, on the spot, the condition of life and thought in the northern kingdom, and we must regret that we have no further contemporary traditions respecting him, than that contained in 7:6-17. One very singular tradition, indeed, we have, which appears to be a very late distortion of his story. It is the story (1 K. 13) of the man of God from Judah, who went to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam I, and threatened the altar there with destruction by an earthquake (cp. Am. 3:1, 7:9-10). Though this teaches us much concerning a late view of prophecy, however, it affords no flesh glimpse of Amos.

A post-exilic editor says (Am. 1:1) that Amos prophesied during the contemporary reigns of Uzziah of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel. Of

4. Notes of date.

Uzziah there is no express mention in the book; but the description of the careless ease of Jerusalem in 6:12 accords with the circumstances of his reign; to Jeroboam II. the prophet refers in 7:9, and his biographer in 7:10. The heading also states that the prophecy as a whole was delivered (*i.e.*, in its original form) 'two years before the earthquake.' Unfortunately, our only other authority for this earthquake⁷ in Uzziah's reign is about as late as this note (Zech. 14:4). It is no doubt plausible to defend its historical character by referring to 1:1 ('I wrought an overthrow among you') and by our prophet's vivid idea of earthquakes as one of God's means of punishment (8:8; cp. Is. 29:6). Am. 8:1, however, is certainly an interpolation, and it is not impossible that the rather too precise

¹ G. A. Smith (*HB* 115) has given eloquent expression to this view. In *Tekoa Prophets*, however, he admits the late origin of the passages.

² On the intellectual opportunities of Tekoa see STICKEL (*HB* 269-271), who makes 1-b to have been written in this district.

³ Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel* 230.

⁴ Kib. *Sam. u. Kib.* 21, and cp. KINGS, § 8, note.

⁵ Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 10:4) gives a long fabulous story about it.

statement in 1 is merely an exegetical inference from 7:19 (cp 7:8-8:2) which seemed to the editor to imply that Israel's punishment had been twice postponed, and that each postponement meant a year's grace (so G. Hoffmann; cp *Cairo* 1904, § 3). It is remarkable that the author of the heading, if he had access to tradition, did not rather refer to the solar eclipse prophesied in 8:9 in its present form. This seems to be the eclipse which an Assyrian list of eponyms assigns to the month Sivan 763 B.C.¹ It is less important that, according to the same list, pestilences ravaged Assyria in 765 (the year of a campaign in the land of Hadrach, near Damascus and Hamath) and in 750. Pestilence in the land of Israel is indeed mentioned in Am. 4:6, but it is described as 'after the manner of Egypt'. The Egyptian Delta was of course not the only source of pestilences; the Assyrian plague may have originated elsewhere. Still, it remains true that the period indicated by these last dates sufficiently accords with

5. Circumstances.

hints dropped in the Book of Amos. For example, the Israelites, according to Amos, have no apprehension of a speedy attack from Assyria. The circumstances of the period just mentioned enable us fully to account for this. Shalmaneser III (723-705 B.C.) had too much trouble with the land of Urartu (see ARAM, § 2, ASSYRIA, § 324), and his successor Assur-dan III (772-755 B.C.) had too many revolts at home to put down, to be dangerous to the kingdom of Israel. Assyria being thus occupied, it was easy for Jeroboam II to recover from Damascus (repeatedly humiliated at the time by Assyria) the districts which Hazael had taken from Israel. Hence, when Amos wrote, the extent of the Israelite dominion was 'from the point where the Hamathite territory begins (חֲמָתִי) to the torrent of the Arabah,' a definition which is presumably equivalent to that in 2 K. 11:25, which gives 'the *oz* of the Arabah' (עֵז הָאֲרָבָה), the Dead Sea. The prophet's hearers delighted to see themselves in this new prosperity, and boasted of the capture of LOTBIKAR and KARNAM in Gilead as a great military feat (see LOTBIKAR, and We on Am. 6:1). True, melancholy thoughts of the past would sometimes intrude: thoughts of the recent terrible earthquake, of the famines and pestilences, of the friends and neighbours lost in battle, and of the revolting cruelties of the Syrians and their Ammonitish allies in Gilead (1:3-11; 16:1-11). Nor is it arbitrary to connect the splendour and fullness of Israelite ritual in the prophet's time with the popular anxiety lest Yahwe should renew the 'tribes of the past'. On the whole, however, the tone of Israelite society is joyous and optimistic. As in Isaiah's earliest discourses, the upper classes appear as self-indulgent and luxurious, and, as in Isaiah, the women come in for a share of the blame (1:7, cp Is. 3:16). Not only the king (1 K. 22:5) but also the nobles have horses inlaid with ivory (3:15; cp 6:1). Feasting is habitual (6:4-6), and the new custom of half-reclining on the *dywan*² has been introduced at Samaria (3:6). The good old sentiment of brotherliness is dying away; oppression and injustice are rampant (2:6-8; 3:9-10, 15; 4:1; 5:1-2; 8:4-6). This indicates that great economic changes are going on (Isaiah makes the same complaint, 18:5). Side by side with this we notice a keen interest in the ritual side of religion (1:4-5; 5:1-2; 8:14-15). Idolatrous worshippers sing the praises of the uncomparable 'God of Jeshurun' (5:23; cp Dent. 33:26), and they think of his deliverances in the past, they even 'desire the battle day of Yahwe' (5:18). Amos, a stranger, alone sees below the surface of things. He does not, indeed, once name Assyria,³ and seems to have

no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus'; but every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwe 'will raise up against them a nation' (6:14; cp Is. 5:26, where read '28:1' and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus' (5:27). On the whole, we may probably date the original prophecies of Amos between 765 and 750 B.C.⁴

There are only two passages which may be regarded as inconsistent with this date, as referring to later events: 1:11 and 1:2. It is predicted that

6. Objections to 765-750 B.C.

'the people of Aram shall go into captivity into Kir,' which was fulfilled, according to 2 K. 16:9, on the capture of Damascus by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732. The prediction, however, was not meant to be taken so literally. 'Unto Kir' is evidently suggested by the tradition (9:7) that the Arameans came from Kir; the prophet cannot mean to lay stress upon such points as the locality of a captivity; otherwise, why does he describe the scene of Israel's captivity so vaguely? The 'fulfilment' in 2 K. 16:9 is obviously due to interpolation; the later view of prophecy differed from that held by the great prophets themselves. (2) The other passage is 6:2, which, as emended by Gieger⁵ (to make sense), reads thus, 'Pass ye to Calneh, and look; and go thence to Great Hamath, and go down to Philistia Gath; are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your region greater than theirs?' These places, says the writer, have already succumbed to the common enemy: how can Israel hope to escape? Calneh (not the Calneh of Gen. 10:6, but the N. Syrian city Kallan) was conquered by Tiglath-Pileser III in 733, Hamath by Sargon in 720, and Gath by the same king in 711.⁶ and the passage breaks the connection between 6:1 and 7, and is not in the rhythm which is so closely adhered to in 6:1-7. The verse must, therefore, be a later insertion, by a scribe or editor who had read Is. 10:9 (Calno = Calneh), and is properly a marginal gloss on the words, 'Woe to them that are at ease in Zion' (6:1). Observe that Great Hamath (H. Rabba) contrasts with the simple Hamath of 1:4.

A strict analysis is indispensable, both for a sound view of the origin of this book, and for a due comprehension of the great prophet himself.

7. Analysis of Book.

We must, therefore, test the common assertion that the book possesses such a true literary unity as Amos, when in retirement, might naturally wish to give to his remembered prophecies. So much, at any rate, is clear, that, as it now stands, the book has three well-marked divisions: (1) Chaps. 1-2:6 present a series of judgments on the peoples of Syria and Palestine, each framed on the same plan, and coupling the description of an unpardonable moral fault with the declaration of punishment. The most detailed of the accusations is that brought against Israel, which forms a striking culmination of the series. The vaguest and least impressive is Judah's, which comes next before Israel's, and somewhat spoils its effect. (2) Chaps. 3-6 seem at first sight to contain three discourses, each introduced by 'Hear ye this word' and closing with a prediction of national ruin. Upon a closer examination, however, none of the 'discourses'

¹ The reason offered for a later date (740-734) by Zeydner and Adelson (in Wildenhöft, *ibid.* 110) is insufficient. Any observer who was not blinded by a national religious belief could see that the activity of Assyria was only temporary, not permanent; that the year 765 saw the Assyrians on the northern border of Palestine. Besides, the events which accompanied the accession of Tiglath-Pileser III in 745 were of a exciting nature not to have suggested to Amos a fuller and more precise threatening than we find in his prophecies.

² On the former part of this verse see BETH-EDEN and AVEN, 2.

³ On 6:8 readings see KIR.

⁴ *Cairo* 1904, 207. Fourny's hesitation to remove 7:2 from the context which it disturbs (*IBL*, 1891, p. 62 f.) seems very needless.

⁵ Schr.'s view of Calneh (*COP* 2:143 f.; *HWB* 1-4) seems untenable (see CAHNER).

¹ See Schr. *COP* 2:143; Sayce, *IBL* 3:149; Schr. *KoP* 3:187, and cp *Cairo* 1904, § 24.

² In 3:2 render 'that sit in Samaria in the corner of a conch, and on the cushion of a *dywan*' (for 7022 read 2222, an obvious correction, which We. has somehow not made). See *CAH* 10:572.

³ According to 6:9, however, there is once an express mention of Assyria (3:9, אֲשׁוּר, אֲשׁוּר, for 7722, אֲשׁוּד).

proves to have more than a semblance of unity. The section may be analysed into ten loosely connected passages—3.1 f. 3.4-8 3.9-15 4.1-3 14 f. 16-13 5.1-17 5.18-27 6.1-7 6.8-14.

(3) Chaps 7-9. This is a series of five visions, interrupted, first by a short biographical elucidation of the third vision (7.10-15), and then by a threatening address (8.4-14), and followed by an evidently composite discourse, closing with most unexpected promises of the regeneration of Judah.

Now, if this summary is correct, it becomes impossible to maintain the true literary unity of the book. More than one editor must have been concerned in its arrangement, and the latest editor has had considerable difficulty in so disposing his material as to produce three portions, each one of a reasonable length. Considering that the book of the Twelve Minor Prophets comes to us from the post-exilic age (see CANON, § 39), and that the primary object of the later editors was not critical accuracy but

8. Post-exilic insertions:

Such an insertion we find at the very outset. The opening verse (1.2) has

been often viewed as the text of the following discourse; but it seems very ill-adapted for that purpose, for the object of the discourse is not to exhibit the connection between Yahwe and a privileged sanctuary, but to show that even Israel (which has so many altars of Yahwe, 2.8) shall be punished like the other nations. Nor is the elegiac tone of 1.2b at all in harmony with the cycle of stern declarations which follows. The truth is that 1.2a is borrowed from Joel 3 [1] 10a, where alone the words suit the context, and 1.2b has a close phraseological affinity to Joel and other late writings.² It is no argument to the contrary that in 3.8 Yahwe is said to 'roar' and that the phrase 'the top of Carmel' is used by Amos in 9.1; the editor had naturally made some slight study of the language of Amos. The reason of the insertion will be clear if we compare (a) 1.9 f. with Joel 3.2-6, (b) 1.11 f. with Joel 3.19, and (c) 9.13 with Joel 3.14. These passages can all be shown to be late insertions, and 1.2 can be understood only in connection with them.

First, as to (a) and (b) it will be noticed that 1.9 f. differs from 1.6 f. only in the substitution of 'Tyre' for 9. chap. 1.9 f. 11 f. 'Gaza,' and in the addition of the covenant of brethren. (Even if, with Winckler, we correct 7.3 in 7.9 f. into 7.22—i.e., the N. Arabian Musri [see MIZRAIM].—part of the following argument is still applicable.) It seems incredible that Amos should have condescended to repeat himself in this way, and doubtful whether the early Israelitish prophets knew anything about such an act as is imputed to Tyre in 1.9. And what can be the meaning of 'the covenant of brethren' in Amos's mouth? Many critics, indeed, have found in the phrase an allusion to the alliance between Solomon and Hiram (RV mg. refers to 1 K. 5: 9-11-14); but this was a purely personal connection, and lay far back in the past. We might also think of the covenant between the kings of Israel and Tyre presupposed in 1 K. 16.31 f.; but would the Elijah-like prophet Amos have been the man to recognise this? Moreover, this was a personal or family covenant, whereas the charge against Edom in 1.11, that he 'pursued his brother with the sword,' presupposes a true national covenant resting on kinship (cp. Mal. 1.2).

¹ Observe that between Am. 5.15 and 16 something analogous to 7.7-7.10 must have fallen out (7.7, 3.9 are an interpolation). 7.7, 14-17 should correspond to 7.7, 4.7-7.13.

² 7.28 metaphorically, as Joel 1.10; 7.28, as Joel 1.10 f. 2.22; 7.28, as Joel 1.12. Cp. also 1.2b as a whole with Jer. 9.10-9.23-25-27. Is. 33.9; Nah. 1.4 (all post-exilic passages except the first). See Ch. Intro. to WRS's *Proph. Isr.* xv. f. [Volz has lately expressed the same view (*Die post-exil. Jahresprophetie* p. 19 f.), which Nowack (*Kl. Proph.* ad loc.) does not refute.]

This view is confirmed by Obad 12, where 'in the day of thy brother' implies the same charge that is brought against Edom in the words quoted from Am. 1.11. Thus, the fault imputed to Tyre is that it co-operated with Edom in the time of Israel's distress, by making raids into Israelitish territory and selling captive Israelites to their immaterial 'brethren.' Was there ever such a time of distress for Israel between the age of David and that of Amos? It is, of course, the history of Judah, not that of N. Israel, that we have to search, for the claim to the overlordship of Edom was maintained by the Davidic family. The answer depends primarily on the results of our criticism of Chronicles. If we can regard the Chronicler as an only slightly prejudiced recorder of old traditions, we may believe that the Philistines and Arabians broke into and plundered Jerusalem (2 Ch. 21.16 f.), and conjecture that Tyrian slave-merchants drew their profit from the circumstances. Further, if, some time before that, the Edomites revolted from Judah and defeated King Joram (this, happily, is a fact attested not only in 2 Ch. but also in 2 K. 8.20-22), it is easily conceivable that Edomitish passion vented itself in a great slaughter of fugitive Israelites. Is it worth while, however, to defend the integrity of Am. 1 and the accuracy of the Chronicler by such a lavish use of conjectures? A prophet such as Amos was could not have fastened on such an offence of the Edomites to the exclusion of the cruel treatment of Edomites by Judahites referred to in 2 K. 11.7 (cp. 2 Ch. 25.12), and we ought not to imagine a case of special barbarity in the ninth century when there is a well attested one in the sixth. It was, in fact, at the fall of Jerusalem in 586 that the Edomites, who had no such stern moralists as Amos and Isaiah to reprove them, filled up the measure of their revenge, to the indignation of Jewish writers, who forgot the cruelties of their own ancestors. Hence, to explain Am. 1.11-12 aright, we must refer to Ezek. 25.12-35.3 Is. 34 Obad. 10-14 Ps. 137.7, together with Joel 3 [1] 19; and, to understand 1.9 f., we must compare (besides the passages just mentioned) the description of the offence of Tyre in Joel 3 (4) 2-6 (subsidiary evidence for the late date of Am. 1.11 f. is given below).¹ If it be asked, when these judgments on Tyre and Edom were inserted, the answer is, during (or much more probably after) the Exile, at a time when some fresh insult on the part of the Edomites reminded Jewish writers of earlier and deeper injuries (see ISRAEL, ii. § 14).

Next as to (c). Plainly, Joel 3 (4) 1-6 is the original of Am. 9.13. The opposite view would be inconsistent with the fact that Am. 9.13a is dependent on 10. chap. 9.8-15, the late passage Lev. 26.5a (see LEVITICS), Am. 9.13, however, is not a later insertion in the section in which it occurs. From 9.11 (or rather from 9.8) onwards, we are struck by affinities in expression or idea to works of the Babylonian and Persian periods, and by corresponding divergences from the style and thought of Amos.² That 7.7 cannot have been the conclusion of the prophecy is certain; but we have to regard 7.7, 8-15 as a post-exilic substitute for the original close. The editor cannot endure the idea of the final destruction of the whole house of Israel, and so he makes Amos declare in a strangely softened mood that only the 'sinful kingdom' (i.e., that of Ephraim) will be wiped out, whereas the less guilty Judahites will

¹ Notice (1) the vague description of the offence of Edom. Does it consist in the purchase of Israelitish slaves from the Tyrian slave-merchants? or in the slaughter of Israelitish fugitives? or, more probably, did Edom prove that 'he kept his wrath for ever' in both these ways? (2) The mention of 'Teman' and 'Bozrah,' which names seem first to occur in Jer. 49.7-13. Cp. the threat in 1.2 with that in Obad. 9.

² For the evidence, which is singularly strong, see Cheyne, 'Notes on the Prophets,' *Expository*, Jan. 1897, pp. 44-47. On Am. 9.8-15 see also Preuschen, *ZATW* 15.24-27 (1883); Torrey, 'Notes on Am. 27 etc.,' *JBL*, 188-172 (1902); Driver, *Joel and Amos* 120 ff., who vainly endeavours to diminish the force of the arguments.

suffer the milder doom of dispersion among the nations. Even this will be only for a time. Israel shall return, the old Davidic kingdom shall be restored, and the sweet commonplaces of prophetic idylls shall be fulfilled.

Now, can we not see the reason of the insertion of the opening verse or prologue? It was to assure the post-exilic readers of Amos that the threats of the prophet had long since been fulfilled, and that restored Zion should be safe under the care of its Ion-like divine protector. In other words, Amos was to be read in the light of the concluding portion of Joel. The insertion of the epilogue (9:15), in which we ought to note the reference to Edom (cp Joel 3:19), has a similar reason.¹

Here, then, are already four certain post-exilic insertions. The companion passages now to be enumerated are equally noteworthy. No satisfactory picture of the prophet Amos is possible till we have recognised them.

First, Am. 2:4^b is too deficient in concreteness to be the work of Amos, and is, on phraseological

grounds, late.² If so, the *whole* of the judgment upon Judah also must be late. This is every way a gain. In particular, we can now see better how thoroughly Amos was absorbed in his mission to N. Israel. He cannot perhaps forget Judah; but his native country is only a fragment: the national pulse beats most vigorously in Ephraim (cp Is. 9:2 f. [7:7] f.). The post-exilic editor, however, felt the need of a distinct reference to the sin and punishment of Judah, which he meant to be taken in combination with the encouraging statements of 12 and 9:11-15. It was a different feeling which prompted the insertion

of 4:11 (with which 1:2^b is connected) 12. chaps. 4:12-13 5:8 f. 9:5 f. The conception of God had become deeper and fuller; the germs long ago deposited by the preaching of Amos and Isaiah had, through a widened experience, developed into the rich theology of H. Isaiah and the Book of Job. Not only by the wonders of history but also by those of nature was the sole divinity of Yahwé proved, and an ordinary reader of Amos inserted these doxologies (as we may call them) to relieve the gloom of the prophetic pictures.³ Another such insertion was made (according to the text used by G) in Hos. 13:4.

We now pass on to Am. 5:26. The construction and rendering of this passage have been much disputed.

On the assumption that Am. 5:25-27 was all written by Amos, it is perhaps easiest (see Driver) to render עֲשֵׂה לָכֵן, 'So ye shall take up . . . (Succoth your king and Kaiwan your god, which ye made for yourselves), עֲשֵׂה לָכֵן, 'and I will carry (you) into exile.'⁴ But how unnatural this is! Nowhere else does the prophet mention an inclination of the Israelites to the worship of Assyrian gods, and the carrying of Assyrian gods by Israelites into Assyria is a very strange feature in a threat. Hence the whole verse is more than probably

a later insertion, which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Is. 10:34 seems exactly parallel (see SROD, *ad loc.*). Whether or no Succoth-benoth, the name of a god in 2 K. 17:35, contains the divine name Succoth,⁵ we may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Synt.* § 368 b); the עֲשֵׂה in עֲשֵׂה is simply the Hae *explanatum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render, 'That is, ye carried in procession'; cp Is. 45:20. See CHEN AND SROD.

Am. 6:2, another insertion, has been treated of already (see § 6 [b]). We pass on to 8:11 f. Verse 8

14. chaps. 3:14^b 5:11-15 6:29 8:11 f. is not at all suitable as a description of the threatened punishment (see We., Nowack). The comparison with the Nile recurs in an interpolated verse

(9:5). Passing on, we note that 7:13 speaks of literal thirst (suggested by the mention of the festivals in 7:10), but in 7:11 the hunger and thirst are metaphorical. Verses 9:1, 13 f. announce a sudden catastrophe; but in 7:11 a lengthened time of misery is described. The passage is clearly late, and is parallel to Is. 8:20 f. (partly late). The silence of prophecy is spoken of as a sore trial in Ps. 74:9. Other probable late insertions are 3:14^b 5:11-15 (cp Mic. 7:6), and the expression עֲשֵׂה in 6:5 (see DAVID, § 13); and 6:9 f. is at any rate misplaced. To these it is plausible to add the reference to 'those who are at ease in Zion' in 6:1 (but it may be better to correct עֲשֵׂה into עֲשֵׂה; so Che. JQR 10:573); also 3:7, which, as Duhm points out, may be a gloss on 7:8; certainly it interrupts a noble passage (7:8 for עֲשֵׂה read עֲשֵׂה with We., or, much better, עֲשֵׂה). The last insertion is 9:8-15 (see § 10).

After these insertions have been removed, may we safely suppose that the rest of the book represents what

Amos said in public? No; the analogy of the prophecies of Isaiah makes such

a supposition highly improbable. Let us be content with knowing that we have a truthful record of the prophetic certainties of Amos, even though he did not always utter them in public. The manner and the contents of the passages into which the true Book of Amos falls must be our guide in determining the class (whether that of public or of private prophecies) to which they severally belong. It is both inherently difficult and contrary to analogy to suppose that 1:2-2:16 was ever really uttered; at any rate, 1:2-2:16 is more adapted to produce an effect on readers than on hearers. Nor can we possibly imagine that the visions in chaps. 7-9 were used by the prophet as texts of spoken addresses; passages from discourses are no doubt here and there introduced, but they come from the arranging hand of the editor of this part.

It is a further question whether the arrangement of the different sections may be due to Amos himself. In answering it we must leave sufficient room for the *growth* of the book. It is not unreasonable to suppose that on his expulsion from Bethel the prophet paid a visit (perhaps a second visit; cp 6:1) to Jerusalem, and there 'noted' his prophecies (in 10:1) a book for a later day' (Is. 30:8), when the judgment upon Israel should have been accomplished. There, too, he may have committed his record (enriched with some never-spoken prophetic certainties) to the custody of those 'disciples' of Yahwé and of his prophets (see Is. 8:16), who began the long succession of students and editors of the religious literature. In their hands we may suppose that the book assumed by degrees its present form. At any rate, a written record of Amos must have become quickly known; for Isaiah, it is clear, steeped himself in the originality of Amos before displaying his own truly

¹ There are similar interpolations in Hosea (e.g., 1:7 1:10-2:1 [2:1-3] and the words 'David their king' in 3:5). See HOS. v. § 4.

² Cp 2 K. 16:15, Demeronomistic. Critics on the other side quote Is. 5:24; Hos. 2:14; Ex. 18:16; Dent. 30:15; but they do not meet the argument from weakness of style, and produce no parallel for the second part of the description of Judah's sin. Moreover, the two Pentateuch passages are not in point. Nor have critics realised the consequences of admitting the post-exilic origin of the prophetic books in their present form.

³ The style is that of H. Isaiah and the later poets (cp Strackel, *Hos.* p. 276), not that of Amos. The strings of participles remind us of Is. 40:22 f.; Job 12:17-24; Jer. 12:1; Dan. 2:21 f. Notice also עֲשֵׂה (cp Cheyne, *Int. Is.* xvi. 25), in 9:5 עֲשֵׂה, which violates the usage of Amos (but cp 6:5). The ideas are equally late, though they are such as Amos, had he met with them, would have owned. *Inter alia*, comp. the third descriptive phrase in 4:13 with Ps. 139:2. It is probable that 5:8 f. originally stood after 4:13. Am. 9:5 f., however, presumably retains its original position.

⁴ On the text see, besides the commentaries, N. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, p. 1 f.; Torrey, *ib.* p. 14; WRS and Che., *Proph. Isr.* (2) 300 ff.; G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 3 (1892) 3; Tiele, *Gesch. van het godsdienst* 315. On the construction see Dr. in Snell, *DBB* 122 (art. Amos).

⁵ So Del. *Par.* 215 f., but see SUCCOTH-BENOTH.

original genius. To Hosea, however, such a record cannot be proved to have been known (see We. on Hos. 8:14-15 10:58); in other words, the circulation of Amos's prophecies was, originally at least, confined to Judah. The latest editor of the book, as we have seen, was post-exilic.

A special interest attaches to the description of the visions, together with the historical interludes in chaps. 7-9, partly because they exhibit the growth of Amos's prophetic certainty respecting the fall of Samaria, and partly because, like Is. 67:1-8:12, and 20 (in their original form), they appear to come from a partly biographic, partly prophetic, work, written or dictated by the prophet himself.

Some have been surprised to find 'a plain countryman' like Amos possessed of such a refined and yet vigorous style.¹ They forget that the differences of culture in the East are still

16. Amos's style.

sometimes comparatively trifling, and that a man of low rank may express himself with considerable elegance. It is still more in point to remark that the most classic Arabic poems are the work of men who had a calling similar to that of Amos, while, even under the new Moslem empire, sons of the desert were wont to appear at court and win a rich guerdon by the finished style of their improvisations. Such critics have also forgotten the opportunities of self-culture which, both at Tekoa and elsewhere, Amos must have enjoyed; and when even G. Baur and Ewald point to certain 'solecisms in pronunciation and orthography' as evidences of provincialism, it may be replied that the errors in question may reasonably be ascribed to late *copists*.² That Amos delights in images drawn from nature is clearly no fault (e.g. 29:3-4 f. 8:12-5:10, and the first, second, and fourth, 18). Only one of them is distinctively the comparison of a shepherd (3:12); and Amos is just as willing to speak of wonders of which he knows only by hearsay—such as the giant cedar trees (29), and (if the text be correct) the inundation of the Nile (88)—or of which he has a true Israelitish dread—such as an earthquake or a solar eclipse (88 f.), or the mysterious sea which yields no harvest (6:12; cp ἀρπύγεραι), and which somewhere hides the terrible serpent of primitive mythology (9:3; see SERPENT, § 3 f.). It is a pity that, for reasons already given, we cannot speak of Amos as a sympathetic observer of the sky³—that is an essential characteristic of a much later poet (see JOB). As a literary craftsman he ranks high. In 1:3-2:6 we have a literary prophecy, which, until Amos torgets his art in his grief at the manifold offences of Israel, is marked by great regularity of structure. So in 4:6-11 we have the literary model of an equally symmetrical passage in Isaiah (Is. 98:21 [7-20] 52:6-30 10:1-4), and in 5:2 we have a short but strictly rhythmical elegy. Altogether, the Book of

17. Degree of originality.

Amos forms a literary as well as a prophetic phenomenon. It is true that both as a writer and as a speaker he must have had models; J and E were, of course, not the only writers of the pre-Amosian period, and Elijah and Elisha (of whose doings a faint echo has reached us) were not the only prophetic reformers (Am. 2:11 f. 3:7). There is no occasion, however, to suppose that there were prophets of precisely Amos's type before him—prophets who had exactly his conception of their duties, and were also, in a qualified sense, writers. It would be a mistake to infer, from Amos's use of formulae, that he was acquainted with earlier written prophecies. Prophetic formulae could be transmitted by word of mouth

¹ Against Jerome's application of Paul's self-deprecating language in 2 Cor. 11:6 to Amos see Lowth, *Praelect.* 21 (*Lectures*, F.T. 297 f.).

² Take e.g., פָּרָשׁ (79) for פָּרָשׁ. The same form occurs in Jer. 33:26, Ps. 105:9, both post-exilic passages. In 5:11 פָּרָשׁ is not a 'dialect form' for פָּרָשׁ; the scribe wrote פ by an error, and then corrected it by writing פ. Read simply פָּרָשׁ with We.

³ G.A.S.M. (*HB* 316).

as well as by the pen. That Amos had left Tekoa at intervals before his prophetic call is not only inherently probable, but also follows from such a passage as 3:7 f. (if correct), which Amos could hardly have written unless he had had the most vivid and direct ocular evidence of the effects of a true prophetic impulse even before his own turn came to receive one. His originality is shown, not only in his prophetic message, but also in his being (probably) the first to conceive the idea of using the pen in aid of the voice. The *litera*-literature of the priests had already taken a considerable development (Hos. 8:12). Amos was, it appears, the first prophet who followed the example of the literary priests. The importance of this step it was beyond his power to estimate. Within a generation he expected Israel as a nation to disappear; but he thought it worth while to gather disciples who, like himself, could praise Yahwé even in the midst of ruin; and, after all, who could tell but Yahwé might have some other secret to reveal to one of these—to a Hosea or to an Isaiah? See § 18.

That Amos's message is a gloomy one is in accordance with his conception of the divine character. In an age like his, the divine purpose

could not be one of peace, though it required an immense devotion to Yahwé to be able to declare, seemingly unmoved, that He purposed the complete destruction of Israel (or as we should say, of Israel and Judah). In spite of the universal scepticism which meets him (for how, it is said, can Yahwé be conceived of apart from his people?), Amos persists in his message, and even conceives the possibility that legendary supernatural agencies may be used to make the destruction more complete (9:1). It is not, therefore, open to us to account for the confidence of Amos simply by the advance of the Assyrian power. He does, indeed, regard Assyria as the chief destructive agent (6:14 7:17); but Assyria, when Amos spoke and wrote, was passing through a period of decline; consequently his conviction must have some other ground which naturally sharpens his eyes for the still present danger from Assyria. To this it must be added that, according to Amos, it would be easy for Yahwé, if the agency of Assyria were not available, to bring some other hostile nation from some corner of the earth, just as he 'brought up the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Aramaeans from Kir' (9:7). The real ground of Amos's prophetic pessimism is the increasingly unsound religious condition of his people. He may very possibly have admitted that there were fifty or at least ten Israelites who lived by the same pure religion as himself; but he could not conceive of Yahwé's saying, 'I will not destroy the land for ten's sake.' The righteous must, according to him, suffer with the wicked (9:10 was inserted to correct this idea), though he might perhaps have left a door of hope open for those who, like himself and his disciples, had close personal contact with the true God: the nation might perish; but when this had happened, God might have some secret purpose for those who 'knew' him.

Of this vague hope we hear nothing from Amos (cp ISAIAH). What the popular religion was, we know but too well. Whatever the nobler minds may have believed, 'the mass of the people,' as Robertson Smith well says, 'still thought of Him as exclusively concerned with the affairs of Israel,' and the connection between Yahwé and Israel had a non-moral, natural, basis. Ritual tended to make morality almost superfluous, and by its increasing costliness actually promoted that injustice and inhumanity which Yahwé abhorred. There were also immoral superstitions at which Amos glances less (see 2:7) than Hosea. To this

19. Idea of God.

pernicious system the religion of Amos is diametrically opposed. Once, at any rate, he uses the striking title, 'Yahwé, the God of the Hosts' (5:27 is admittedly a genuine passage)—i.e., the God of celestial as well as earthly

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legions—together with 'the Lord Yahwē' (perhaps nineteen times), in anathematis to the nationalistic expression, 'Yahwē, the God of Israel'.¹ The Yahwē whom he himself worshipped was, in virtue of his perfect moral nature the Sovereign alike of nature and of nations. Amos had not, indeed, fathomed the depths of this conception as had the Second Isaiah and the author of Job (Am. 4.13) and the parallel passages are later insertions; see above, § 12; but he is already to all intents and purposes an ethical monotheist, and his conviction of the impending destruction of Israel does but intensify his sense of the majesty of the one God. He does not, indeed, reject the old belief in the connection between Yahwē and Israel altogether (cp 7.15 'my people Israel'); he moralises it. For some wise object, Yahwē brought Israel out of Egypt (3.17), and entered into a personal moral relation to it; but his will, at any rate, is not unknown to the other nations, and their history is equally under his direction. Once, indeed, under the stress of moral passion, Amos even places the 'sons of Israel' on a level with the 'sons of the Cushites';² this occurs near the end of his prophecy (3.7), and is evidently intended as a final withdrawal of a temporary and conditional privilege. It is not, however, on all the nations of the earth, but only on those which are in close proximity to Israel, that judgment is pronounced by Amos, as the spokesman of Yahwē; he aims at no theoretic consistency. These nations are to suffer the same doom as Israel at the hand of Assyria, because they, like Israel, have violated the unwritten law of justice and humanity. [Thus we can divine Amos's true attitude towards the lately written ethico-religious priestly laws (see Exod. 23.1). He is probably acquainted with such laws (28: cp Ex. 22.25f.); but he does not recognise them as of primary authority, for he nowhere appeals to them.] And if by many favours, inclining to the crowning favour of prophecy (2.11), Yahwē has made him especially known to the Israelites, it follows that he will judge Israel more strictly than he will judge the other nations (3.12). As a faithful friend, Amos assures his people that if they would only 'seek' the true Yahwē they would 'live' (5.41)—i.e., would escape captivity and enjoy prosperity in their own land (cp Hos. 6.2f.). He has no hope, however, that they will do so; the false popular religion is too deeply rooted. Indeed, Am. 5 has been so much interfered with by editors that it is doubtful whether 7.14 can be appended to as authorities on such a point; 7.14, at all events, appears to belong to an inserted section (see Nowack).

It is not idolatry that Amos complains of. When he says, ironically, 'Go to Bethel and transgress' (4.4), he means, as he expressly tells us, 'Carry out the prescriptions of your wilfully devised ritual law.' Nor can we venture to say that a protest against the 'golden calves' is implied,⁴ for no prophet is more explicit than Amos in mentioning the sins of his people. The two passages in which a reproof of Israelish idolatry does appear to occur are certainly interpolations. In 8.14, for 'the sin of Samaria' we should read 'the god of Bethel' (cp Gen. 31.13), in parallelism to 'thy god (7.7-8), O Dan,' and 'thy patron (read 7.7 with W. and see 10.6), O Beersheba,' and the whole of 5.6 is a later insertion.

¹ 'Thy God (O Israel)' is put into Amos's mouth by a later editor (4.12); see above, § 12.

² Who these Cushites are, is uncertain (see CUSH. § 2.4). Apparently they had recently experienced some calamity.

³ Here he contrasts with Hosea, who clearly invests the written *torah* which arose in certain priestly circles with primary authority (Hos. 8.12). Perhaps, as Duhm suggests, Hosea was himself a priest.

⁴ So Davidson (*Expositor*, 1887 (1), p. 178). To say that Amos does not protest against the 'golden calves' is of course not to assert that he thinks them worthy symbols of Yahwē. Cp St. G. 1. 599; WRS, *Proph.* 575f.

⁵ The text appears to have been altered by the same editor who inserted the reference to 'the two inquiries' in Hos. 10.10.

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and is not true to the facts of the age of Amos (see above, § 12). What Amos most vehemently denounces is sacrifice. One may perhaps be tempted to suppose that he says more than he means, and that he does not object to sacrifices altogether, but only to the belief that when duly performed they can change the mind of the Deity. His language, however, seems too strong to be thus explained away, especially when we find him appealing in support of his statement to the fact that in the olden time, when Yahwē was so near to Israel, no sacrifices were offered (5.6). Is there, then, no form of worship in which Yahwē delights? None, except the practice of righteousness—i.e., justice and humanity (see 5.21-24). But, alas, the Israelite will not recognise this. Pilgrims who are wholly indifferent to plain moral duties crowd to the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal, and even to the far-off southern shrine of Beersheba (5.8-14, cp Hos. 4.15), and parade their devotion to the different local forms of Yahwē in pious oaths, as if the true Yahwē could be pleased with the offerings or the oaths of such worshippers. How painful will be the awakening from this moral sleep, when the greatest of all realities makes its existence known, annihilating at one blow the sanctuaries of Israel and their worshippers (9.1)! Such was the announcement of the shepherd of Tekoa.

21. Estimate of Amos. Taken in connection with the ideas on which it is based, it seems to justify us in calling him a surprising phenomenon. That the phenomenon can be partly explained there is no doubt. Neither Amos nor his special follower Isaiah is so entirely abnormal a product as an unthinking study of the works of either might suggest (see PROPH. CY). But not the most comprehensive study of the history of Israel will altogether account for their appearance. And if they neither of them saw the whole truth, and both needed the correction of history and of later prophets and sages, we may still pay them the reverence which belongs to those who first uttered great moral and religious truths with the power that belongs to God-possessed men.

See references in art. and cp also We. *Die kleinen Propheten* (for a corrected text), 1862, and his *Hist. of Isr. and Jud.* E.T., 1891, pp. 81-86; WRS *Proph.* Is. 120-143, 304-401; Duhm, art. 'Amos,' *DBS* (with full bibliography); also *Jah. and Amos* (Cambr. Bible), 1867; Duhm, *Die Theol. d. Proph.*, 1875, pp. 109-125; Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgesch.*, 1893, pp. 150-188; W. G. 1. 17; Oort (on the home of Amos, and on the genuineness of 4.13-5.9.9.5.6), *Th. T.*, 1891, pp. 121-126; G. Hoffmann (on the text of Amos), *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 87-126; Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 1-15; G. Amos, *Twelve Prophets* 161-210; Nowack, *K. P.*, 1897 (thorough and judicious).

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22. Special helps. 1. Amos (AMOS [RECI]) is the best supported reading in Mt. 1.10, where, however, King Amos (7.7) is plainly intended; so TR and EV. It is a constant variation in BA.

2. An ancestor of Joseph, Mary's husband (Lk. 3.25 [BA]). On the two lists see GENEALOGIES OF JESUS.

AMOS (אָמֹס, § 57, 'strong'; אַמֹּס [אַמֹּס, אִמֹּס], [A in 2 K. 19.2 20.1 Is. 37.2; AMOS, father of ISAMM, 1 (Is. 1) אַמֹּס [אִמֹּס] = אַמֹּס הָאֵל [N*^{vid.}], 20 [N*^{vid.} om.], 2 Ch. 26.22 [BA om.]].

AMPHIPOLIS (ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΣ [Ti. WH], ΠΟΛΙΣ [N*]), one of the most important positions in northern Greece; it stands on a bend of the river Strymon, between the lower end of lake Cercinias and the head of the Strymonic gulf, thus commanding the pass leading from the east into Macedonia (Liv. 45.30). Consequently it was a station on the *Via Egnatia*, 'the great military road which ran through Macedonia and connected Rome with the Hellespont' (Cic. *De part. cons.* 2 § 4). Paul, therefore, 'passed through' Amphipolis

¹ Hal. thinks that a northern Beersheba (perhaps Beeroth) is intended (*KT* 11.72-77); but if Elijah went on pilgrimage to Horeb, which was not even in Palestine, why should not N. Israelites have gone to a venerated spot in S. Israel? נֶזֶק is precisely the right word to use of a sanctuary across the border (cp 6.2).

AMPLIAS

on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (δοδισσάρες, Acts 17:1).

The site was intimately connected with some of the most interesting passages in Greek history; but it would be a mistake to imagine that the apostle or his companions either knew or cared for these things. It is now Neochori. [Leake, *North*, 60:315 f.] W. J. W.

AMPLIAS, or rather as in RV **Ampliat** (ἀμπλάτιος [L. WH]), sibilant as 'my beloved in the Lord' (Rom. 16:8 f.); not otherwise known.

The name was not infrequently borne by slaves. In the list of the seventy disciples (Pseudo-Dorothius) Amplias is represented as having been bishop of Odessus or Odysseus (on the Black Sea, near the site of the modern Yanna).

AMRAM (עמרם, § 77, 'in good condition' ? or, 'the [divine] kinsman is exalted'; אַמְרָאָם [BL]; A in Ex. Nu. [AF]; B in Nu. [J]).

1. B. Kohath, head of a Levitical subdivision, and father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (Ex. 6:12-20; Nu. 3:19 אַמְרָאָם, [AF]; אַמְרָאָם [L.]; 26:58 f. 1 Ch. 6:2 [5:23]); from him come the **Amramites** (עמרמית, Nu. 3:27, הַאֲמֶרָמִיתִּים [B], אַמְרָאָם עִיס [A], -רָאָם עִיס [F], -רָאָם עִיס [L.]; 1 Ch. 26:22, אַמְרָאָם [A]). See LXXI.

2. One of the line BANA, 2, in list of those with foreign wives (1 Chr. 1:5 end) Ezra 10:34 (אַמְרָאָם [B], אַמְרָאָם [R], אַמְרָאָם [L.], 1 Esd. 9:34 ΟΥΑΜΕΡΕΣ, RV ΙΣΜΑΕΡΕΣ (Ισμερ [B], Ισμ. [A], Αμραμ [L.]). See EZRA, II, § 14 f.

3. 1 Ch. 14:6 (עמרם), RV AMRAM. See HEMDAN.

AMRAPHEL (אַמְרָפֶּל; אַמְרָפֶּל [ADEL]; Jos.

'Αμράφης), king of Shinar (Gen. 11:9 f.) = Hammurabi, king of Babylon, who, according to trustworthy cuneiform data, may have flourished about 2250 B.C. This assumes that אַמְרָפֶּל is corrupted from עמרם (Lindl. Sayce) אַמְרָפֶּל; but see CHEDORI-MOMER (§ 4 f.), and cp Schr. *COT* 2:299 f.; Hommel, *BAG* 109, *ATF* 193; W. *IOF* 143 f.; Bezold, *PSB* 1138 ('88). Earg. Jon. ingeniously, if incorrectly, identifies Amraphel with Nimrod, who 'commanded Abram to be cast into the furnace.' If the identification with Hammurabi be accepted, we may be reminded that Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar delighted to imitate this founder of Babylonian greatness, both in his building plans and in his methods of administration (see BABYLONIA, § 66, and e.g. *Outlines of Early Bab. Hist.* 27-30). It may be that some Jewish favourite at the Babylonian court, who had received a Babylonian education (Sambassar or Sheshbazzar for instance—note the Babylonian name), heard Hammurabi spoken of, and made historical notes from cuneiform tablets on events which had happened 'in the days of Amraphel,' also that one of these was adopted by later writers as the basis of a Midrash on A'ham and Melchizedek. On the other hand, those who identify NIMROD (q.v.) with Nazi-mar-adaš (Nazi-maridatš) may incline to think that the setting of contemporary history may be derived from an early pre-exilic traditional source, though the narrative in its present form is undoubtedly the production of post-exilic writers. The latter view is the more difficult one, but not therefore to be hastily rejected. Cp Lehmann, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorient. Chronologie* (1898) 84, and see ABRAHAM, § 4, CHEDORI-MOMER (§§ 2, 4 end), HAM (i.), MELCHIZEDEK (§ 2), SHAVEH, I. T. K. C.

AMULETS is the RV rendering of *phylacteria*, אֲמֻלִּים, Is. 3:20, a word used elsewhere of any charm (Is. 3:3, נִכְנֹךְ לְהַשִּׁיב, RV 'skilful enchanter'—not 'eloquent orator' or 'skilful of speech' as in AV and AV mg.), or, more specifically, of a charm against serpents (Jer. 8:17 Eccles. 10:11). In Is. 3:20 some sort of female ornament is meant, most probably earrings (so AV), which seem to be treated as idolatrous in Gen. 35:4. Doubtless, as WRS suggests ('Divination and Magic' in *J. Phil.* 11:122 ['85]), the amulet is worn in the ear to prevent an incantation from taking effect. Among early

ANAHARATH

peoples amulets and ornaments are closely connected (cp Wc. *Heid.* (2) 165). When the early significance of the protective power of the object is forgotten it serves as a simple adornment.¹ The Syr. equivalent *khāṣā* is properly 'a holy thing,' and the same idea is seen in the occurrence of the root in the old Yemenite *khāṣā*, 'pearls'; cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 453; and see MAGIC, § 3 (3). cp also RING, § 2.

AMZI (אַמְצִי, § 52, perhaps abbrev. from Amaziakh).

1. In the genealogy of EPHRAIM: 1 Ch. 9:46 (31) (אַמְצִי [B], אַמְצִי [A], אַמְצִי [L.]). See also LXXI.

2. In genealogy of Adadi, 3, the priest (see MACHAN, 3); Neh. 11:12 (אַמְצִי [B], אַמְצִי [L.], אַמְצִי [R]), omitted, however, in the 1 Ch. 9:12.

ANAB (אַנָּב, אַנָּב [AL]), a hill-town of Judah, Josh. 15:50 (אַנָּב [B], אַנָּב [L.]), one of the seats of the Anakim; Josh. 11:21 (אַנָּב [B]). It is doubtless to be connected with HANANAB (אַנָּב), mentioned in *Am. Tab.* 237, 26 with Magdali (see MIGDAL-GAD) and other cities of the land of *Gad* (SW. Judah). There is still a place of the name (*Anab*) on the west side of the Wady el-Khalil, about 14 miles to the SW. of Hebron, and 4 or 5 m. W. from Shuweikah (Rob. *BR* 2:150; so *PE. Mem.* 3:392 f.). See also ANUB.

ANAEI (אַנָּה [BN], אַנָּה, HANANEEL), brother of Tobit and father of ACHACHARUS (Tob. 1:2). See also AMAN.

ANAH (אַנָּה, meaning uncertain, cp Gray, *HPV* 110; אַנָּה [ADEL]), a Horite clan-name (Gen. 36). As the text stands the descent of Anah is represented in three ways. Anah is

1. Daughter of Zibeon (אַנָּה [L.], in ver. 2:14, 'Hivite' in v. 2 being obviously an old error of the text for 'Horite'.

2. Son of Seir and brother of Zibeon, v. 20 (אַנָּה [L.], 1 Ch. 1:38 (אַנָּה [L.]).

3. Son of Zibeon, v. 24 bis (אַנָּה [AD], אַנָּה [L.], אַנָּה [E], אַנָּה [AE]), also 1 Ch. 1:40 f. (אַנָּה [B], אַנָּה [A]; v. 41 אַנָּה, אַנָּה [L.], 25 bis 29).

The first of these may, however, safely be disregarded. 'Daughter of Zibeon' is a variant (based on v. 24) of 'daughter of Anah' (dependent on ver. 20:25), which has intruded into the text (so Di., Kau.). As to (2) and (3), the differences of statement need not surprise us, for the genealogy only symbolises tribal relations. Anah was originally a sub-branch of the clan called Zibeon, and both alike were 'sons of Seir'—i.e., Horites. A twofold tradition, therefore, could easily arise. The 'mules' which, from v. 24 AV, Anah would appear to have 'found in the wilderness' are an invention of the Midrash, some Rabbis explaining אַנָּה (אַנָּה [ADE], אַנָּה [L.]) by *ḥulavos*, others by *ḥulavim* (Ber. rabbai, par. lxxvii.). The 'hot springs' of Vg. and RV are purely conjectural; the word אַנָּה is evidently corrupt. As Ball points out (*SPOT* Gen. crit. notes, 93), it may have come in from v. 22 (אַנָּה). In ver. 2:14 and 18 (where AEL omits), Anah is called the father of Ohobamah, the wife of Esau. See BASHMATI.

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ANAHARATH (אַנָּהָרָת; אַנָּהָרָת, אַנָּהָרָת [ADEL])

[B], אַנָּהָרָת, אַנָּהָרָת [A], אַנָּהָרָת [L.]), a site on the border of ISSACHAR (Josh. 19:19 f.). The reading seems corrupt (note the conflated readings of AEL). Perhaps we should read אַנָּהָרָת and identify with *Arnach*, a village on rising ground in the plain of Esdraelon, a little northward of Jeim (= En-gannim). So Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* and Richman's *HB* (2) (after Knobel).

Knobel's alternative view (adopted from de Sauley by Conder) identifies Anaharath with en-Nā'ūra, which is not far from Ikāl (Chesilloh) and Sū'īm (Shunem), and is therefore not altogether unsuitable, but somewhat remote from every attested form of the ancient name.

¹ For analogies cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLINT.

ANANIAH

ANANIAH (אַנָנְיָהּ), § 23, 'Yahwē has answered'; **ANANIAH** (ע) [BAM.], thus identifying the name with **ANANIAH**.

1. In list of Ezra's supporters (see **EZRA**, ii. § 14 f.; cp. i. § 8) at the reading of the Lev. (Neh. 8.1, 1 Esd. 9.4, **ANANIAS**, 4).
2. Signatory to the covenant; Neh. 10.24 [23] (**AN**); **ANAN** [AR.]. See **EZRA**, i. § 7.

ANAK. See **ANAKIM**.

ANAKIM RV; AV, less correctly, **ANAKIMS** (אַנָקִים); and **אַנָקִים**, in Lagg. generally rendered **גִּבְרִיִּם** 'giants'; **ANAK** [ע] [BAM.], but -N [F* 717 D. 210]; **ANAKIM**.

The **Anakim** are mentioned in **Dn**. 2.10 f. 21 **Josh**. 11.21 f. 11.23 **Jer**. 47.5 (**ANAK**); **Hbk**. reads 'of their valley'; elsewhere called 'sons of Anak' (אַנָקִים, **ANAK** [BAM.]) **Nu**. 13.23 (**ANAK** [BAM.]) **Dn**. 9.28 and **AM** 'sons of the Anak' **Josh**. 15.14a; **Judg**. 1.20; 'sons of the Anakim' **Dn**. 1.28 **וְהָאֲנָקִים** [BAM.] 9.24 (**ANAK**); 'the children (sons) of Anak' (**AN** 'the Anak' **Nu**. 13.23 28 (**ANAK** [BAM.], **ANAK** [AD.], **Josh**. 15.14b. The phrases are exactly parallel to 'Rephaim' and 'children of the Rapha' (see **REPHAIM**); indeed in **Dn**. 2.11 a writer of the Deuteronomistic school, 'interested in history and archaeology' (Kue.), makes the **Anakim** a branch of the **Rephaim**.

These and other descriptive terms (which are not to be mistaken for race-names) are given at any rate to some portions of the pre-Israelitish population of Palestine, whom, like the Amorites, tradition endowed with colossal height (cp. **Nu**. 13.33). On the inhabitants of Palestine generally see **CANAN**.

According to **Josh**. 11.21 (13), the **Anakim** were to be found in the mountains about Hebron, in the fenced cities **Debir** and **Anab**, and, in general, in the mountains of **Judah** and **Israel**, whence **Joshua** and **Israel** drove them out. Verse 22 also states that a remnant of them survived in the Philistine cities of **Gaza**, **Gath**, and **Ashdod** (cp. **Jer**. 17.5 **ע**; **οἱ καταλοιποὶ ἐνακείμ** [BAM.]), where **MT** has 'the remnant of their valley'. The oldest narrator, however, gives the credit of their expulsion to **Caleb**, who drove out from **Kirjath-arba** the three sons of **Anak**: **Sheshai**, **Ahimai**, and **Tahmai**—i.e., the three tribes or clans which bore those names (**Josh**. 15.14). The editor of **Judg**. 1, quoting this passage, refers the deed to the tribe of **Judah** (v. 10); see **HEBRON**. In later times, a too literal interpretation of 'sons,' and genealogical interest, led to the transformation of **Anak**, and what is still stranger—of **Arba** ('four') in the place-name **Kirjath-arba**, into personal names. Thus **Anak** (virtually a personal name where it has the article) becomes father of **SHESHAI**, **AHIMAN** (1), and **TALMAI** (1), an 'son of **Kirjath-arba**'; cp. **Josh**. 21.11 (**MT** **ע** 7), 15.14 f. **Judg**. 1.10 (**ANAK** [A]).

The proof of this is supplied by **ANAK**, which in **Josh**. 15.13 21.11 instead of 'father of **Anak**' has **μητρόπολιν** (**ANAK**). This no doubt represents the original text, which stated that **Kirjath-arba**, or **Hebron**, was an important city (a 'mother,' cp. 2 S. 20.19) of the **Anakim**. A later scribe, prepared to find a genealogical notice and therefore surprised to find the word 'mother' in apposition to **Arba**, altered 'mother' (**ANAK**) into 'father' (**ANAK**). Thus he obtained the statement that **Hebron** was the city of one **Arba**, who was the father of 'the **Anak**.' In **Josh**. 11.15, however, he took a different course. The true reading must be that of **ANAK**, which gives (nearly as in the parallel passages) **πόλις ἀπὸ** (1.), **ἀπὸ** [A], **ἀργος** [B], **μητρόπολις** τῶν **ἐνακείμ** αὐτῇ. For this the scribe substituted 'the city of **Arba**, the greatest man among the **Anakim**.' The consequence was that **Sheshai**, **Ahimai**, and **Talmi** (the three **Anakim** mentioned in **Josh**. 15.14) became, literally, 'sons of (the) **Anak**,' and grandsons of **Arba**—no contemptible acquisition for genealogists. So virtually **Schlensker** (Thes. s.v. **μητρόπολις**); but see especially **Moore**, *Judges* 24 f. Cp. also **Swally**, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 139 ff.

ANAMIM (אַנָמִים), one of the peoples of **Mizraim**, **Gen**. 10.13=1 Ch. 1.11 f.; unidentified. See **GEOGRAPHY**, § 15 (2).

ANAMMELECH (אַנָמְמֶלֶךְ), **ANAMMELECH** [B], **ANAM** [A]; om. L.; **אַנָמְמֶלֶךְ**; **Anammelech**, a Babylonian

1. **Anak**, 'long-necked' (St. and most), or 'those with neck-laces' (Klo.), with which cp. Heb. **אַנָקִים**, 'a chain for the neck,' **Aram**. **אַנָקִים**, 'neck.'

ANANIAS

deity, whose worship was carried by the Sepharvites into **Samaria** when, along with the inhabitants of other Babylonian cities, they were transplanted thither by **Sargon**. As in the case of the kindred deity **Adrammelech** (see, however, **ADRAMMELECH**, 1), the worship of **Anammelech** was accompanied by the rite of human sacrifice (2 K. 17.31). The name **Anammelech** is probably to be explained as **Anam-malk** 'Ami the decider or prince' (Schr., **Del.**), although there is no evidence that **Ami** enjoyed any special veneration in **Sippura** (see **SEPHARVIM**), a city that was especially devoted to the worship of **Samas** the **Sim-god**.

It is very possible, however, that the text is corrupt (**Hommel** proposes a rather elaborate restoration **ANAMMELECH**). It is also possible (see **NISROCH**) that **Anammelech** is merely a faulty variant of **Adrammelech** (rather **Adarmelech**). **AN** in 2 K. 17.31 has only **adrammelech**.

Anu was the god of **Heaven**, and with **hi** were identified a number of gods representing personifications of powers or localities of the upper region, such as **Uraš**, **Anšargal**, **Anšar**, **Enšar**, **Du'ur**, **Luhma**, **Ekur**, **Alala**, **Alu-alam**, and **Emurula**. He stood at the head of the Babylonian pantheon, forming one of the supreme triad of Babylonian divinities, in which he was associated with **Bel**, the god of **Earth** and of created things, and **Ea**, the god of the **Abyss** and all that is beneath the earth. See **BABYLONIA**, § 26. According to **G. Hoffmann** (*Z. f.*, 1866, p. 258), however, the name is **אַנָתֶם**—i.e., **Anath-malk**. Cp. **Astar[ti]-Kemosh** and **Mel[ki]-Astar**. **Anath** (**Ana**) was the consort of **Ami** (see **ANATH**).
L. W. K.

ANAN (אַנָן), § 50; shortened from **ANANIAH**.

1. Signatory to the covenant (see **EZRA**, i. § 7); **Neh**. 10.26 [27] (**ANAN** [B]), **ANAN** [A], **ANAN** [A].

2. **Anan** (**ANAN** [BAM.]) in 1 Esd. 5.30—**HANAN**, 3 (**ANAN**) **Ezra** 2.46.

ANANI (אַנָנִי), § 50, abstr. from **ANANIAH**, cp. **Sab**. **ANANI** and **Palm**. **ANANI** [B], **ANANI** [A], **ANANI** [A], descendant of **Ziherabai** (1 Ch. 3.24).

ANANIAH (אַנָנְיָהּ), **ANAN** A om., **ANANIAH** [S' aug. inf.], **ANIA** [L.] in **Benjamin**, mentioned (v. 32 f.) in the list of villages, **Neh**. 11.20-26 (see **EZRA**, 2. § 56, § 15 (1)), along with **Nub** and **Ramah** (**Neh**. 11.21), and possibly represented by the modern **Beit-Hanina**, 3½ m. NNW. of **Jerusalem**.

ANANIAH (אַנָנְיָהּ), §§ 33, 50; **ANANIAH** [BAM.], ancestor of one of **Nehemiah's** builders (**Neh**. 3.23).

ANANIAS (ANANIAS [BAM.]), the Gk. form of **HANANIAH** or **ANANIAH**.

1. RV **ANANIAS**, **ANANIAS**, a family in the great post-exilic list (see **EZRA**, ii. § 5), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5.16 (**ANANIAS** [B], **ANANIAS** [A], om. L.). The name has probably arisen from a misreading of **Hodiah** (הוּדְיָהּ read הוּדְיָהּ); cp. **Neh**. 10.17 f., and see **HODIAH**, 2. Cp. also **Meyer**, *F*, 143, 155.

2. 1 Esd. 9.21 = **Ezra** 10.20 **HANANIAS**, 3.

3. 1 Esd. 9.29 = **Ezra** 10.28 **HANANIAH**, 7.

4. 1 Esd. 9.43 = **Neh**. 8.4 **ANANIAH**, 1.

5. 1 Esd. 9.43 (**ANANIAS** [B]) **Neh**. 8.7 **HANANIAS**, 4.

6. A kinsman of **Tolai**. The unchanged **Raphael**, while in disguise, claimed to be his son (**Tob**. 3.12). He is designated **Ananias** 'the great,' son of **Semeus** or **Semelius** (see **SEMAIAH**, 23), also called 'the great.'

7. b. **Gideon**, ancestor of **Judith** (**Judith** 8.1, om. B).

8. In **Song of Three Children**, v. 66 (**Θ** **Theod**. **Dan**. 3.88); see **HANANIAH**, 1.

9. Son of **Nedelaios** (**Ant**. xx.52, **Νεδεδαιός** in some MSS [AE] **Νεδεδαιός**; cp. **NEDABAIH**), high priest, circa 47-59 A.D., under **Herod Agrippa II.**, king of **Chalcis**. He is mentioned in **Acts** 23.2 ff. 24.1 as the high priest before whom **Paul** was accused during the procuratorship of **Felix**. He flourished in the degenerate days of the priesthood, and, though **Josephus** says (**Ant**. xx.92) that after his retirement he 'increased in glory every day,' allusion is made to him in the **Talmud** (**Pesahim**) in terms of the greatest contempt. Cp. **ANANAS** (end).

1. In which case cp. **Anu** (Muss-Arn. *Ass. Dict.* 65).

ANANIEL

10. Husband of SAPHIRA (q.v.), Acts 5:1. See COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3.

11. A 'disciple' at Damascus, who was the means of introducing Paul, after his conversion, to the Christian community there (Acts 9:1-19).

ANANIEL (אַנַנְיָהּ [BNA]; Heb. [ed. Neubauer] אֲנַנְיָהּ, Hananeel, Tobit's grandfather (Tob. 1:1).

ANATH (אַנַּח; אֲנַח [BAL]), a divine name, mentioned in connection with Shamgar in Judg. 3:31 (ΔΕΙΝΑΥ [B]) and 5:6f (ΚΕΝΑΘ [A]). If SHAMGAR (q.v.) were an Israelite, and b. Anath ('son of Anath') his second name, it would be tempting to take 'Anath' in 'ben Anath' as shortened from Ebed Anath 'servant of Anath' (so Baethgen, *Beitr.* 141; but see Noldeke, *ZDMG* 42:479 [88]). More probably, however, Ben-nath is a Hebraised form of the name of a foreign oppressor who succeeded Shamgar (certainly a foreign name), and in this case Anath must designate a foreign deity.

Who then was this deity? Evidently the well-known goddess worshipped in very early times in Syria and Palestine (as appears, e.g., from the names mentioned below), and adopted, as the growing evidence of early Babylonian influence on Palestine scarcely permits us to doubt, from the Babylonian pantheon. Anath was in fact the daughter of the primitive god Anu, whose name is mentioned as that of a Syrian deity in 2 K. 17:31 (see ANAMMELECH, SEPHARVIM). Of her character as a war-deity there can be no doubt. In ancient Egypt, where her cultus was introduced from Syria, she was frequently coupled with the terrible war-goddess Astart, and on an Egyptian stele in the British Museum she appears with a helmet on the head, with a shield and a javelin in the right hand, and brandishing a battle-axe in the left. She was, therefore, a fit patron-deity for Shamgar or for Sisera. That the fragmentary Israelitish traditions make no direct reference to her cultus need not be matter for surprise. The names ANATHOTH, BETH-ANATH, BETH-ANATH, compensate us for this omission. Wellhausen thinks that we have also one mention of Anath in Hos. 14:2[9], where he renders an emended text 'I am his Anath and his Asherah' (in clause 2)—surely an improbable view. For a less difficult correction see Che. *Exp. Times*, April 1898.

For Archaeology see Jensen, *Kosmos*, 103 272 f.; E. Meyer, *ZDMG*, 31:717 [77]; Fiedt, *Gesch. von den Göttern in die oudheid*, etc. (93); WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 313. T. K. C.

ANATHMA. See BAN, § 3.

ANATHO (אַנַּחְוֹ; אֲנַחְוֹ [BAL]), a town of Benjamin (cp below, 2), theoretically included by later writers among the so-called Levitical cities (see LEVITES), Josh. 21:18 P; 1 Ch. 6:60[45] (אַנְחֹוֹ [B]). -וֹ and אֲנַחְוֹ [A], אֲנַחְוֹ [L], Neh. 7:27 נַחְוֹ [A; om. B]).

The form of the ethnic varies in edd. and versions² (cp also ANATHOTH). AMEZER, 2, is called אֲנַחְוֹ, 28:23-27, AV the ANETHOTHITE (אַנְחֹוֹתִים [B], אֲנַחְוֹ, [A], -וֹתִים [L]), אֲנַחְוֹ, 1 Ch. 27:12 (AV, ANETHOTHITE, אֲנַחְוֹתִים [BAL]), and finally אֲנַחְוֹ, 1 Ch. 11:23 (AV, ANETHOTHITE, אֲנַחְוֹתִים [BAL], -וֹתִים [L]). The last-mentioned form is used to designate JERU, 5, in 1 Ch. 12:4 (אֲנַחְוֹתִים [BAL], -וֹתִים [L]; 4, אֲנַחְוֹתִים [L] not in Heb. or S⁷V). RV in each case ANATHOTHITE.

The name appears to be the plural of ANATH, and may refer to some images of this goddess which once stood there. Under the form Anath the place seems to be once referred to in the Talmud (*Yoma* 10a), where its building is assigned to Ahiman the Anakite. Tradition said that Abiathar, the priest in David's time, had 'fields' at Anathoth (1 K. 2:26); and

¹ Reading in Jude 56, 'In the days of Shamgar and Ben Anath.' The notice in 3:17, which is much later than the song (see Moore) is, of course, valueless.

² Bā. and Ginsb., however, read everywhere אֲנַחְוֹ (cp the former's note on 1 Ch. 11:23). Exceptionally in Sam. *lc.* Ginsb. אֲנַחְוֹ.

ANDRONICUS

Jeremiah was born of a priestly family which had property there (Jer. 1:1 29:27 32:7-9, ἀναθωθ [A⁷, 7] 37:12). It is once referred to by Isaiah (Isa. 10:3), and is mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9), Ezra 2:23 = Neh. 7:21 = 1 Esd. 5:18 (ἀναθωθ [B]).

The connection of Anathoth with Jeremiah gives a special interest to its identification. A tradition, not older than the 15th century, fixes it at Kariet el-Enab (Robinson's Kirjath-jearim); but, as Robinson has shown, it can only be the village now called 'Anata', which is situated N.E. of Jerusalem, just at the distance required by the *Onomasticon*, and by the reference in Isa. 10:30. 'Anata is well placed, but only from a strategical point of view. Eastward and south-eastward its inhabitants look down on the Dead Sea and the Lower Jordan—striking elements in a landscape, no doubt, but depressing. Jerusalem is quickly accessible by the Wady Sulam and Seopus, but is not within sight. Here the saddest of the prophets presumably spent his earlier years.

2. b. BECHER (q.v.) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. a), 1 Ch. 7:8 (ἀναθωθ [BAL]).

3. Signatory to the covenant (Neh. 10:29[28]). See EZRA, i. § 7. T. K. C.

ANCHOR (ἀγκυρα), Acts 27:29. See SHIP.

ANDREW (ἀνδρεῖος [Ti. W1]) 'manly', one of Christ's twelve disciples. Like Philip, he bore a Greek name; but so did many Jews of his time, and in Dio Cassius (68:32) we meet with another instance of a few called Andrew.

Besides the account of his call (see PETER), and his inclusion in the lists of the apostles (see APOSTLE, § 1), nothing is said of Andrew in the Synoptics, except that, in Mk. 13:3, he appears as one of the inner circle within the twelve, for he is one of the four who question Christ 'privately' about the impending ruin of the temple.

In the Fourth Gospel the picture is more fully drawn, and in one respect completes and explains the account of Andrew's call given in the Synoptics. We read that he belonged originally to Bethsaida (Jn. 1:41), that he was a disciple of the Baptist and heard his witness to Christ, that he and a companion (no doubt John) asked the wandering teacher where he dwelt, and went with him to his temporary home. Then, having 'found the Messiah,' Andrew made his brother, Simon Peter, a sharer in his joy.

We next meet with Andrew, on the E. of the lake of Galilee, at the miraculous feeding of the multitude, on which occasion it is he that tells our Lord (6:9 f.) of the lad in the crowd who has 'five barley loaves and two fishes.' Once more, when the end is near, he shows in a memorable scene his special intimacy with the Master. When Greeks approach Philip with the 'desire to see Jesus,' it is to Andrew first that Philip communicates the request which they together lay before Christ (Jn. 12:22).

The rest of the NT, apart from the list of the disciples in Acts 1:13, is absolutely silent about Andrew. Such other tradition as we have is worthless.

Eusebius (*HE* iii.) speaks of him as preaching in Scythia, and we have in Andrew's 'Acts' the story of his martyrdom, at Patrae in Achaia, on a cross shaped like the letter X. 'Acts of Andrew the Apostle' were in circulation among the Gnostics of the second century, but survived only in various Catholic recensions of much later date. Harnack enumerates (1) *Acta Andreae et Mathiae* (and their mission to the Amphipolitani) in Greek (edited by Tisch. *Act. Apost. Apostol.*), Syriac (edited by Wright, *Apoc. Acts of the Apostles*), Ethiopic, and Coptic (fragmentary). The Latin version survives only in its influence on the Anglo-Saxon *Andrew andoline* by Cynewulf, and in the *Miranda B. Andrew* by Gregory of Tours; see Lips, *Apoc. Act. gesech.* 1343 ff., pp. 27. (2) *Acta Petri et Andreae*, in Greek (fragments edited by Tisch.) as well as in an Ethiopic recension and a Slavonic translation (cp Lips, 1553 f.). (3) *Martyrium Andreae* in various Greek recensions (one edited by Tisch.) and in Latin (Harnack, *Althrist. Lit.* 1127 f., cp Lips, 1564 ff.). A 'gospel of Andrew' is mentioned in the *Decription Gelastii*.

ANDRONICUS (ἀνδρονίκος [VA; ἀνδρονίον] 2 Macc. 4:38 A⁷). 1. The Deputy of Antiochus Epiphanes

ANEM

in Antioch, who (according to 2 Macc. 4:31 ff.), at the instigation of Menelaus, put to death the deposed high priest Onias—a deed for which he was himself slain with ignominy on the return of the king. See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

2. Deputy of Antiochus at Gerizim (2 Macc. 5:23). See MACCABEES, SECOND, § 3, end.

3. Andronicus and Junias are named in Rom. 16:7 as kinsmen and fellow-prisoners of Paul, as of note among the apostles, and as having been 'in Christ' before him. The expression 'kinsmen,' if taken literally, seems to imply that they were Jews by birth; 'fellow-prisoners,' on the hypothesis that Rom. 16:3-20 belongs really to an Ephesian Epistle, has been conjectured by Weizsäcker to allude to an imprisonment which they shared with Paul in Ephesus, most likely in connection with the great 'affliction' (2 Cor. 1:8-11), which ultimately led to his leaving that city (Acts 19:23-20:1); on the application of the term 'apostle' to them see APOSTLES, § 3. The name Andronicus was not uncommon among Greek slaves; and it has been conjectured that this Andronicus may have been the Jewish freedman of a Greek master.

In the lists of 'the seventy disciples' which we owe to the Pseudo-Dorotheus and the Pseudo-Hippolytus Andronicus is spoken of as bishop of 'Panonia,' or of 'Spain.' In the fragments of the Gnostic *apocrypha* Iwānaw, he and his wife Drusiana figure prominently as hosts of the apostle John at Ephesus, and he is represented as having been made by that apostle *prophētēs*, or president, of the church of Smyrna. In the Greek church Andronicus is commemorated, along with Crescens, Silas, and Epaphroditus, on 30th July. See Lipsius, *Apokryph. Ap. gesch.* (Index, p. 134).

ANEM (אָנֶם), 1 Ch. 6:73[58] = Josh. 19:21 EN-GANNIM (גַּן עֵינַן).

ANER (אָנֶר), 1. (Sam. עֵינַן; אָנֶם [ADEL]; Jos. ΕΝΝΗΡΟΣ, a Hebronite) Gen. 14:13-24. Perhaps a local name; cp *Nir*, a hill near Hebron (ZIMM 12:470[58]). The correctness of the name Anēr, however, is doubtful. The *אָנֶם* of G points to עֵינַן, Enan (i.e., place of a spring), a name which may refer to one of the six springs near Hebron—e.g., the deep spring of Sarah called 'Ein Tefidich' (Baed. (2) 137), at the E. foot of the hill on which ancient Hebron lay.

2. (אָנֶם [11], אָנֶם [A], אָנֶם [11]) a city in Western Manasseh (1 Ch. 6:70[55])—perhaps a corruption of TAANACH (תַּעֲנַךְ); cp Josh. 21:25. T. K. C.

ANETHOTHITE, ANETOTHITE. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANGEL. The English word 'angel' is a transcription of ἄγγελος, G's translation of Heb. *mal'akh*.

1. **Names.** (מַלְאָכִים). The English word denotes primarily superhuman beings; but both the Hebrew and the Greek terms are quite general, and, signifying simply *messenger*, are used indifferently of human or superhuman beings.¹ Other terms, less ambiguous in this particular respect, also occur.

These are: 'gods' (אֱלֹהִים), cp Ps. 85[6], and see AV, RV mg. *ib.* 82:16 97:7 138:1, 'sons of [the] god[s]' (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים), cp Gen. 6:24 Job 1:6 2:1 38:7, or אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי, Ps. 29:1 80:6[7], EV text, 'sons of [the] mighty,' 'mighty ones' (אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי, Ps. 78:25, cp *ib.* 103:20, 107:13), 'holy ones' (קְדוֹשִׁים), Dan. 4:14[17], 'host of heaven' (צְבָאוֹת שָׁמַיִם), 1 K. 22:19 Dt. 17:1, 'host of the height' (צְבָאוֹת שָׁמַיִם), 1 S. 21:10, or 'host of Yahwē' (צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה), Josh. 5:14, cp use of צְבָאוֹת in Ps. 103:21 148:2 Neh. 9:6, and 'God's camp,' אֶמְקֵי אֱלֹהִים, Gen. 32:2[3]. In the case of Ps. 68:17[18] (אֶמְקֵי שָׁמַיִם) we owe the AV rendering 'thousands of angels' to old Heb. tradition (Ezra, Saul, and Abiath), which treated the difficult שָׁמַיִם as a synonym of צְבָאוֹת (cp Del., *ad loc.*). RV 'thousands upon thousands' is equally hazardous; cp Dan. 7:10.

In the NT also we find other terms in use: 'spirits' (πνεύματα, Heb. 1:14), 'principalities' (ἀρχαί, Rom. 8:38), 'powers' (δυνάμεις

¹ Karpe (Journ. As. ser. ix, 9:125) reads מַלְאָכִים, a derivative of מַלְאָכִים, as if 'the walker'—the messenger, or Yahwē marching (1 S. 6:1, *SBOT*) as opposed to Yahwē mounted on the cherub (Ps. 18:10 [11]).

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ib., ἰδούσας, Eph. 6:12), 'thrones' (θρόνοι, Col. 1:16), and 'dominions' (κυριότητες, *ib.*), cp further Cremer, *Lex. NT* 3:20 ff. 237, and the Heb. and NT Lexicons, s.vv.

The earliest OT writings contain no definite or systematic angelology, but indicate a prevalent belief in other superhuman beings besides

2. **Pre-exilic.** Yahwe. These were (1) the 'other gods' or 'gods of the nations,' who were credited with real existence and activity; cp, e.g., Nu. 21:29 Judg. 11:24 and v. Bandissin, *Stud.* 155-79. (2) Closely connected with these were the 'sons of God'—i.e., members of the divine guild. There is but one pre-exilic reference to these (Gen. 6:24), whence it appears that they were not subject to Yahwe, but might break through the natural order of his world with impunity. (3) Attendants on Yahwe—in 1 S. 6 some of these attendants are termed Seraphim (see SERAPHIM), but others distinct from these seem to be implied; cp 7:8. In a similar scene (1 K. 22:19-22), those who attend Yahwe and form his council are termed collectively 'the host of heaven.' Such divine councils are also implied in Gen. 3:22 11:7 (both J); cp the plurals in these passages with that in 1 S. 63, and the question in 1 K. 22:20. In another passage (Jos. 5:14 ff.) the pre-exilic origin of which, however, has been questioned (Kue. *Heb.* 248 ET)—the host of Yahwe appears as disciplined and under a captain. According to some, the 'hosts' in the phrase 'Yahwē (God of) hosts'—a phrase current in early times—were angels (Che. *Proph. Is.* 1:11 ff.; see further NAMES, § 123). The original text of Deut. 33:2 ff. contained no reference to angels (see Dillm. *Comm.*; cp also Driver). Another element in early Hebrew folklore worthy of notice in the present connection is the belief in the horsemen of the air (2 K. 2:12 6:17). For a parallel in modern Bedouin folklore cp Doughty, *Des. De. I* 449. 'The meluka are seen in the air like horsemen, tilting to and fro.' Angelic horsemen play a considerable part in later literature—e.g., in Zech. 1 Apoc.

The most noteworthy features, then, of the pre-exilic angelology are the following:—(1) except in Gen. 28:32, these beings are never termed 'angels.' 'Angel' occurs frequently in the singular, but only in the phrase 'angel of Yahwē' (more rarely, 'of God'), which denotes, not a messenger of, and distinct from, Yahwe, but a manifestation of Yahwē himself in human form (see THEOPHANTASIES, § 4). Koster treats even Gen. 28:10-12 32:1[2] 18:1 f. 19:1 f. as statements of the manifestation of the one God in many forms (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 426 f., 2nd ed. 445 f.), and concludes that, before the Exile, מַלְאָכִים was used exclusively of appearances of Yahwe. Against this, Schultz's reference (*OT Theol.* 2:219) to 1 S. 29:9 2 S. 14:17 19:27[28] is not quite conclusive. (2) These attendants on Yahwe are not also messengers to men. Even if the angels of Gen. 28:32 be distinct from God, they bring no message. For such a function there was no need so long as Yahwē himself appeared to men. (3) Beside these subordinate divine beings that attend Yahwē, but have no relations with men, there are other beings ('other gods,' 'sons of the gods') which are not subject to Yahwē, and do enter into relations with men.

Comparatively few as are the early references to angels or kindred beliefs (cp DEMONS, § 1), they are

3. **Later.** yet such as to justify us in attributing a comparatively rich folklore on these matters to the early Hebrews; but it is not until the exilic and post-exilic periods that angels come into prominence theologically. They do so then in consequence of the maturing belief, on the one hand, in the transcendence of Yahwē, on the other, in his supremacy. The development of angelology at this time must also have been favoured by the contact of the Jews with the Persians; and some details of the later doctrine may be due to the same influence—e.g., the naming of angels, although the great majority of the names themselves (as in

Enoch 4.69) are quite clearly Hebraic, though of a late type (cp *HPA*, p. 210).

With the growing sense of Yahwē's transcendence, belief in his self-manifestation in human form ceased; and thus the phrase 'angel of Yahwē,' set free from its old meaning, now came to denote one of the beings intermediate between Yahwē and men. At first it was apparently the title of a particular angel (Zech. 1.11 f.), but subsequently it became a quite general term (note the pl. Ps. 103.20, cp 34.7 f. and N1 *passim*). It is now by angels, and no longer directly, that Yahwē communicates with men—even prophets. The experience of Ezekiel marks the transition—Yahwē speaks to him, sometimes directly (11.2), sometimes through another (40.1). With Zechariah the change is complete. He never sees Yahwē; he receives all divine instructions through angels (contrast Am. 7 f.). Daniel receives the explanation of his visions in the same way; and in NT, warnings or other communications of the divine will are given by angels (Mt. 1.20-21, Lk. 1.19, Acts 10.1-6). The angels thus become the intermediaries of Yahwē's revelation; but they are also the instruments of his aid (Ps. 91.11; Dan. 3.28, and frequently; cp later, 2 Macc. 11.6-3 Macc. 6.18, Susan. 42 ff. [in LXX, but not in Theod.], Bel and Drag. 34-39; cp Acts 8.26-30 f. Tobit, *passim*, Acts 12.7 ff., and especially Heb. 1.14), or punishment (Ps. 136.35-36 f. Enoch 53.1-62.11-63.1 Apoc. Bar. 21.23 Rev. 6 f., also in 6 Job 20.15-31.23 40.11 [v. 6 in Heb. and EV] and see further below, § 5). Especially prominent in the apocalyptic literature is the cognate belief in the intercession of angels with God, in behalf of the righteous, or against the unrighteous: see, e.g., Enoch 9.10-15.2 106 (where the function is specially referred to Gabriel, 40.6; yet cp also Tob. 12.12-15 where Raphael intercedes) 99.116-101.1 Rev. 8.3 f. Cp also in OT, Zech. 1.12 Job 5.1-33.23 Eccles. 5.6-7, and perhaps in NT, Mt. 18.10, unless this be a case of angelic guardianship.

In other respects also, the later angelology shows the influence of the growing sense of Yahwē's transcendence; the angels, exalted far above men by the functions just mentioned, are themselves adored before God (Job 1.6).

4. Supremacy of Yahwē.

The awful exaltation of even angels above men, is prominent in Daniel (Dan. 8.16-8 10.16 f.). The countless number of the angels is emphasised (Job 33.23, Dan. 7.10, and later, Enoch 10.1-71.8 Mt. 26.53 Heb. 12.22 Apoc. Bar. 48.10-51.11-59.11), and they are divided into ranks. Even in Zech. the angel of Yahwē is a 'kind of grand vizier receiving the report of (less exalted) angels' (Smead). This conception of ranks becomes, later, more detailed¹ (see Dan. 10.13-12.1 Tob. 12.15, and Enoch—e.g., chap. 40), and creates in Gk. the term ἀρχάγγελος (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 67; 1 Thes. 4.16 Jude 9); it may be traced farther, in NT, in the

references to the 'seven spirits of God' (Rev. 1.4 cp 8.2), and to Michael (Jude 9 Rev. 12.7) and Gabriel (Lk. 1.19); probably also in the use of several terms together, in certain passages (e.g., thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, Col. 1.16), and perhaps in the term 'elect angels' (1 Tim. 5.21).

The doctrine of Yahwē's supremacy involved either an absolute denial of the existence of other superhuman beings or their subordination to him. To the latter method of accommodation post-exilic angelology owes some striking features. Thus, the patron angels of nations (clearly referred to in Dan. 10.1-20 12.1, probably also in Is. 21.1 ff. Joel 3[1] 11 Ps. 82.58-10; see Charles, *Book of Psalms* 229 ff. and *comm.*) are merely the ancient 'gods of the nations'—for which, in this connection, cp especially Dt. 1.9 29.25 f. 33.8 6.—transformed to suit the new doctrine. Again, the 'sons of the Elohim'—formerly independent of Yahwē, whose laws they broke with impunity—now become identified with the angels (cp Ps. 29.1 with 103.20, and 6's translation of Gen. 6.2 [not L.] Job 1.6 etc., cp also Lk. 20.36); as such they constitute his council and do his bidding (Job 1.6 2.1; cp Zech. 1.11 f.). Similarly, the host of heaven, which in the later years of the monarchy had been favourite objects of worship (cp, e.g., Zeph. 1.5 Jer. 8.2 Dt. 1.19), and therefore rivals of Yahwē, now again become subject to him and do him homage (Neh. 9.6); he is as supreme over them as over men (Is. 45.12, cp 40.26); he is equally supreme over all gods (e.g., cp Ps. 96.4).

On the other hand, the difficulty with which Yahwē's claim to universal worship against all others was

established is also reflected in the new angelology. Yahwē's supremacy over the 'gods,' or the 'host of heaven,' was won and maintained only by force (Job 25.2 cp 21.22 Is. 21.21 34.45; cp 27.1—for the passages in Job see Davidson's, for those in Isaiah, Cheyne's *Comm.*). This incomplete assimilation of the 'other gods' etc. to beings wholly subservient to Yahwē, combined with a growing dislike to attribute evil or disorder directly to him, led to the differentiation of angels as beneficent or maleficent (see DEMONS, § 5. SATAN, § 3); but the OT nowhere lays stress on the moral character of angels, or knows anything of their 'fall.' Consequently, angels were divided not into good and bad, but into those who worked wholly, and those who worked only partly, in obedience to God. This latter division still seems to hold its own in NT alongside of the former; and, for this reason, in passages such as Rom. 8.38-1 Cor. 15.24 f., the question 'Are the angels referred to good or bad?' is probably out of place (cp Everling).

For several centuries after the Exile the belief in angels did not gain equal prevalence in all circles: thus

P never mentions them (on Gen. 1.26-21 see Dillm. 1); the Priestly Chronicler does so but rarely—save when quoting directly from his sources—and Esther, Ecclesiastians, Wisdom, and Maccabees, are marked more by the absence than by the presence of such references; 'Angel' does not occur in the Hebrew of Eccles. 48.21. Still later the differences become conspicuous; the Sadducees were credited with complete scepticism (Acts 23.8); the

ESSENES (7.1, § 3) attached an exaggerated importance to the doctrine; the popular Pharisaic party and all the NT writers share, in general, the popular beliefs. Yet in John angels are alluded to only in 20.12-13 (a passage based on an OT narrative), 12.29 (a saying of the populace), and the intrusive verse 5.4; the epistles contain no mention of them (cp the comparative infrequency of references in John to demons (7.7, § 6)).

Several features of NT angelology have been already incidentally discussed; they are common to both Jewish and Christian writings. Scarcely less

influential over the writers of the NT than the OT were the apocalypses

and NT. already extant—especially Enoch. It is in Enoch we

¹ [The influence of non-Jewish upon Jewish beliefs can here scarcely be denied. These are the facts of the case: In Daniel (10.13) we hear of a class of 'chief princes,' two of whom (GABRIEL and MICHAEL, 11) are named (chaps. 10-12; cp also RAPHAEL and URIEL). In Tob. (12.15) the number of the 'holy angels who present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One,' is given as seven (if the text is correct). In Enoch the number of the chief angels varies between three, four, six, and seven (see chaps. 20-40.7 78.1-89.1 90.21-31, and other passages). Manifestly this highest class of angels was suggested by the Zoroastrian Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands ('immortal holy ones'), who (like the counselors of the king of Persia, Ezra 7.14) are seven; and this seems to be confirmed by the reference to the archangels in the Book of Tobit, which also mentions the Zoroastrian name of the chief demon (see ASMODEUS). In referring to this Iranian belief, however, we must not forget the possibility that it is to some extent historically connected with Babylonian spirit lore. The cults of the seven planets is no doubt primeval in Babylonia, and may have spread thence to the Iranian peoples. To explain the belief in the angels solely from Babylonian sources would be plausible only if the Zoroastrian Gāthas, which are pervaded by the belief in the Amshaspands, were not earlier than the time of Philo. For this bold theory see Darmesteter, *Le zandavesta* 3.56 (Cp), etc.; but contrast the same writer's earlier theory in *SRE* (*Zandavesta*, i. Introd.)—T.K.C.]

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first see elaborated a doctrine of the 'fall' of angels. The fall is regarded as the punishment for the intercourse mentioned in Gen. 6:2-4, and for an improper revelation of 'the secret things of the world' (cp in NT Jude 6-2 Pet. 2:4). Through their fall they become inferior to men, who therefore judge them (1 Th. 4:7-15, cp 1 Cor. 11:10-12). Enoch should be especially compared with Revelation.

The influence of the OT may be clearly seen in the NT angelophanies, which seem modelled on those of the early OT narratives, only that now, under the influence of the later development, the angel is quite distinct from God (Acts 10:1 f. is not an exception). These angelophanies abound in the nativity and resurrection narratives, and in Acts (5:9, 8:26-40, 10:1-7, 12:7-17, 27:23), but are conspicuous by their absence from the narratives of the life of Christ—the badly attested passage 1 k. 22:11 being unique, except so far as Mt. 4:11—Mk. 1:13 (contrast 1 k. 14:7) may be considered parallel.

Jesus accepts the popular belief in the existence of angels, but never (even in Mt. 18:10 or 26:53) counter-

8. Jesus.

balances the belief that they influence life in the present—perhaps in the parable of the wheat and the tares (Mt. 13:41-43, 47-49) he directly discommends it. All he says of them has reference to themselves alone, or to their relations to men after life. Thus, at the second coming they will accompany the Son of Man (Mt. 16:27 and parallels; Jn. 1:51), and will then separate the good from the evil (e.g., Mt. 13:41; cp 1 k. 18:22). They do not marry (Mt. 22:30, and parallels); their knowledge is limited (Mt. 21:27—Mk. 13:32); and they rejoice over repentant sinners (1 k. 15:16; cp 1 k. 12:3 f., with which contrast Mt. 10:42 f., and cp earlier, Job. 33:23). In particular, Jesus breaks away from the prevailing tendency to make angels the intermediaries of revelation: he himself becomes the sole revealer (Mt. 11:27, Jn. 1:76; cp 11:6 ff.), he will himself always be with his disciples (Mt. 28:20), and will instruct them directly (1 k. 21:45), or through the Spirit whom he sends (Jn. 15:26, 11:26). Thus this part of the doctrine of angels was doomed to give way to the Christian doctrines of the abiding presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. It still survives, however, in Revelation (1:17, 21:9; cp also in the contemporary Jewish *Apoc. Bar.* 55:3, 'The angel Ramud who presides over true visions'); also in Acts (10:3 ff., 27:23 f.)—yet here alongside of the new belief (10:1-6).

9. Paul.

Paul already shows the influence of the teaching of Jesus—he claims to receive his gospel direct from him (Gal. 1:12 f.; cp Acts 9:6)—but still shares (Gal. 3:19) the common belief (Acts 7:53; Heb. 2:2, Jos. *Ant.* xv. 54; cp 1 k. 33:2) in the past instrumentality of angels in revelation, perhaps also in the present possibility of the same (Gal. 1:8; cp 2:4 f.). With him, too, angels still play a large part in human life; his own practice and practical exhortations are governed by this belief (1 Cor. 4:9, 6:3, 11:6). An emphatic warning, however, is uttered against a practice (which was springing up in some quarters) of worshipping angels (Col. 2:8, cp Rev. 19:6). In the same epistle the creation of angels is asserted (1:6)—a point to which, as might be expected, no reference had been made in OT, where they are once mentioned as being present at the creation of the world, Job. 38:7 (in Jewish literature, cp Job. 2:2 Apoc. Bar. 21:6). The question whether Paul associated angels with cosmic forces turns on the interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Gal. 4:3 Col. 2:8 (see, on the one hand, Lightfoot, *in loc.*, on the other, Everling, as cited below, and cp ELEMENTS). Such an association would, at least, have accorded with the tendency of the time: note the angels of winds, sun, fire, and water, etc. (Rev. 7:1, 19:7, 11:3, 16; cp Heb. 1:7 and Jn. 5:4, and, somewhat earlier, Enoch 60:1 ff., 61:10). The tendency began much earlier; in the OT angels and stars are closely associated (cp Job

ANKLETS

38:7, 1:8, 31:4, and, in general, the double meaning attaching to the phrase 'host of heaven') and the transition from Ps. 104 to a lived belief in elemental angels is easy. See PERSEA.

The literature of the subject is large; all the Old and New Testament Theologies contain discussions, on the OT, Peppering's *Theol. de Caelum et Terris*, 1900 (11, 1904), New York, 9, 3, and Smoos's *11. Keltische*, 1904 are specially helpful. The chief monographs for the OT are by Koster (Die Malach. Yahweh und die Entstehung der Entwicklung der Angelologie under Israel, *Th. f. v.* 367, 1903 [73], 10, 1909, 11-14, 1909); for the Pauline doctrine, by Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie und Demonologie* [1883]). On the vocabulary of the subject see M. Schwab, *Les origines de l'angelologie d'après manuscrits hébreux* (Paris, 1897). The question of foreign influence is discussed by Kohut (*Ueber d. jüd. Angelologie u. Demonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit von Persien*), for further information on this point see Che. *OTs* 282. See further the valuable discussions of Momigliano (*Heb. Lit.*, viii, esp. p. 499 ff.) and Cheyne (*OTs* 322-327, 340-347) and cp Lucken, *Malach* (1903).

ANGLE (Is. 19:8; Hab. 1:15). See HOOK, 3, ENSL, § 3.

ANIAM אֲנִיָּא, surely not 'mourning of the people' (Ges.), but unwritten [see Θ^p] for אֲנִיָּא, see FIAM, differently Gray, *HPV* 44 n. 1, who would omit א, and derive from אֲנִי, אֲנִיָּא (13). **ANIAM** [A], CN [11], in genealogy of MANASSER (1 Ch. 7:19). — L. K.

ANIM אֲנִיָּא, אִימָא [B], **ANEIM** [V], 18 [11], Josh. 15:41, a hill town of Judah, mentioned after Eshtemoa (a name equally distorted in Θ^p). Perhaps the modern el-Ghuwein, which lies to the south of el-Khalil (Hebron) between es-Sem' and Tell 'Arad.

ANISE (ANHOON [T, WH], Mt. 23:31) or DILL (RV mg.) is the plant *Anethum graveolens*.¹ The correct rendering is 'dill',² and the plant is distinct from *Prunella Anisum*, which is the modern 'anise'. The biblical plant is described (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*,³ 327 f.), as 'an erect, glaucous annual plant, with finely striated stems, usually one foot to one foot and a half in height, pinnate leaves with setaceous linear segments, and yellow flowers. It is indigenous to the Mediterranean region, Southern Russia, and the Caucasian provinces, but is found as a corn-field weed in many other countries, and is frequently cultivated in gardens'.⁴

It is mentioned in Mt. 23:31, along with mint and cummin,⁵ as being subjected by the scribes and Pharisees to tithe. This practice accords with the general principle stated at the commencement of the Mishna tracton 'tithes' ('Whatsoever is food, and is private possession, and has its increase out of the earth, is subject to tithe'—a rule based on the precept of Dent. 14:22, 'Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year'), and the liability of dill in particular to tithe is, in the Talmud, specially mentioned (see the references in Celsius, *Herobot*, 1497). — S. M. — W. T. G. D.

ANKLETS and **ANKLE-CHAINS**. These have ever been favourite ornaments among Orientals.⁶ Probably the oldest specimens are some in gold and silver which have been found in Egypt, where they appear to have been worn by men as well as women. The chains obliged the wearers to take short and tripping steps. To enhance the effect, bells were (at

¹ The Syriac and the Arabic versions correctly render by the word *shabbetta, shabbat*, a name for this plant which is probably derived from Persian (see Liow, 373).

² This, though supplanted by 'anise' in all the English versions from Wyclif onwards, is the word used in the A.S. version, 'myntan and dille and cymonyn'.

³ Virgil gives it a place in the flower-garden (*Eccl.* 2:48), and Pliny in the vegetable garden (*IIA* xix. 85). Cp the Greek refl. in Liddell and Scott.

⁴ In the parallel passage in 1 k. (11:42) dill is not mentioned—'mint and rue and every herb (*παν λαχανον*)'.

⁵ Cp *Ar. kalhil*, and 1 k. περιφύριον and περισκελίς, the latter of which is Θ^p 's rendering of the Heb. אֲנִיָּא (in the plur. or dual) 'breeches'.

ANNA

my rate, in later times) attached to the chain—a practice which is attested in terms of disapproval in the Koran (S. 21:1). Ornaments of this nature are referred to in 1 Lk. 11:41.

They are here called **אֲנָנִים** RV 'anklets'; AV 'tinkling ornaments' (**אֲנָנִים**), a word from which comes the denominative verb **אָנַן** (cp. **אָנַן** **אֲנָנִים** 'they make a tinkling with their feet', **אָנַן** **אֲנָנִים**). Similar is **אָנַן** 1s. 3:21, RV 'ankle chains'; AV 'ornaments of the legs', **אָנַן** **אֲנָנִים** 6p. **אָנַן** **אֲנָנִים** (cp. **אָנַן** No. 3, 30, RV as above, AV 'chain', **אָנַן** 'to walk', **אָנַן** is applied also to ornaments worn on the arm; see B. 11:1, 5).

ANNA (**אָנָּה** [ANNA]), the Greek form of the name **חַנָּנִיָּה**.

1. Wife of Eliah (1 Lk. 1:4, 7).
2. Daughter of Phineas, of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2:36). Like Simeon, she represents the class of those who 'waited for the consolation of Israel,' and, like him, she is said to have had the gift of prophecy. Being constantly in the temple, and prepared for the honor by fastings and prayers, she was enabled to meet the child Jesus and his parents, when, like Simeon, she burst into a prophetic song of praise. She is also it would seem a prototype of the 'widows indeed' (see WIDOW) of the early Christian community (1 Tim. 5:9); hence the particularity with which the circumstances of her widowhood are described.

The name Anna or Anne is one common among Christians from the tradition that the mother of the Virgin Mary was so called.

ANNAAS (**אָנָּאָס** [A]), 1 Esd. 5:23, AV = Ezra 2:35 **חַנָּנִיָּה**.

ANNAS (**אָנָּאָס** [A]), 1 Esd. 9:32, RV [Heb. **אָנָּאָס**], **אָנָּאָס** 10:11 **חַנָּנִיָּה**.

ANNAS and CAIAPHAS (**אָנָּאָס וְכַהֵן** [Ti. VII]; **כַּהֵן** **אָנָּאָס** [Ti. VIII]). In 6 A.D. Quirinus, who on the deposition of Archelaus became governor of Syria, followed the custom of the Herodian family and appointed a new high priest. His choice fell on a certain Annas (so in Josephus) or Annas, son of Sethi (Jos. 2:104) who continued to hold the office until the change of government in 15 A.D. After this Annas, who succeeded Quirinus, gave the post in succession to three men, none of whom, however, held it for more than a year. The second of the three was a son of Annas, called Eleazar by Josephus (1 Ant. xviii. 22). At last, in 18 A.D., Valerius found in Joseph, called Caiaphas, one who was strong enough to hold the office till 36 A.D. Then Vitellius (35-39 A.D.) once more, in 36 and 37, appointed, one after the other, two sons of Annas named Jonathan and Theophilus (1 Ant. xviii. 435). Jonathan still held a prominent position in 50-52 (10/ ii. 123), a point of which we have good proof in the fact that Felix cursed him to be assassinated (10/ ii. 134, 135). As in Acts 16, Annas, Caiaphas, Jonathan (so D); the other MSS have Joannes, EV JOHN), and ALEXANDER are assigned high-priestly rank, and the first three can be identified from Josephus, JOSEPHUS being a son, and CAIAPHAS, according to Jn. 18:13, a son-in-law, of Annas, we seem to have good reason for conjecturing Alexander to be the Græcised name of Eleazar the son of Annas.

CAIAPHAS, then, was the acting high priest at the time of the trial of Jesus. His long term of office shows that in his relations with the Romans he must have been obsequious and adroit. Mk. and Lk. do not mention him in their account of the passion; but in Jn. 11:49-18:13, 24:23 and Mt. 26:57, we read that he presided over the proceedings of the Synhedrion; he therefore it was who rent his clothes. According to

1 Cp. **אָנָּאָס** a fetter(?) in Pr. 7:22, the pr. name **אָנָּאָס** (see ACUSUM) and the Ar. **ʾikās**, a chain connecting the head and forehead of a camel—the usual method of hobbling the animal.

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In 1149-52, he became also an involuntary prophet as to what the death of Jesus meant. With regard to his character in general, the accounts accessible to us give no details.

The most important personality in the group would appear to have been old ANNAS. This seems to be sufficiently implied in the fact that four of his sons² and a son-in-law successively held the high-priestly office—whether we assume that Annas expressly wrought for this end, or whether it was simply because those in power sought by this means to win him over to themselves. Only on the assumption that he was, in truth, the real manager of affairs, can we account for it that, according to Jn. 18:13-14, he gave a private hearing in the case of Jesus, as also that Lk. (Lk. 3:2) names him as co-regent with Caiaphas, and (Acts 16) enumerates him in the first place, along with Caiaphas and two of his high-priestly sons, as holding high-priestly rank. Other instances, however, of a similar co-ordination of past high priests are not unknown; for example, in the case of Jonathan, son of Annas (10/ ii. 123), of Annas son of Nedebarus (1 Ant. xv. 124), of ANANIAS, q.v., and of the younger Ananias and Jesus son of Gamaliel, both of whom were high priests for some time during the years 62-65, and had the conduct of affairs in their hands during the first period of the Jewish wars.

The Annas (Ananias) just mentioned, son of Annas, appointed in 62 A.D. by Agrippa II. availed himself of the confusion following on the death of Festus to procure the death of his enemies by tumultuary sentence. Among the victims of his tyranny was, it would seem, James, the brother of the Lord. The passage relating to it in Josephus (20:7), however, may perhaps be a Christian interpolation (see JAMES, § 3, end). In any case, the king himself, even before the arrival of the new procurator, put an end to Annas's reign of terror by deposing him from the high-priesthood after a tenure of three months.

II. v. s.

ANNIS, (**אָנָּאָס** [B]), 1 Esd. 5:16, RV, RVmg. **Annias**, AV **ANANIAS** (q. v., 1).

ANNUUS (**אָנָּאָס** [A], om. BL), 1 Esd. 8:42, a name not in Ezra 8:10, in Ezra's caravan (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 15 (11) d)—supposed by some to be a corruption of 'with him' (**אָנָּאָס**) in Ezra, which may itself be a misreading sign of the accusative (so **אָנָּאָס**).

ANOINTING. In the OT two distinct Hebrew terms, frequently occurring, are translated in EV by 'anoint,' while a third (**אָנָּאָס**) is incorrectly so understood. It stood in Ps. 26 by Tag. and Sym. and also by Ewald (cp. We. *Heid.* 118). (a) **אָנָּאָס** (*anok*) is always (Dt. 28:40 Ruth 3:3 2 S. 12:30 11:2 2 Ch. 28:13 Ezek. 16:9 Dan. 10:4 Mic. 6:15) used of the application of unguents to the human body as a matter of toilet, and hence Ex. 30:32 means that the holy anointing oil shall not be used for ordinary toilet purposes. (b) **אָנָּאָס** (*anashah*) and its derivatives.³ In this case we have to distinguish between the primary physical, and a secondary and metaphorical use. In its physical sense **אָנָּאָס** is used (1) rarely, probably with the retention of the original meaning of the root, of rubbing an unguent or other substance on an object,—e.g., oil on shields (Is. 21:5

1 It has been suggested that the reference to his prophesying may have arisen out of a popular etymology of Caiaphas, cp. Ar. *kaif* 'soothsayer' (*qui movet vestigia et indicia rerum, physionomus*, FRET.) (cp. Nestle, *ZWTh.* 40:149, and see Dalm. *Gram.* 127, n. 4). Blass thinks that Nestle has upset the etymology from **אָנָּאָס** 'stone' and **אָנָּאָס** 'oppression,' by showing that the name in Aramaic is written with **אָנָּאָס**.

2 The fourth, Matthias, was appointed to the office for a short time, between 41 and 44, by Agrippa; perhaps Annas did not live to see this, and certainly he did not survive to see the priesthood held by his fifth son, Ananias II. (in 62 A.D.).

3 On these, as well as on several matters referred to in the course of this article, Weinel's study 'Ananias und seine Derivate' (*ZATW.* 18:1-2 [1882]) should be consulted. Unfortunately, it appeared too late to be used in the preparation of the present article.

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28 Let paint on a ceiling, for 22:4 (here translated in LX by 'painted'), and probably we should interpret the word similarly in the recurring phrase (e.g., in 1:20:2) where an individual is anointed with oil, i.e. of the application of a unguent to persons or things. (See also 1:20:2 for details see below § 3 f.) but clearly not, with the possible exception of Am 6:6, where it is used in the sense of 'anoint'. In its metaphorical sense *ḥšm* is used of the divine appointment or selection of a man for a particular purpose (e.g., for the king, 1:18:10; 1:18:15; 2:8:12; 2:K 9:6; 1:15:1; 1:18:1; 2:Ch 22:1, cp. below, § 3). For the relation of *ḥšm* to the usage under discussion see MRSAT, § 1. 'Anoint' in Ps 92:11 corresponds to Heb. *ḥšm* in Ps 23:5 it corresponds to *ḥšm*, 'anointing' in the possibly corrupt passage 1:10:7 corresponds to *ḥšm* (2:K 2:1) and 'anointed ones' in Zech 14:19 and RV 'sons of oil'; 2:K 2:10 *ḥšm* corresponds to 2:K 2:10.

In NL the LX also confuses two sharply distinguished terms, *ḥšm* which in the LXX, as in classical Greek, may be used in a physical sense, is in the NL used in a metaphorical sense, for we can hardly regard the quotation from Ps 137 in 1:16:1 as an exception. The derivatives *ḥšmā* (1:16:2) and *ḥšmā* are used similarly, but the compounds *ḥšmā* (1:16:3) and *ḥšmā* (1:16:4) retain the original physical sense.

Thus the NL use of *ḥšm* resembles the metaphorical use of *ḥšm*. The other NL term *ḥšmā* is also used of the application of unguents to the body, whether (like the Heb. *ḥšm* which it frequently represents, e.g., Ruth 3:1; Micah 6:1, cp. also 2:K 1:2:30) for toilet purposes (Mt. 6:17 Lk. 7:39; Jn 11:2), or medicinally (Mk 6:13; Jn 5:14), or as a tribute of respect to the dead (Mk 16:1; cp. Jn 12:7).²

From the foregoing analysis of the terms, it will be clear that 'anointing' was practised by the Hebrews both for secular and for sacred purposes. The unguent used was olive oil, with or without the addition of aromatic spices, for details see OLL. Anointing formed among the Hebrews, as among many other peoples (cp. e.g., Pl. *Her.* viii 146), a regular part of a full toilet, being in particular associated with washing (Ruth 3:1; Ezek 16:3; Sus 17); the omission of it was a sign of mourning, the resumption of the practice a sign that mourning was over (2:8:11; Dan 10:1 [cp. Mt. 6:17]; 2:8:12; Judah 10:3; cp. Is. 61:1; Eccl. 9:8); and hence 'to anoint' is a suitable figure for 'to make glad' (1:8:23; cp. 1:17:3). The head and face appear to have been most usually anointed (1:8:10; 1:8:11; Judah 14:1; Mt. 6:17 Lk. 7:39; cp. Ps 23:5; 141:5; Eccles 9:8), and the anointing of the feet to have been a special luxury (Lk 7:39; Jn 12:3). The medicinal use of unguents is referred to not only in Ja. 5:14; Mk 6:13, but also in Is. 16 Lk 10:34. On anointing the dead see FMDALING.

Leaving the significance of anointing as a religious rite to a final section, we will here simply classify the persons or objects which were so anointed; and treat the persons. (a) *The king.* In the OT, especially in the earlier writings, there are numerous references to the anointing of kings (cp. e.g., 1:8:16; 1:8:17; 1:8:18; 1:8:19; 1:8:20; 1:8:21; 1:8:22; 1:8:23; 1:8:24; 1:8:25; 1:8:26; 1:8:27; 1:8:28; 1:8:29; 1:8:30; 1:8:31; 1:8:32; 1:8:33; 1:8:34; 1:8:35; 1:8:36; 1:8:37; 1:8:38; 1:8:39; 1:8:40; 1:8:41; 1:8:42; 1:8:43; 1:8:44; 1:8:45; 1:8:46; 1:8:47; 1:8:48; 1:8:49; 1:8:50; 1:8:51; 1:8:52; 1:8:53; 1:8:54; 1:8:55; 1:8:56; 1:8:57; 1:8:58; 1:8:59; 1:8:60; 1:8:61; 1:8:62; 1:8:63; 1:8:64; 1:8:65; 1:8:66; 1:8:67; 1:8:68; 1:8:69; 1:8:70; 1:8:71; 1:8:72; 1:8:73; 1:8:74; 1:8:75; 1:8:76; 1:8:77; 1:8:78; 1:8:79; 1:8:80; 1:8:81; 1:8:82; 1:8:83; 1:8:84; 1:8:85; 1:8:86; 1:8:87; 1:8:88; 1:8:89; 1:8:90; 1:8:91; 1:8:92; 1:8:93; 1:8:94; 1:8:95; 1:8:96; 1:8:97; 1:8:98; 1:8:99; 1:8:100; 1:8:101; 1:8:102; 1:8:103; 1:8:104; 1:8:105; 1:8:106; 1:8:107; 1:8:108; 1:8:109; 1:8:110; 1:8:111; 1:8:112; 1:8:113; 1:8:114; 1:8:115; 1:8:116; 1:8:117; 1:8:118; 1:8:119; 1:8:120; 1:8:121; 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on a man (or people) for a particular purpose—e.g., on Saul to smite the Amalekites (1 S 15:17), on Jehu to smite the house of Ahab (2 K 9:6 f.), on 'the servant' 'to preach good tidings' (Is 61:1). Thus, after Yahwé has anointed Saul (1 S 10:1), the spirit of Yahwé comes mightily upon him (1:6), cp 1 S. 16:13; and the connection between the outpouring of the spirit and anointing is clear in Is. 61:1 (Lk. 4:18) 2 Cor. 1:21, and especially in Acts 10:18. Similarly, 'the anointing from the holy one' (1 Jn 2:27) is the illumination of the Holy Spirit, which teaches those that receive it concerning all things. Hence, the term 'anointed' could suitably be applied to Israel as a people—e.g., Hab. 3:13; see further *Messiah*, § 3. In Ps 157:89, the whole phrase 'to anoint with oil' is used with God as subject; in these cases either the whole phrase is a metaphor, or *malah* has acquired a quasi-causative sense.

On the relation of the various terms and customs to one another there have been different views, some of which must be briefly referred to. Some (e.g., Kamphausen in the article 'Salbe' in *HWB*²⁶) derive the religious use from the toilet use, seeing in the rite of anointing both the means of setting apart to God some person or thing as clean and sweet-smelling, and also the symbol of such a condition. But (1) it may be questioned whether the sharp distinction of terms relative to the two uses (cp § 1) be not against this view; (2) there is no positive evidence that the Hebrews interpreted the rite in this way, unless we so regard the custom of mixing sweet-smelling substances in the anointing oil—a custom which cannot be traced before P; and (3) the metaphorical use cannot be satisfactorily explained in this way. Reasons have been given in the preceding section for thinking that the religious rite of anointing men was at any rate understood at an early period to symbolise the outpouring of the divine spirit; but it is possible that this symbolism is not original, even in the case of persons. It certainly does not explain the anointing of things—particularly the pillar at Bethel. This custom Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* 26 233, 370 ff., especially 313 ff., cp *SACRIFICE*) seeks to explain as a sacrifice, the oil being a substitute for the animal fat which was smeared (smeared, it is to be remembered, being the original sense of *malah*) by the Arabs on similar pillars, and played a considerable part in many other forms of sacrifice. Fat being, according to ancient thought, one of the great seats of life, was peculiarly fitted for the food of the gods (hence the anointing of the pillar), and also for imparting living virtue to the persons to whom it might be applied (hence the anointing of things or other persons). In this case the view that anointing symbolised the imparting of the divine spirit, is a refinement of the idea in which the custom may be presumed to have originated (cp *CHURCH*, § 5 end). The anointing of the temple and sacred furniture will then be a survival similar to that of sprinkling them with blood. G. H. G.

ANOS (אָנוֹס [AV; om. L¹], 1 Esd. 9:34, apparently VANISH of Ezra 10:16).

ANT (אַנְתִּי, אַנְתִּי [BSA]; *formica*, Pr. 6:30, 34).

1. Name and allusions. Classical writers often refer to the industry, forethought, and ingenuity of the ant, and especially to its habit

¹ The etymology of this word is very doubtful. It has been supposed to derive it (1) from a doubtful Heb. verb *anah* (cp *anah*) to cut, referring either to the shape of the ant's body (cp *anah*), or to its habit of cutting seeds from the corn-ears, or to the fashion it is supposed to make in the seeds themselves to prevent their sprouting (though this last was hardly known to the ancient Hebrews); (2) from Ar. *namala* 'to creep' or 'to ascend by creeping'; (3) from a supposed root akin to Heb. *anah*, 'to make a slight sound'. The connection with Ar. *namala* is certain; but possibly the meaning of the verb may be derived from the noun. A kindred word is Ar. *anwal* 'finger tip' (Eg. *Uchra*, 20). The Syr. equivalent is *anwalat* ('keen-scented'); Ar. has the same word as Heb. *anwal*.

of storing grain-seeds beneath the ground in time of harvest.¹

This Aelian tells us that so great is the industry of ants that, when there is moonlight, they work by night as well as by day. It was noted how carefully their work was organised; they were described as marching like an army, the oldest acting as general; when they reached the cornfield, the older ants ascended the stalks and threw down the grains to the others, who stood round the food. Each took its part in carrying away the food to the subterranean homes, which were carefully constructed with several chambers, and protected above by walls of earth to keep out the rain. The seeds were divided into two, sometimes into four, segments, and in other cases peeled, to prevent their sprouting; if wetted by rain, they were brought out and carefully dried in the sun. The ant showed a weather-knowledge far surpassing man's. It was in all respects a *polytechnic* creature, and is so classed by Aristotle along with the crane and the bee.

The same observations are repeated in later times by Arabic and Jewish writers.

The Mohammedans seem to have associated the ant with Solomon; the 27th chapter of the Koran is styled 'the ant,' because it mentions that Solomon, on his march, once entered 'the valley of ants,' whereupon an ant said, 'O ants, enter into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you underfoot and perceive it not.' It was a custom with the Arabs, says Bochari, to place an ant in the hand of a new-born child, with a prayer that he might grow up wise and sagacious.

The only two passages in the OT which mention the ant obviously refer to some species of Harvesting Ant

2. Species.—probably either to *Phaenogaster* (formerly called *Atta barbara*, or to *A. structor*, or to *Pheidole megacephala*, which are to this day found in Syria, and, indeed, all round the Mediterranean basin.

Numerous other species of ant have been described in Palestine; but, as far as is known, they resemble in their habits the ants of temperate and colder climates, and do not lay up any store of provisions against the winter; it is possible that, like the latter, they pass the cold season in a torpor or winter sleep.

The harvesting ants all belong to the genus *Phaenogaster*, or are closely allied to it. Their habits

3. Harvesting ant. were well known to the ancients and to medieval writers. These observers,

generalising on insufficient data, assumed that all ants stored up food for winter consumption. When, however, the centre of learning shifted farther N. from the shores of the Mediterranean, the leaders of science were found in central and northern Europe, the position of things was reversed.

Naturalists, noticing that the ants whose habits they observed did not store grain and seeds, arrived at the conclusion that no ants did, and attempted to explain the accounts of the earlier writers by pointing out that they had probably mistaken for seeds the pupae which, when anything disturbs the ants' nest, are at once seized and borne to a place of safety. The consensus of opinion, accordingly, until about a quarter of a century ago, was that ants never lay up stores of food.

The investigations of Moggidge and Lepès, however, showed that, although this opinion is probably correct as far as ants in more northern climates are concerned, many of the ants in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean store up seeds collected from different plants. Not only do they collect seeds that have fallen, but they also frequently tear the fruit or seed-pod off the plants and bear them to the *formicarium* or nest. They will, moreover, travel considerable distances to obtain their food, marching in two nearly continuous parallel lines, the length of the column sometimes measuring 24 yards or more. The two lines are moving in contrary directions—the one toiling laden with spoils towards the nest, the other hurrying back with empty mouths to the harvest ground.

The nests both of *A. barbara* and of *A. structor* are simply excavations in the ground—long cylindrical passages or rounded hollows, the floors of which are to some extent smoothed and cemented. In these hollows, about the size of a billiard

4. Nests; storing.

¹ See the list of passages quoted in Bochari, *Hier.*, among them *Hor.*, *Sat.*, i. 1:13; *Ag.*, *En.* 1402; *Plin.*, *NH* 11:10; *Aelian*, 2:25, 141:644. A brief account of the Jewish notices by Rev. A. Lowy in *PSA* 4:308 [1880-81].

ball, the seeds are stored. In one nest Moggridge counted seeds from twelve different species of plant, and he enumerates eighteen distinct botanical families containing plants which furnish ants with seeds. *A. destructor* is frequently found in the neighbourhood of towns or villages, and even in the streets; *A. barbara*, usually in the country.

The amount of seed collected and stored in the granaries is very considerable and may cause serious loss to the agriculturist; from one nest an amount of seed estimated at 1 lb. in weight was taken, and there must be many hundreds of nests to the acre. The seed stores of the ants of Palestine are sufficiently important to be mentioned in the Mishna, which records the rules adopted as to their ownership.

The ants belong to the order Hymenoptera (which includes bees, wasps, and saw flies), and to the family Formicidae.

The species here intended may be the *Anthypus* (or *Oxy*, cf. Ⓔ), or the *A. bubaita*. Against the former proposal the objection has been raised that the *Oxy* is called in the modern vernacular of N. Africa *rahmar*, which Heb. רֶמָר 'fallow-deer' (see Rott.); but it is not uncommon for the same name to be given to members of different species by different peoples.¹ On OX ANTHYPE see UNTOXN (fig. 1), S. A. v.

ANTICHRIST (ANTIchristos [Ti. VII]). *History*

1. History : of the Question.² Reaches into the meaning of 'Antichrist' here

² Cf. Lucke, *l.c.* in d. *op.cit.* loc. cit. 153 ff.; Bornemann, 'Die Thessalonicherbriefe' in Meyer's *Handb.* 3, 4, 1897.

2 Thess. 2:1-12 and certain passages in the Apocalypse (chap. 13).

Of the two methods that came into vogue during the Middle Ages, the ecclesiastico-political method with polemical purpose (since Joachim of Floris, afterwards in chief favour with Protestant scholars, especially in the form hostile to papal claims) and the universal-historical (perhaps, since Nicolas de Lyra) neither advanced the question in the least.

This method maintained its ground, until quite recently, among all scientific interpreters of the apologetic school. There is one of its few weaknesses, in which the eyes of the moderns – as, for example, Habington, *Confessions* and Luthardt (*Die drei ersten letzten Dingen*) and others – have been able to detect. The writers on the subject fall far below that of the church fathers; the concrete eschatological figures are made far less spiritualised. Thus, Antichrist becomes an imprecise and general tendency; the 'temple' (2 Thess. 2) is interpreted as meaning Christendom; and the *korai yam*, as law and order.

3. Recent. Abandoning this (on the whole, mistaken) line, a few scholars have sought an interpretation of Antichrist in a Jewish tradition dating farther back than the Christian era and not resting on any historical events.

¹ Malvondas *De Antiquitate* (Lyons, 1617) being perhaps the fullest. The commentaries of Kilward (Lugdunum, 1591) and Blasius Vianeti (Lyon, 1604) were specially influential.

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for the first time he combined 2 Thess. 2 with Mt. 24.15 ff. and Rev. 11.3 ff., and thus the problem ceased to be one of exegesis merely. The best work in this direction has been that of Schneckenburger (see Böhm's survey of his writings in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1850), who endeavoured systematically (as the only true method) to ascertain the kindred Jewish tradition that lay at the basis of the NT passages. (Preliminary researches in the same sense had been contributed by Corroli, *Krit. Gesch. des Cölitismus* 1781 ff.; Bertholdt, *Christol. Jud.*, 1811, § 16; and Gfrörer, *Jahrbuch d. Heile* 2256 ff. 405 ff. 438.) Schneckenburger also brought Mt. 24. Rev. 11 and Jn. 5.43 into the field of his survey, and his view may be said on the whole to have stood the test of time.¹

Still more recently Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judentums, des NT, u. der Alten Kirche*, 1895), following up the suggestions of Gunkel's *Schöpfung u. Chaos* (1895), and the method then for the first time securely laid down, has sought to supplement these investigations in two directions: (1) by a comprehensive induction based on all the eschatological portions of the NT that belong to the same circle of ideas, and the careful exclusion of all that do not so belong; and (2) by an attempt at a comprehensive and complete presentation of the tradition (which comes before us in the NT only in a fragmentary way) as it is to be met with in the Jewish sources, and, still more, in the later Christian exegetical and apocalyptic tradition. This tradition is in great measure quite independent of the NT, and in all probability dates, as far as its sources are concerned, from pre-Christian times.²

The NT Tradition. The name ἀντίχριστος occurs in the NT only in the Johannine Epistles (1 Jn. 2.18.22; 4.3; 2 Jn. 7), and thus in all probability its formation belongs to the late NT period.

4. NT.

For an answer to the question who or what is meant by the name, it is best to start from the well-known (probably Pauline) passage in 2 Thess. 2.1-12, where we read that before the end of all things the man of sin, or, rather, of lawlessness (ὁ ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀνομίας), the lawless one (ὁ ἀνόμος), the son of perdition (ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας), must be revealed. This 'man of sin,' it is clear, is to make his appearance as a false Messiah—an observation which, from the outset, precludes us from referring the expression to any foreign potentate such as Caligula³ or Nero. He is sent to 'them that are perishing' (namely the Jews), because they received not the love of the truth (the true Messiah).⁴ He does not employ any outward force, but accomplishes his work by means of false signs and lying wonders (cp the tradition of the Church fathers, as continued by De Wette, Ewald, Schneckenburger, B. Weiss, Lünemann, Bornemann). He will make his appearance in Jerusalem. In this account of the Antichrist the specially perplexing assertions are that he is to seat himself in the temple of God and that he is to declare himself to be God. This last act, at any rate, does not belong to the rôle of a false Messiah. It is also doubtful who or what ought to be understood by ὁ κατέχων, τὸ κατέχων, the power that stands in the way of the manifestation of Antichrist. If once a reference in the passage to a Jewish false Messiah be accepted, the mystery of iniquity (lawlessness: τὸ μυστ. τῆς ἀνομίας) will most probably mean the cruelty which the Jews as a whole had begun to show towards the Christians (same authorities as above). At this point we obtain a clear light upon Rev. 11. The perplexing fact that there the beast rises out of the deep and makes its appearance in Jerusalem (a view of the passage that appears certain—not only from 11.2, but also from the connection of 11.2 with 11.3—as against the other interpretations referring it to Rome) is explained by 2 Thess. 2.

2. The beast that rises out of the deep and appears in

¹ This applies also to the first part of the *Apocryphische Studien* of B. Weiss, 1866.

² Attempts in this direction had already been made by Bertholdt and Schneckenburger.

³ 2 Thess. 2.4 does not at all fit in with Spitta's interpretation of the passage as referring to Caligula's proposal to set up a statue of himself in Jerusalem.

⁴ Cp Jn. 5.43.

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Jerusalem is the Antichrist. If this be so, we are supplied with the following additional elements in the tradition: (1) a great drought that comes over the world in the last times (in Rev. through the two witnesses); (2) the two witnesses, their slaughter by the Antichrist, and their resurrection; (3) a previous assemblage of many nations in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The dim and fragmentary character of the whole narrative, however, is striking. In another place in the Apocalypse we find another parallel to the figure of the Antichrist—in Rev. 13.11 ff. 'The beast that had two horns like unto a lamb' (RV) is designated by the author of Revelation himself as a False Prophet. When it is spoken of as 'coming up from the land' (not 'earth' as in EV), we may reasonably understand Palestine to be meant. This false prophet also does his work by means of signs and wonders. Here we meet with a new and rather perplexing consideration: the sealing on their foreheads and hands of those whom he has led astray, and the buying and selling of them that is thus made possible. To the same great group of traditions a part of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels (especially in Mt.) also appears to belong. Older theories of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐπηύσεως of Mt. 24.15 having broken down, and Spitta's explanation of it as referring to Caligula being beset with difficulties (indeed, an apocalypse which arose only in 40-41 A.D. could surely not have found its way among utterances of the Lord which were already becoming fixed), we seem compelled to fall back on an older tradition, and to explain the strange phrase of the Antichrist of 2 Thess. 2.4 sitting in the Temple (on these points cp AROMINATION OF DESOLATION). In this case we arrive at new elements in the tradition: the subsequent flight of those who have believed, the shortening of the days (Mt. 24.22), and the picture of the end of the world and of the final judgment (Mt. 24.29 ff.). Here again the fragmentary brevity of the tradition is surprising.

If we now survey these eschatological fragments as a whole, two conjectures immediately force themselves on

5. Results.

us: (1) that all these eschatological phantasies were not independently conceived by the various authors from whom we derive them;¹ that, on the contrary, the authors are mostly reproducing a tradition which already lay before them; and (2) that it is a single consistent tradition that underlies all these (partly coincident, partly complementary) fragments. If the second conjecture be true, we may venture to think that the tradition in question has not been lost beyond all possibility of recovery. In point of fact, our very first glance at later Christian apocalyptic literature satisfies us that this literature rests upon a tradition which is but partially dependent on the NT.

The Tradition of the Early Church regarding Antichrist. Sources.² The tradition becomes tangible as soon as we have a Christian literature copious enough. The influence of this tradition is already visible

6. Early Church tradition.

in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (chap. 10). Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5.25-30) also presents himself in this connection. Special importance, however, among the earlier witnesses, attaches to Hippolytus's *ἀποδείξεις περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου*, the *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian, Lactantius's *Inst.*, *Div. 7.18 ff.* (Commodian and Lactantius have a place of their own in the tradition), and the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Victorinus. A further group of writings ascribed to an ecclesiastical writer of very great influence, Ephraim Syrus, must be mentioned. Under his name are current three Homilies on the Antichrist: (1) One in Syriac (De Lamy, 3.187 ff.,—all of it genuine with the exception of a few chapters); (2) one in Greek (Assmann, 2.222-30 3.14-143), perhaps genuine; and (3) one in Latin (Caspari, *ut sup.* 208 ff.). The historical event from which all these prophecies start is the

¹ See the detailed argument for the impossibility of this in Gunkel, *Schöpf. u. Chant.*

² See Malvestra, *De Antichristi* (1845); Ebert, 'On Commodian's "Carmen Apologeticum"' in *Abh. d. Kon. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissensch.* 5.387 ff.; Caspari, *Briefe und Abhandlungen* (C.) 208 ff. 429 ff., and, for the later period, Zerschwitz, *Von römischen Kaiserthum deutscher Nation*, 1877; Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* 5505 ff.; W. Meyer, *Ludus de Antichristo*, 1880.

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beginning of the great barbarian migrations, the invasion of the eastward regions of the Roman Empire by the Huns (Gog and Magog).

Alfred in character to the foregoing are Cyril's *Catechesis* (xv), the pseudo-Johanne Apocalypse (Tisch. *Apoc. apoc.*), and the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Andrew of Cesarea. Dependent on Ephraim's Greek homily are the *επιγραφὴ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ κοκκυνοῦ* (ed. Lagarde) of the pseudo-Hippolytus, and the *Dioptra* of Philip Solimanis (110 ff.). Migne, *PL*, lxx, 127. This whole mass of tradition is exceedingly valuable for a count of its archaic oriental character. Of the older church fathers, Jerome also (*Ad. Magasiam*, Quæ. i. xli; *In Danielum* vii, and vii), and Theodoret (*Harer. fab.* 523), but not Augustine, and, of the later, John Damascenus (*Expositio* 127) claim special attention.

As, in the uniform view of these apocalyptic interpreters, the advent of the Antichrist is after the downfall of Rome, one might reckon almost with certainty on finding evidence of the currency of the tradition about the time of that downfall. Such evidence we actually possess in the primary document which was the common source of both the so-called Apocalypses of Daniel, the Greek (ed. Klostermann, *Unabg.* 96), and the Armenian (ed. Katenkian, *Wien. v. L.* 112 f.; cp. *Zahn, Forschungen* 119 ff.). Again, at the time of the Mohammedan conquests, as we see in the apocalypses of the pseudo-Methodius (7th century, *Orthographia* 2, Basel, 150, a, closely connected with which is the later Apocalypse of Peter, now extant in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic redactions (Brake, *Zf. f.* 189, 2), and also a series of late Byzantine (Vassiliev, *Unabg. Græco-Egyptiana* 1, Moscow, 1893), and late Jewish apocalypses (Jellinek, *Becha-Midrash*; cp. Bousset, *Z. f.* 173 ff.). This body of tradition reached the west through a compilation (*De Antichristo*) by the monk Alvo (Migne, *PL*, lxx, 120 ff.), based on the book of Methodius and on a 5th-century book, which last is to be found also (in a redacted form) in the works of Isidore (Migne, *PL* 1133) and dates perhaps from the fourth century. Lastly, an isolated and very archaic source is to be found also in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah (Steru, *Z. f.* 186).

7. He who letteth.

Subjoined is a brief summary of this tradition as it occurs, almost uniformly, in the sources that have been named.¹ In the first place, the universally prevalent conviction is that the *εχθρὸς* (2 Thess. 27) is the Roman empire. This, we may be sure, was the view of Paul also; if he expected a Jewish false Messiah, then the one power left which could 'hinder' was the Roman empire (cp. on this point 4 Esd. 41 ff.). The political rôle played by this idea in the history of Christianity may be seen in Tertullian (*Apoc.* 32, *ad Scap.* 2) and Lactantius (*Inst. div.* 725).

8. Antichrist.

Of equally universal prevalence is the conception of Antichrist, not as a Roman or foreign ruler, but as a false Messiah, who is to arise among the Jews themselves, in Jerusalem. Almost universally (with the exceptions to be afterwards mentioned) it is predicted that he is to establish himself in the temple and lay claim to Messianic (and, so far, divine) honours. (Sometimes, as in *Ascens. Is.* 41, Viet. in *Apoc.* 1313, and in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter, we read that he will set up his statue in the temple, doubtless a reminiscence of the Caligula episode.) After the destruction of Jerusalem, accordingly, the expectation that the Antichrist will rebuild the temple in Jerusalem becomes universal. He will show special favour to the Jews, will receive circumcision himself, and will compel others to do so. He will arise from the tribe of Dan (*Apoc.* 89; Jewish haggada is at the root of this [cp. *Testam. Dan* 5 f.; also the omission of Dan in Rev. 75 ff., as to which see Hen. v. 302, perhaps also even 1 Ch. 6114; see *S. B. O. T.* 91541]; see Schneckenburger-Böhmer, 412). If, bearing all this in mind, we once more turn to 2 Thess. 29 ff. In 543 Rev. 113 ff., it immediately becomes plain that any 'historical' or preterist interpretation of the Antichrist is out of the question. On the basis of a haggadic view of Dan. 114378, there came into the tradition this further element, that the Antichrist, at his first appearing, is to conquer the kings of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya. Another invariable element of the tradition under consideration is the enumeration of the miracles to be wrought by the Antichrist, particularly celestial signs (Rev. 1311 ff.), and miracles of healing (although that of raising the dead is beyond his reach). Hereupon the Antichrist will achieve the dominion of the whole world, and gather round himself to his capital all peoples and vast armies (4 Esd. 131 ff. Apoc. Bar. 40 Rev. 119 ff.).

Next, a great drought and famine will come upon the whole earth (differently and less clearly put in Rev. 11), and in these straits the Antichrist will order his servants (spoken of also as demons) to mark men with his mark (according to the Latin Homily of the pseudo-Ephraim, a serpent mark), so that only those who bear it shall be permitted to buy bread (Rev. 1316 ff.). Against the Antichrist come forward the two witnesses (almost unanimously taken to be Elijah and Enoch) who disclose his real character, so that many turn away from him (otherwise, and very obscure, what we read in Rev. 113 ff.). It is noteworthy that in many sources there is no mention of the resurrection of the two witnesses—doubtless an incident introduced for the first time by the author

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of Rev. 11. At the preaching of the witnesses a considerable company of Israel are converted and begin the opposition to the Antichrist (perhaps Rome, so is to be interpreted in this connection). The 144,000 who are sealed in Rev. 75 ff. certainly have their explanation here. The faithful now break themselves to the wilderness or to the mountains (Mt. 2429 ff.); but the days of Antichrist's reign of terror shall be shortened. The years shall become months, the months days, the days hours (Mt. 2422). Then the Antichrist will send his armies in pursuit of the faithful who have fled into the wilderness; but there they shall be delivered by the angels of God or by the Messiah (Rev. 1213 ff.), and the army of the Antichrist destroyed (cp. the mysterious angelic battle outside the city, in Rev. 1144 ff.), and, in connection with this, the appearance of the lamb with the 144,000 in Rev. 151 ff.). The Antichrist is finally slain, according to authorities, by the Messiah, with the breath of his mouth (Is. 1142 Thess. 28—the same statement is found in late Jewish sources, such as Targ. Jon. on Is. 114 and others). Perhaps an older tradition may be traced in the view that the angel Michael is to be the conqueror of the Antichrist (Dan. 121 Rev. 127, *Is.* 3610). Now is seen a mighty sign in heaven (Mt. 2429)—the sign of the Son of Man—interpreted by later writers (cp. already *Paul. 16r. σημεῖον υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ*) as referring to the Cross, but originally, we may be sure, denoting the Divine Judge of the world (Bousset, 154). Then follows the coming of the Divine Messiah to judgment, amid mighty convulsions of nature (Mt. 2429 f., Rev. 612 ff.). From the four corners of heaven desolating storms burst upon earth and cleanse it (Rev. 71 ff.), and before the divine advent descends a tempest of fire, which burns the earth down to its depths, and dries up the sea and the rivers (Rev. 211).

At the very first glance it is plain that, in this tradition, we are dealing not with an artificial exegetical mosaic of the various passages of the New Testament (and the Old) which here come into account, but with an original body of tradition, organically and inherently consistent; and that the separate eschatological fragments of this tradition in the NT become intelligible only when they are brought into their organic place in the scheme of the tradition as a whole, so that their essential consistency becomes manifest.

11. Coherence of tradition.

Origin of the Tradition.—Naturally we turn, in the first instance, to the eschatological ideas of the OT.

12. OT. Schneckenburger will have it that the idea of the Antichrist comes from the eschatology. prophecies concerning Gog and Magog in Ezek. 138 f.). That in every form of the tradition the prophecy concerning Gog and Magog occurs in close connection with the story of the Antichrist is indeed true to the extent that they are made to appear, sometimes after (Rev. 207 f.), and sometimes before, the time of his rule. Positive identification of Gog with Antichrist, however, does not occur till the seventh century, and even then only in Jewish sources. Many of the details of the traditions can be traced, as has been already said, to Jewish haggada. In this particular point Dan. 711 f. is approximated to most nearly; but even here there is a marked difference, and the originality of the view outlined above is conspicuous. In Daniel the disturber is a foreign power; but here the seducer, who personates God or simulates the Messiah, rises up from amid the people of God. Thus there has been an important development since Daniel. Perhaps, as was suggested in conversation to the present writer by Prof. Smend, the historical occasion for this advance was supplied by the experiences of Israel under the Maccabees and the Herods. In any case, we must note a parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic.

13. Belial. That ideas allied to those in our tradition were active among the Jews about the time of Christ is shown by 4 Esd. 51 ff. 156; *reguabit quem non sperant*, *Apoc. Bar.* 36-40, *Sibyl.* 363 ff. (2107 ff.), *Test. Dan* 5, *Is.* 36, 8 ff., and the (probably Jewish) nucleus of *Is.* 36, 3 (243-173). Now, in this tradition, the constantly recurring name of the great enemy of the last times—a name already known to the apostle Paul (2 Cor. 613)—is Belial (Belial). But, according to many passages of the *Testaments*, Belial is a spirit of the air, ruler of the evil spirits. According to *Test. Dan* 5, the Messiah will fight against him in the last days. The supporters of Belial are the children of Dan. In *Sib.* 363 ff. (probably dating from the time of Cleopatra), Belial is already presented in an aspect closely resembling that

¹ For the references in detail see Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göt., 1897.

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of Antichrist (still more so in the *Ascensio*, which, however, has unquestionably undergone Christian revision). In the *Ascensio* the angel Samael interchanges parts with Belial, and Samael figures also in later Jewish tradition as the enemy of the last times¹ (on the origin of Belial, and on the various developments of meaning, see BELLAL). Suggestions of the same idea occur in 1k. 10:13 Ju. 12:1 (Col. 2:13). Here we would seem to have an aspect of the tradition that, in point of time and contents, comes a great deal nearer that of Antichrist (2 Cor. 6:15: 'and what concord hath Christ with Beliar?'), which is not of historical but of purely eschatological origin: the idea of a rebellion of an angelic power against God at the end of time. Perhaps it is out of this figure—behind which in turn stands the wilder figure of the dragon rising in rebellion against God in the last times, which Gunkel conjectures to have its origin in the Babylonian creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 f.)—that, under the experiences of the Maccabean period, the humanised figure of a pseudo-Messiah came into existence. In this way we can explain also the superhuman traits in the picture, such as his declaring himself to be God (2 Thess. 2:4), and his sitting in the temple of God (cp the myth of the storming of heaven by the dragon in Rev. 12:1 ff.). These conjectures find further confirmation in the fact that, in later tradition, the ghostly-demonic element in the portrayal of Antichrist comes again more conspicuously to the front, and the Antichrist is even represented as a dragon who rebels against God (cp the writings of Ephraim Syrus, and Apoc. Zeph.).

14. Dragon.

Points of Contact with other Traditions.—One legend that comes into relation with that of Antichrist in many ways is that of Nero redivivus. Not that the figure of Antichrist had its beginning in the story of Nero. Originally both legends had currency side by side. It was only after Nero's return at the head of the Parthians (at first conceived of in a purely human way—cp the nucleus of Rev. 17) had become indefinitely delayed, and after men had begun to expect the returning Nero only as a spirit from the under-world, that they gradually transferred to him some traits belonging to the Antichrist² (cp Sib. 3:61 ff., where, in like manner, Belial is interpreted to mean one of the Caesars; see APOCALYPSE, § 95). Such an amalgamation of the two figures is already met with in Rev. 13 and 17 (in their present form). The old form of Antichrist, however, retains such vitality that in the end (Rev. 13:1 ff.) it appears as a second beast, servant of the first and on the same scene. A similar and (as far as its occasion is concerned) still more manifest doubling of Antichrist is seen in Commodian's *Carmen Apologeticum*, in Lactantius (as above), in Martin (see Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 2:14), and in the *βιβλίον Κλήμεντος* (Lagarde, *Reliq. juris eccl.* 3:3 ff.). There is a complete fusion in the *Ascensio Jesu*, and in the commentary on the Apocalypse of Victorinus. This complicated figure of Nero redivivus took special hold on the Sibylline literature of the second century,³ and here again, in the delineation of this, we meet once more with the old features of the dragon myth. A fusion between the Antichrist tradition and the Simon Magus legend has already been observed by Schneckenburger, and traced in a variety of points by the present writer. The same tradition comes into fusion with the later Alexander legend and the old German saga of the end of the world (Muspilli, *Edith*).

On this and other connected subjects see Bonnet, *Der Antichrist*, in the English translation of which (1896) special attention has been bestowed on the index (see, e.g., 'Simon Magus,' 'Alexander'). See also E. Wadstein, 'Die eschatologische Ideengruppe: Antichrist, Weltabbath, Weltende und Weltgericht in ihrer christlich-mittelalterlichen Gesamtwirkung,' *ZWIT*, 1895 and 1896. On the Armenian form of the

¹ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum* 2:79; cp *Asc. Jes.* 7:9.
² This has been already remarked by Schneckenburger.
³ Cp Zahn, 'Apocal. Studien' in *Z. f. kirchl. Leben u. Wiss.*

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Antichrist-legenda see Conybeare, *Isid.*, 26th October 1895: and on a singular Mohammedan tradition see LYDDA at end. w. b.

ANTILIBANUS (ΑΝΤΙΛΙΒΑΝΟΣ [BA], om. N), Judith 17. See LIBANON.

ANTIMONY (ἄντιμον, Is. 51:1 RV mg., EV 'fair colours.' See PAINE.

ANTIOCH (ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ [Ti. WH]). 1. in Pisidia; more correctly, 'Antioch towards Pisidia' (Αντιόχεια ἡ πρὸς Ηλισδα), to distinguish it from the Antioch on the Meander (the form 'Pisidian Antioch,' Αντιόχεια ἡ Ηλισδα [Ti. WH], Acts 13:14, arose to distinguish it from the more famous Antioch of Syria). It was really a Phrygian city; but in NT times it was of course included within the Roman province Galatia. Strabo (p. 577) accurately describes it as lying 'on a hill,' on the south side of the range now called Sultan Daghi, in Phrygia Paroreia; but it was not until 1833 that Arundell found its ruins at *Yalobach*. The town was founded about 300 B.C. by the Seleucid kings, and the transportation of 2000 Jewish families to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia, as recorded by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 31, must in part refer to Antioch. By Augustus it was made a Roman colony (6 B.C.); hence its coins bear the legend CAESAREA. Antioch was adopted as the centre of military and civil administration in Southern Galatia, and from it radiated the roads to the colonies designed to check the unruly highlanders of Pisidia and Isauria. As an element in the pacification of this district, the privileges of the Jews were confirmed by the Emperors, and Paul found a large Jewish colony in the city. The Romanisation of this part of Galatia was in especially active progress during the reign of Claudius, 41-54 A.D. At the time of Paul's visit, therefore, Antioch was at the height of its importance. Besides its relations with Apamea (on the W.) and with Iconium, Lysra, and eastern Asia Minor, it must have had a commercial connection with the Pamphylian seaports, among them Attalia and Perga; and Paul must have reached Antioch by following this southern trade-route, which probably ran through Adada (*Kara Barlo*, *Barlo* being the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name). There was a large body of Jewish proselytes in Antioch, many of them women of position through whom the Jews were able to influence the magistrates against the apostles (Acts 13:50). The magistrates had summary jurisdiction over disturbers of the public peace, such as the apostles were alleged to be (cp τ. 44: πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνεήθη, and τ. 45: ὁδῶντες τοὺς ὁχλοὺς); but the 'casting of them out of the borders' of the colony could not imply permanent banishment—at any rate in the case of Paul, who was a Roman citizen. Accordingly we find the latter returning to Antioch from Derbe (Acts 14:21) and perhaps revisiting the city at least twice (Acts 16:1823, 25; GALATIA). If the trade of Antioch was concentrated in the hands of the Jews, we can the more easily understand Paul's first success here in Asia Minor: the new teaching did not conflict with any commercial interests of the gentile inhabitants, as it did at Ephesus and Philippi, while at the same time the Jewish proselytising had prepared the people for its reception. It is also not without significance that on the death of king Amyntas, some seventy years before Paul's visit, the ancient worship of 'Men' (Μην Ἀσκαῖος, Ἀσκαῖος Strabo, Ἀσκαρὸς coins) had been abolished, so that there was probably no gentile hierarchy in existence to oppose the apostles. Hence the effect of their preaching was more marked here than in any other case, except Corinth (Acts 13:4437). All the more strange is the subsequent prominence of the South Galatian churches.

2. In Syria. 2 Macc. XV ANTIOCHIA. This great city, the metropolis of the Roman world,

1. City. the Queen of the East (ἡ κατὰ Ἀθην. 175; orientis apex pulchra), and the residence of the imperial Legation of Syria, survives in *Ἀντάρχη*,

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a town of only 6000 inhabitants. It is situated at the point of junction of the ranges of Libanus and Taurus, on a fine site hard by the left bank of the Orontes, just where the river turns westwards to run between Mt. Pieria on the N. and Mt. Casium on the S., to the sea 16 m. distant. A little higher up the river Antigonia had been built in 307 B.C. by Antigonus; but seven years later Seleucus Nicator transferred its inhabitants to his new city of Antioch.

Strabo's meagre account (p. 750) is the foundation of our topographical knowledge of the city. Like the district in which it lay, Antioch was a *τετράπολις*, an agglomeration of four parts.

The first contained the population of Antigonia; the second the bulk of the citizens. The third part was the creation of Seleucus Callinicus (246-236 B.C.), and the fourth, on Mt. Silphius, of Antiochus Epiphanes. Each part had its own wall; but in addition, the whole vast area, larger than that of Rome, was surrounded by huge walls running over the mountains and across the ravines. From Nicator's time dates the well-known statue 'the Fortune' (Τύχη) of Antioch, a work of the Sicilian Enkylides, a pupil of Lysippus (Paus. vi. 27). The memory of it is preserved in the coins, and in a small marble statuette in the Vatican. The goddess, a graceful gentle figure, rests negligently on a rock; while the river, a vigorous youth, seems to swim out from under her feet.

Seleucus Nicator also embellished DAPHNE (Δάφνη [VA]), 5 m. distant from Antioch, but reckoned a suburb. It was a spot musical with fountains; its groves, crowded with temples, halls, and baths, were the seat of a cult of Apollo and Artemis.

Among its artistic treasures was a statue of Apollo Musaeus by the Athenian Bryaxis. The precincts of Daphne were endowed with the right of asylum and naturally became the haunt of villainy—of runaway slaves, debtors, and cut-throats (Tac. *Ann.* 360; Tiberius in 22 A.D. attempted to regulate this abuse in several cities): if we may trust the story of Onias in 2 Macc. 133, Daphne 'flung away the one rare chance of sheltering virtue.' The site is now called *Bet el Ma'*, the 'house of Water.' It retains no traces of its former magnificence.

From this suburb, which Roman wealth, Greek art, and Oriental licentiousness conspired to make unique even in the East, Antioch took its distinguishing name—*ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ*. In itself the title bore no reference to the pleasure pursuits of the suburb—as though insinuating that there the true life of the city was to be found: it was a genuine official title.

Accordingly we find it on coins (cp. *Ἀντιοχείων τῶν ἐπὶ Κελευσίων; τῶν ἐν Μυδονίᾳ; τῶν πρὸς τῇ Δάφνῃ*). Hence Pliny (*HN* 5. 21 [18]) writes 'Antiochia Epidaphnes.' Tacitus (*Ann.* 2. 23) transliterates the Greek, and calls the suburb itself 'Epidaphna.'

Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings.

2. Character. Although close to the sea (*ἀνὰ πλοῖς ἀσθημένον* Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 31).¹ For this connection with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. 11. 42f. Herod completed the marble-paved street which we can

¹ According to 2 Macc. 40 (cp. also 7. 19) Jason conferred on the people of Jerusalem the status of citizens of Antioch (ANTIOCHIANS) on which see *Jh. T.* 12. 544 (79).

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trace from the 'Gate of St. Paul' to the modern town (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 53). Thus all the forms of the civilised life of the Empire found in Antioch some representative. In its agora, said Libanius, the customs of the world might be studied. In no city was pleasure more earnestly pursued. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial, the Orontes was synonymous with superstition and depravity (Juv. *Sat.* 362). Yet it would be of value to discover to what extent the lower and middle orders of the population were really affected by the luxury and *abandon* of which we hear so much; that is after all but one side of the city's life, and there is a temptation to exaggerate it. There was little real intellectual life; epigram and light prose were the most flourishing forms of literature. Cicero (*Pro Arch.* 3, § 4) is exaggerating with his 'eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis adfluenti.' Antioch is far less celebrated than Alexandria in the literature of the first and second centuries A.D. This intellectual attitude is a fact of some importance, in its relation to the first Christian teaching.

The mixture of Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements admirably adapted Antioch for the great part she played in the early history of Christianity.

3. Christianity. The city was the cradle of the church. There, as elsewhere, Judaism prepared the ground for the seed of the word (cp. Chrys. *Hom.* xiv.). 'Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch,' one of the first deacons (Acts 6. 5), was only one of a vast multitude of Greeks who in that city were attracted to the Jewish doctrine and ritual (Jos. *H. J.* 3. 3; cp. Acts 11. 19-21). The ancient and honourable status of the Jews in Antioch gave to the infant church a firm and confident organisation. Very early the city became a centre on a level with Jerusalem in importance (Acts 11. 22-26-30 131). The cosmopolitanism of its inhabitants inevitably reacted upon the Christians in the way of familiarising them with universalist ideas, and Antioch consequently became the centre of missionary labour. It was Paul's starting-point on his first journey with Barnabas (Acts 13. 1-3), and thither he always returned with his report of work done (Acts 14. 26f. 15. 30 18. 22). It was at the instance of the church at Antioch that the council of Jerusalem sent the circular letter to the gentile Christians (Acts 15. 23 Gal. 2. 14), and, according to Acts 11. 26 (on which see CHRISTIAN, beginning, and § 2 [end]), it was in Antioch that 'the disciples were called Christians first'—undoubtedly as a nickname. We know that the people of Antioch were noted for their scurrilous wit (Philostr. *Vit.* 3. 16 Zos. 3. 11 441 Procop. *BP* 28).

W. J. W.

ANTIOCHIA (ANTIOX[ε]IA [ANV]), 1 and 2 Macc. AV, RV ANTIOCH, 2.

ANTIOCHIANS (ANTIOXETIC [VA]), 2 Macc. 4. 19 (-XIAIC [A]), and in AV also 7. 9 (-XON [V]), where RV has 'citizens of Antioch.' See ANTIOCH 2, § 2 n.

ANTIOCHIS (ANTIOX[ε]IC [VA]), concubine of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4. 30).

ANTIOCHUS (ANTIOXOC [ANV]; ANTIOXOC [N* once, V* once, A once]). 1. Antiochus III., surnamed the Great, was the son of Seleucus Callinicus, and ascended the Syrian throne at the age of fifteen, on the death of his brother Seleucus Ceraunus. He is the earliest of the great SELEUCIDAE (7. 1) mentioned in the Apocrypha, but Antiochus II. Theos and Antiochus I. Soter (his grandfather and great-grandfather respectively) are alluded to in Dan. 11 (see DANIEL, § 6). His reign (223-178 B.C.) embraced a series of wars against revolted provinces and neighbouring kingdoms, wars in the prosecution of which his disasters and successes were equally great. The events of his life are briefly alluded to in Dan. 11. 10ff.—notably his expedition in Asia Minor in 197 B.C. (cp. 7. 18) which, after varying fortune, ended in a crushing defeat at the hands of Scipio Africanus near Magnesia in 190 B.C. (cp. 7. 18). This was one of the exploits of the Romans which

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Julius the Maccabee is said to have heard of (1 Mace. 8).

On account of its present form it is not free from inaccuracies. Thus, the writer states that Antiochus, the 'great king of Asia,' had with him 120 elephants (cp. *insep. arroyo* [8th D]; but according to Livy (37. 2) there were only fifty-four. It is not unlikely that in the popular tradition the original number was exaggerated (Camber. Bible, *ad loc.*). Cp. MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10.

One of the conditions of the humiliating peace imposed in 188 B.C. was that twenty hostages, including a son of the king (cp. 1 Mace. 13 and below, 2), should be sent to reside in Rome. Antiochus the Great was killed in an attempt to plunder the temple at Elymais (187 B.C.), and was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV. Philopator. See SELEUCIDAE.

2. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (Ἐπιφανής 'the illustrious' [cp. 1 Mace. 13 where Ἀ-εῖς], called in mockery Ἐπιφανής 'the madcap'), youngest son of no. 1. On his place as hostage (see above, 1) being taken by his nephew DEMETRIUS, he returned to the East, and—his elder brother, Seleucus IV. having meanwhile been murdered—seized the Syrian throne (175 B.C.), and soon became famous for his conquests in Coele-Syria, Palestine, and Egypt (cp. 1 Mace. 10 ff. 2 Mace. 51 ff. and see Dan. 11. 21 ff.). During his Egyptian campaign he twice took Jerusalem (1 Mace. 120 ff. 2 Mace. 511 ff.). In spite of the presence of a strong favourable Hellenistic party (see JASON, MENELAUS), Antiochus appears to have seen that he could never hope to subdue Judaea until he had rooted out the peculiar Jewish religion (see ISRAEL, § 60 f.). He accordingly promulgated a decree enjoining uniformity of worship throughout his dominions (1 Mace. 141 ff.), and even went so far as to endeavour to force upon the Jews the worship of heathen deities (see ABOMINATION, II.). His persecuting policy was responsible for the rise of the ASSIDEANS, and stirred up the successful resistance of the Maccabees. His end (164 B.C.) is variously described. According to 1 Mace. 61-66 he was visiting a rich and celebrated temple in Persia (see ELYMAIS), when tidings of the ill-success of his troops in Judaea, and remorse for his sacrilege at Jerusalem, caused his death—according to Polybius (31. 2) at Tabe in Persia.¹ The usually accepted reference to his end in 2 Mace. 110-17 is not very probable, see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7. He is doubtless alluded to in Ps. 75. 4 ff., and there are numerous references to his life and character in DANIEL (q.v., §§ 1, 6, 8, 10, 18).

The post-Talmudic tract *Megillah* Antiochus is a legendary account, in Aramaic, of the persecutions in his reign; cp. Schli. G/P 1123 (see MACCABEES, SECOND, § 11). See SELEUCIDAE.

3. Antiochus V. Eupator (Ἐπατάτωρ), the young son of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (see 2, above), was left under the care of LYSIAS, whilst the father conducted his wars in Persia (1 Mace. 332 ff.). On the death of Epiphanes (164 B.C.) Lysias obtained the regency, ousting his rival PHILIP, 5, and set up Epiphanes' son as king, giving him at the same time the surname Eupator (1 Mace. 614 ff.)—on account of the virtues of his father (Appian). Together they entered Judaea (see ISRAEL, § 75 beg.) and, encamping at Beth-zacharias, besieged Bethsura (see BETH-ZUR). The Maccabees were defeated and the famous ELEAZAR (q.v., 7) was killed (1 Mace. 628 ff.).² The war was brought to an abrupt close, however, by the news that Philip had occupied Antioch, and a hasty peace was concluded restoring to the Jews the privileges they had enjoyed previous to the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp. ISRAEL, *loc.*). In the following year (162 B.C.) the king and his guardian were put away by DEMETRIUS (q.v., 1) (1 Mace. 71 ff. 2 Mace. 141 ff.). See SELEUCIDAE.

4. Antiochus VI., surnamed TIGRIS (Θέος), son of Alexander Balas, spent his early youth as a ward of

¹ His father, Antiochus III. the Great, died whilst engaged in this same district upon a similar expedition. Tradition may have confused the son with the father.

² 2 Mace. 1321 ascribes their ill-success to treachery (see RHODOCUS).

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an Arabian (see ISMAELITE). He was brought forward by Tryphon, a former follower of Balas, and set up as king in opposition to Demetrius Nicator (see DEMETRIUS, 2) who was rapidly becoming unpopular (1 Mace. 1130-54; 145 B.C.). On his coronation he received the surnames 'Epiphanes' and 'Dionysus.' Henceforth he became a mere tool in the hands of Tryphon, who ultimately found an opportunity of slaying him (1 Mace. 1331). See further TRYPHON, SELEUCIDAE.

5. Antiochus VII. Sidetes (Σιδηήτης)—i.e., man of Sidē in Pamphylia,—called also Ἐδσηθής (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 82), was the son of Demetrius I. and younger brother of Demetrius II. Nicator. The capture of his brother by the Parthians gave Sidetes the opportunity of asserting his claim to the Syrian throne in opposition to the unpopular TRYPHON. To win over the Jews he wrote, from Rhodes, to Simon 'the chief priest and governor,' and by advantageous concessions, remission of royal debts, and the formal permission to coin money, attained his end (1 Mace. 151 ff.; *ἀντιπατρις* [8th v. 1]). Tryphon was besieged at Dor (v. 25), and ultimately forced to flee to Orthosia (v. 37). The situation immediately changed. Antiochus felt his position secure, and sent Athenobius to Simon demanding Joppa, Gazara, the citadel of Jerusalem, and the arrears of tribute (28 ff.). The refusal of these demands brought about war, and CENDRIBUS was dispatched against the Jews (153 ff.). Sidetes appears no more in 1 Mace.; but in the time of John Hyrcanus (see MACCABEES, I. § 7) he came and besieged Jerusalem (133 B.C.), and five years later met his death whilst fighting the Parthians under Pharnaces II. (Arsaces VII., 128 B.C.). See SELEUCIDAE.

6. Father of NUMENIUS (1 Mace. 1216 1422).

ANTIPAS (Ἀντίπας [Ti. WH], abbrev. from ἀντιπατρις, see Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13; cp. Cleopas from Κλεόπατρος). 1. See HERODIAN FAMILY, 2.

2. The 'faithful witness' of Pergamum named in Rev. 213. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* (Apr. 11) he was bishop of Pergamum, and suffered death (by the 'brazen bull') under Domitian.

ANTIPATER (Ἀντιπατρις [ANV]), son of Jason [3], an ambassador sent by the Jews to the Lacedaemonians (1 Mace. 1216 1422). See SPARTA. For the Antipater from whom Antipatris (see below) was named see HERODIAN FAMILY, 1.

ANTIPATRIS (Ἀντιπατρίς [Ti. WH]) was founded by Herod the Great on 'the finest plain' of his kingdom

1. **Allusions.**—i.e., Sharon—in memory of his father Antipater (Jos. *BJ* i. 219), but also, as the history of the town abundantly proves, for strategical reasons. The other details given by Josephus are, that it lay 'close to the mountains' (*BJ* i. 17) on the plain of Kaphar Saba (Καφαρσαβὰ), fertile and well-watered, that a river encompassed the city, and a grove of very fine trees (*Ant.* xvi. 52). In another passage, probably from a different source, Josephus identifies it with Kaphar Saba (Καφαρσαβὰ ἢ νῦν Ἀντιπατρίς καλεῖται), and tells how, to resist Antiochus on his march against the Arabians (circa 85 B.C.), Alexander Jannaeus made a deep ditch and a wall, which however Antiochus destroyed, extending thence, a distance of 150 (?) stadia, to the sea at Joppa (*ib.* xiii. 151). During Roman times Antipatris was a station at or near the junction of the military roads from Lydda and from Jerusalem respectively to Caesarea, where the latter road issued from the hills. Thus Paul was brought by night from Jerusalem to Antipatris and thence, part of his escort returning, to Caesarea (Acts 23. 31). The return of so much of Paul's escort is explained by the fact that, Antipatris being according to the Talmud (*Talm. Bab.*, *Gittin*, 76a) on the limits of Jewish soil, all danger of an attack by the threatened Jewish ambush (Acts 23. 16 20 ff.) was now past. There, in 66 A.D., Cestius Gallus halted on his way to Lydda (*BJ* ii. 191), and to this point, on his subsequent retreat from Jerusalem, he was pursued by the Jews (*ib.* 19). There,

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too, in the same year, Vespasian halted on his march from Caesarea to Lydda (*ib.* iv, 81).

Antipatris is not marked in the *Tab. Pent.* The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) gives it as 10 R.m. from Lydda and 26 from Caesarea; the *Itin. Ant.*

2. Site. Lydda and 26 from Caesarea; and Eus. and Jer. in the *Onom.* as 6 S. from Galgulis (in all probability the present Jiljehyeh). Schuer (*Hist.* 5130) and others, following Robt. (*BK* 4130 f.), identify it with the present Keir Saba, 23 R.m. (as the crow flies) from Caesarea. But, as Keir Saba is no less than 17 R.m. from Lydda and 2 R.m. N. from Jiljehyeh; as, besides, it has no ancient remains, nor any such wealth of water or encompassing river as Josephus describes, it is more probable that Antipatris lay farther S. on the upper waters of the 'Anjeh, which are about 29 R.m. from Caesarea, 4 S. of Jiljehyeh, and about 11 S. of Lydda, in a district which better suits the data of Josephus. Here Dr. Sandrecky and Sir C. W. Wilson (*PEF Qu. St.*, 1874, p. 192 f.) have suggested the site of *Kal'at Ras el-'Ain*, at the very copious sources of the 'Anjeh, which they identify with the crusading castle of Mirabel (el-Mirr being a neighbouring place-name). They point out, too, that the valley of the 'Anjeh would be a more natural line for the great ditch of Alexander Jannaeus than a line from Keir Saba to the sea. Although Neplamer (*Géog. du Talm.*, 80 ff.) thinks that the Talmud distinguishes between Keir Saba and Antipatris, this is doubtful, for, while their names are given separately, both are defined as border towns—between Samaria, a heathen country, and Judea. These are all the data for the question of position. Without excavation on the sites named, and the discovery of the rest of the Roman road—probably the road by which Paul was brought—traced by L. I. Smith in 1843 from Gophna to the plain, but lost at the edge of the hills (*Biblioth. Sac.* 1475 ff.), it is impossible for us to be certain where exactly Antipatris stood. We cannot expect to find many ruins on the site. Unlike other Herodian sites, it is not stated to have been embellished by great buildings; and the town did not afterwards develop. Buhl (*Pal.*, 1900) favours Ras el-'Ain.

In 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim calls it a *mutatio*, or change-house, not a *castrum* like Lydda (the next 'change' he mentions—Bethar, 10 R.m. towards Caesarea—is perhaps the present el-Tirah, *PEF Mon.* 2106). In 404 the *Perier*, S. Paula calls it 'semirutrum oppidulum'. In 451 it had a bishop (*Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*; cp *Deser. Palaestina*, *des. a* 460), and in 744 it still contained Christians. With their disappearance before the Arabs, the Greek ecclesiastical name would vanish, and has not been recovered (but see the curious statement of a native in *PEF Mon.* 2134, that the name of Keir Saba is Anifatrak). The Crusaders wrongly identified Antipatris with 'Arsif, the ancient Apollonia.

ANTONIA, see JERUSALEM.

ANTOTHIJAH, or rather RV ANTHOTHIAH (אנתותיה, ענתותיה [Gi.], ענתותיה [Bi.]; probably a feminine adjective formed from ANATHOTH [q.v.]), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (q.v.), § 9 ii, β), 1 Ch. 8:24 f. (ANATHATHO [ANATHATHA: A] και ΑΘΕΙΝ [Θω], ANATHATHA [L.]).

ANTOTHITE (אנתותי), 1 Ch. 11:28 AV. See ANATHOTH, 1.

ANUB (ענוב; ENNON[†] [B], ענוב [A], אנוב [L.]; ANUB), a Judahite, descendant of Coz (RV Hakkoz) (1 Ch. 4:8). Probably to be identified with ANAR (We.).

ANUS (אננא [B]), 1 Esd. 9:43 AV = Neh. 8:7 HANAN, 4.

ANVIL (עפר), Is. 41:7 f. See METAL WORK.

APAME (ΑΠΑΜΗ [BA], -ΠΗ [L.]; ܐܡܐ, ܐܡܐ), daughter of Bartaicus and concubine of Darius 1 Esd. 4:29.

APAMEA (Jer. Talm. *Av. l.* 9:2c אִפְמֵיָא, but oftener אִפְמֵיָא), mentioned in the Vg. text of Judith 3:14, apparently as a district ('pertransiens . . . omnem Apameum') in the line of march of Holofernes.

APHARSACHITES

'*Aparsach*, one of the ten districts of N. Syria under Rome (Prof. Geogr. v. 1549), took its name from 'Aparsach, a fortified town (named after Seleucus Nicator's Persian wife), built on a hill some six or more miles east of the Orontes, half-way between Tamesa and Antioch, and now represented by important ruins under the village that occupies the site of the old citadel, now called *Kal'at el-Muqib*. See Strabo, p. 732; Ritter, *Expedition* 17, Abth. ii. 1075-6; L. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.* 71-2 (photo-graphs and map); also ref. in Bengt. *Lev. Jos.*

APE (אֵפֶה, אֵפֶה; ΠΙΘΗΚΟΙ [BAL.]; *simia*, 1 K.

10:22, *Αἰὼν τοῦ αἰῶνος* [BL.], 1 p. 11; 2 Th. 9:24). An animal mentioned among the rarities brought from Ophir by Solomon's fleet. The Heb. *kaphē* 'ape,' is evidently a loan-word,¹ and is usually connected with *kafī*,² the Sanscr. name of the ape; thus the home of the animal, though not necessarily the situation of Ophir, will be indicated. It is mentioned in each case, in MT (the phenomena of *Q* are here very peculiar), in connection with the peacocks of the common story is correct) imported by Solomon from Ophir. Perhaps 'monkey' would be a more correct modern English rendering than 'ape,' which suggests the tailless *quadrumanus*, while the animals of this order represented on the Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions have tails. Just so, *ἀῖθροι* would have been a better Greek rendering than *πίθηκοι* (the LXX word), if Aristotle is correct in making the *πίθηκοι* tailless. Four kinds of monkeys are represented on the Assyrian monuments. Those on the black obelisk of Salmanser II. seem to belong to an Indian species; they appear in company with the Indian elephant and the Bactrian camel (Houghton, 'On the Mammalia of the Assyrian Sculptures,' *TSR*, 15:36 f. [77]). Monkeys (*gib*) and baboons were much in request in Egypt. Queen Hatshepsut ('Hatsa'), 18th dynasty, received them among other rarities from the (African) land of Punt; see the picture of the native ambassadors leading specimens of the *Cynocephalus Hamadryas* and the *Cynocephalus Babuinus*,³ Hatshepsut, however (*KP* 21:63 f.), would identify Solomon's אֵפֶה and אֵפֶה (see P. COCKS) with the *taku* and *kukufi* mentioned in the Amarna tablets in the requests of the Asiatic princes—i.e. different sorts of vessels full of aromatic oil, etc.⁴ Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 81) gives an account of the sixteen ingredients of the Egyptian *ἀφρῆ*.⁵

S. M.—A. L. S.

APELLES (ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ [Ti. WH.], contracted from *Ἀπολλωνιος*) is saluted in Rom. 16:1, where he is called 'the approved (*δοκιμος*) in Christ,' an expression which seems to suggest that he had shown constancy as a confessor in time of trial. Nothing further is known of him. Weissacker suggests that his Christian activity may have been chiefly within the household of Aristobolus also mentioned in *1 Cor. 16:11* (*Post. Age* 1399).

In the list of the 'seventy apostles' which we owe to Pseudo-Dionysius, Appelles is represented as bishop of Hieraclea; that of Pseudo-Hippolytus, much as Smyrna. According to the *synonyma* of Peter and Paul by the Pseudo-synonym Metaphrastes, he was consecrated bishop of Smyrna by Peter.

APHAEREMA (αφαίρεμα [SV[†]], 1 Macc. 11:34 RV, AV APHEREMA).

APHARSACHITES (אִפְרַסַּחִי [Ba.]; אִפְרַס [Gi.]; ΑΦΑΡΣΑΧΑΙΩΝ [BA] but -ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ [B] in Ezra 5:6; -ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ [L.]; see also next 'idol', a word used (Ezra 5:6 f.) apparently as the title of certain officers under Darius. Another form is APHARSACHITES; see Ezra 4:9, where the word is misunderstood (see Ezra, ii.

¹ If it belongs to the original text: see Euseb., § 23.

² Whence also *κῆφος* or *κῆψος*, and Eng. *ape*.

³ Edwards, *Pharaoch, Belshazzar, and Esop*, 292. See also the apes and baboons on a wall-painting in a tomb, *El Bersheh* (Egypt. Explor. Fund), Pl. II, plate xi; (p. 29).

⁴ See Am. Tab. II:25. Wi. 2:4, col. 2:40; 1 *kukufi* Sa . . . [kalen nakamisu, 'a *kukufi* . . . with its lid']; col. 3:43 . . . *kukufi* Sami pabi, ' . . . a *kukufi* of good oil'; Pl. 5, 1, 25 (no. 10) Sami Sa tabu ahiya n'rami H *dule* *kukufi*, 'send me, my brother, good oil, two vessels *kukufi* (so Hal., not in Wi.). *Duk* or *dule* (q. v. *dule*) is the ordinary ideogram for 'vessel, receptacle.'

⁵ The Assyriological notices are mostly due to Prof. Cheyne.

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§ 10) and treated as the name of a tribe settled in Palestine by ASSAPTER. Its etymology is still very uncertain. See G. Hoffmann, *Zd* 254 f.; Marquart, *Fund.* 64; and Andreas in Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gram.*, Glossary, p. 53*.

APHARSATHCHITES, The (אֶפְרַסְתְּחִי [Ba.]; אֶפְרַסְתְּחִי [Gi.]; פֶּרֶסְתְּחִי [B.]; אֶפְרַסְתְּחִי [A.]; אֶפְרַסְתְּחִי [L.]; Ezra 49f. See APARSATHCHITES.

APHARSITES (אֶפְרַסִּי [Ba. Gi.]; אֶפְרַסִּי [B.]; אֶפְרַסִּי [A.]; אֶפְרַסִּי [L.]; mentioned in Ezra 49f. as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASSAPTER. Various attempts at identification have been made (*Persians*, by Rawlinson, *Pulp. Com.* ad loc., but see *KAT* 370; *Persia*, a Median tribe, by Del. *Par.* 327); but the word is best regarded as a scribe's error, related (some think) to אֶפְרַסִּי (EY APARSACHITES, Ezra 56 66), or, more probably, miswritten for אֶפְרַסִּי, 'scribes.' The last letter of אֶפְרַסִּי (MT אֶפְרַסִּי, see TAPPELITES) was attached by dittography to the next word (Marquart, *Fund.* 64).

APHEK (פֶּן אֶפֶק [Ba. L.]). It is not easy to determine how many places of this name are mentioned in the OT. Only one of them has been satisfactorily identified.

1. In Josh. 134 (אֶפֶק [B.], אֶפֶקָ [A.], -אֶק [L.]) Aphek appears as the limit of the Sidonian country, apparently as its northern limit towards the Gileadites or Byblians. This Aphek, therefore, is commonly identified with Aphaca (now *Ifka*), famous for its sanctuary of Astarte, which lies at the source of the river of Byblus, the Adonis or (as it is now called) Nahr Ibrahim; 'cp Lucian, *De Syria* 6-8.

2. The Aphek assigned in Josh. 1930 to the tribe of Asher is mentioned in Judg. 131 (where the name is written אֶפֶק, אֶפֶק, אֶפֶק [A.], אֶפֶק [B.]) as one of the towns which the Canaanites were able to maintain against the invaders. Here also some suppose that Aphaca is meant; but it is difficult to believe that Asher ever attempted to extend so far north, and, as it appears from Josh. 1711 that Asher had a theoretical claim to part of the plain of Sharon S. of Mt. Carmel as far at least as Dor, it is probable that Aphek in Sharon (no. 3) is meant.

3. In Josh. 1213 (אֶפֶק [B.]) we read, in the list of the kings smitten by Joshua, 'the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one'; but it is better to emend the verse with the aid of *Θ* ('Ὁφὲκ τῆς Ἀρώκ) and read 'the king of Aphek in the (plain of) Sharon, one' (see Di. on the passage). This Aphek in Sharon, as Wellhausen has pointed out, is the city (α) from which the Syrians of Damascus made repeated attacks on Samaria, 1 K. 202630 (אֶפֶקָ [Ba.], -אֶק [L.]), 2 K. 1317,2 and (β) and (γ) from which the Philistines assembled their forces for war with Israel before the battles of Gilboa (1 S. 291) and of Eben-ezer (1 S. 41; Jos. אֶפֶקָ or אֶפֶקָ).

(α) As regards the Aphek of Kings: that it lay in a lowland plain is clear from 1 K. 2023, and that the plain is that of Sharon follows from 2 K. 1322 *Θ*, where we find the addition (undoubtedly genuine) 'and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand from the Western sea to Aphek.' Aphek therefore lay on the verge of Philistia—i.e., in Sharon—and we must understand that, both in Benhadad's time and in the time of Hazael, the Syrians avoided the difficulties of a direct attack on the central mountain-land of Canaan by striking into the maritime plain south of Carmel and so securing the mastery of the fertile coast-land without having to besiege Samaria. Their route would, in fact, be the present great road from Damascus to Ramleh through Megiddo.³ At Aphek,

¹ On this passage see ASHR, § 2.
² See We. *CH* 254; cp *Hist.*, ET, 39 (but cp GASm. *HG* 350 401 f.).

³ Cp the route of Al Nābulus, ed. Tach.

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somewhere in the north of the Sharon Plain, they had a great military post from which they could direct their armies either against Samaria or against the Philistines (2 K. 1217 [12]).

(β) As regards the Aphek of Samuel: it is clear that a point in the northern part of the Sharon Plain, on the road to Megiddo and the plain of Esdraelon, is appropriate to 1 S. 291. The mustering place of the Philistines cannot have been in the heart of the Hebrew territory, least of all at such a place as el-Fakīn' on Mt. Gilboa (in the rear of Saul's army) where it is absurdly placed by Conder and Armstrong. It is argued that the Philistines were at Shumen (1 S. 284) before they reached Aphek; but to argue thus is to forget that 1 S. 28425, the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, is a distinct narrative, by a different hand, and that 291 originally followed directly on 281 f.

(γ) Finally, the attack on central Israel which issued in the battle of Eben-ezer and the destruction of Shiloh (1 S. 4) would naturally be taken to have been made from the same Aphek, were it not that commentators have assumed that the position of Eben-ezer, and therefore of Aphek, is fixed somewhere near Mizpah by 1 S. 712. It is certainly safer, however, to distinguish the battlefield of Eben-ezer in 1 S. 41 from the stone Eben-ezer set up by Samuel many years later, than to assume the existence of two Apheks fitted to be the starting point of a Philistine campaign (cp EBEN-EZER). And here also it is to be observed that chaps. 4 and 7 are derived from distinct documents, and that the historical value of the second is very insecure.

From what has been said it will appear without further argument that it is illegitimate to seek an Aphek in the region, between Mt. Tabor and the Sea of Galilee, to which Eus. and Jer. give the name of Saron, or to place the Aphek of Kings at the caravan-station of Fik in the mountains to the E. of the Sea of Galilee. This may be the Apheca near Hippus or Hippe of OS 9124 and 21972; but is not a biblical site.

The existence of an Aphek in Sharon is put beyond doubt by the following additional evidence. *First*, in the lists of Thotmes III. (c. 1600 B.C.) nos. 60-76 form a group by themselves; 62 is Joppa, 64 Lydda, 65 Ono. Then come 66 Apukn, 67 Suka, 68 Yhm. At this last place, Thotmes had to decide which of three roads he should take over Carmel. Yhm must therefore have lain near the most southerly road—that is, somewhat south of the mouth of the Wādī 'Abū Nār—and may be the present Yemma by the high road along the edge of the Samaritan Hills. Suka is doubtless the present Shuweikēh, 2 m. farther S. Apukn therefore lay between it and Ono. Maspero, it is true, identified Suka and Apukn with the Judean Shocoh and Apheka of Josh. 154853; but W. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 161) has shown that the list contains nothing S. of Ajalon. The *n* of Apukn may be the common termination of place-names *pn*. Max Müller says it may also be read as *i*. *Secondly*, in the autumn of 66 A.D. Cestius Gallus, advancing on Jerusalem from Caesarea, reached Antipatris, and 'sent before' a party to drive the Jews out of 'the tower of Aphek' (Ἱέρως Ἀφὲκωδ). After taking the tower he marched on Lydda (Jos. BJ ii. 191). This agrees with the data of Thotmes III. and places Aphek between the River 'Anfeh and Lydda. Here there is now no place-name which affords any help in the case, unless it be that of the village Fejjeh—i.e., originally, Feggēh—about 9 m. NE. of Joppa (which, however, does not lie quite near enough to the E. limit of the plain to suit Lucian's text of 2 K. 1322), and it ought not to be overlooked that in a list of medieval Arab place-names quoted by Röhrich (*ZDPV*, 1896) there occur both Sair Fuka and Fakīn. *Again*, in a fragment of Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) a city Apku is described as 30 'kasbu-kakkar' from Raphia on the Egyptian frontier. Schrader (*KAT* 204), who translates kasbu kakkar by 'double leagues', takes Apku to lie on

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the E. of the lake of Gennesaret (*i.e.*, the present Tiberias) and the Aphek of 1 K 20.20, etc. This, however, seems less likely to give the distance from Raphia of a place so situated than of an Aphek on the plain of Sharon. The 'Aphek' it may be remarked, is 70 m. from Raphia. It ought not to be overlooked that the particularising of one Aphek as 'in Sharon' (Josh. 12.11; see above, 3) implies the existence of other Apheks in the land.

G. A. S.

APHEKA (אֶפְקָא, אֶפְקָא [M.L.], פֶּאקוּדָא [B]), an unidentified city in the mountain-land of Judah (Josh. 15.35).

APHEREMA RV APHEREMA (אֶפְרַיִם [N.], אֶפְרַיִם [V.], אֶפְרַיִם [M.L.]), 1 Macc. 11.4, probably a Graecised form of the city-name EPHRAIM (*q.v.*, n.).

APHERRA (אֶפְרָא [B.V.]), a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NEPHTHIM) in the great post-exilic list (Ezra, ii. 39, § 80), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5.11 (om. L) after Pochereth-hazzebaum of Ezra 2.57 = Neh. 7.59.

APHIAH (אֶפְיָא [B.L.], אֶפְיָא [A.], אֶפְיָא [A.]), 1 S 9.11, according to MT, one of Saul's ancestors; but 'son of Aphiah, a Benammin', should probably be of Gilead of Benjamin (אֶפְיָא בֶּן-בְּנֵימִן). So virtually Wellhausen; but he did not notice that Aphiah (cp *Q*) and note that אֶפְיָא in Relat. N. 318 is a corruption of Gilead. This was reserved for Marquart (*Found.* 15).

T. K. C.

APHIK (אֶפִּיק), Judg. 1.14. See APHIC, 2.

APHRAH, HOUSE OF, RV Beth-le Aphrah (בֵּית אֶפְרָא),

אֶפְרָא אוֹרֵקוּדָא קַטָּאֶלְוֹטָא [B.V.], Mic. 1.6f. the name of a town not identified with any certainty. The determination of the site of Beth-le Aphrah cannot be separated from the larger question of the text of the whole passage, Mic. 1.6-13, which cannot be discussed here (see Taylor, *MT of Mic.*; Ryssel, *Untersuch.* on the Book of Mic. 26 ff.; W. K. P. *Phyph.*; W. A. P. *Unters.* 185 f., 104-113). So much, however, is plain: the vocalisation cannot be trusted, especially in view of the paronomasia ('house of dust' RV mg.), and even the consonants were differently read by *Q*. The older writers (e.g., Winer, so now also Nowack) identified Aphrah with OPHRAH (*q.v.*); cp Pesh. 'the houses of Ophrah'. But the context seems to demand some place farther W. and S. Winkler, with his rather too ingenious emendation 'Bethel' (reading אֶפְרָא for אֶפְרָא *IOB*, *Le.*), seeks to avoid this objection by reading 'Gildat' for the historically impossible 'Gath,' and (with We.) 'Bekaim' (see Beckwith) for the very questionable אֶפְרָא (in 1.14, Hitz. *KGH*, ad loc.), followed by Mithani in *HEB* 21, suggests a 'Afra' that Yāqūt (*Mo'jam el-buhār*, sub: *ec.*) mentions as 'a castle in Palestine near Jerusalem.' Ges.-B. suggests doubtfully *Belegabra* (Eleutheropolis, *Bar Libani*), which, however, represents an Aram. בית-גברא (Nestle in *ZDP* 1.224 f.). Perhaps the name of the Wady el-Ghaffr running E. not far S. of Mirash may be an echo of Micah's Aphrah. So G.A.S. (*Twelve Proph.* 138). Che. (*QJR*, July 1898). The S in אֶפְרָא seems to be a scribe's error (as if 'in the dust').

APHSES (אֶפְסֵס), 1 Ch. 21.15, AV, RV HAPPIZZA.

APIS (אֶפִּיס; אֶפִּיס [B.V.], אֶפִּיס [A.], אֶפִּיס [A.]), (superscript *Q* 1.60); Egyptian *Hapi*, the Nile-bull-god of Memphis (see EGYPT, § 14). Though the name of this famous deity does not occur in EV, he is mentioned once in OT (Jer. 46.15a). *Q* alone has preserved the true division of the words, for אֶפִּיס AV 'are swept away' (similarly RV Pesh. Vg.), we must read אֶפִּיס אֶפִּיס 'hath fled Apis' (אֶפִּיס אֶפִּיס). Cp König, *Synthe* 210, n. 1. For an analogous correction see Geschechicht and Cornill ad loc. and cp CATI, Got. m. s. 2.

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APOCALYPSE, THE (BOOK OF REVELATION)

According to the best authorities (SC¹ [in subscription] 28, 82, 93, 95; 11. W. 11), the title runs 1. Name. ἀποκαλύψας ἡμῶν (cp. Later MSS add τοῦ θεολογίου (Q and many cursives), or τοῦ ἀποστόλου, or τοῦ απ. καὶ ἐπαγγέλιου (P vg. cod., Syr. 1).

In almost all MSS the Apocalypse now holds the last place in the NT. The stichometry of Cod. Bezae Cantabrigiae (D. Paul) arranges as follows: Evang. Paul. Cath. Apoc. Act. (see Greg. *Prolog.* 31.6; cp also what is said about the Evangelia, 175 and 368). In the Syriac version of the Apocalypse which has been edited by Gwynn, the book was preceded by the Fourth Gospel. The hiatus in Cod. D was perhaps originally occupied by the Apocalypse and Johanneine Epistles (Bousset, *NTZ*, 1892), thus giving the order Evang., Apoc., Epist. Joh., Acts. All this perhaps indicates that the Apocalypse and the other Johanneine writings were originally handed down together. The point of fact, Tertullian actually speaks of an 'instrumentum Johannis,' which consisted of Apoc. and 1 Jn. (*Rescript.* 38, 39; *Paul.* 19; *Enchiridion* 33). Cp Rensch, *Die neue Test. Textual.* 528.

The book seems to be presupposed in two places in the Ignatian epistles. (1) *Ad Eph.* 15: ἵνα ὡς αὐτοῦ

2. External evidence: canonicity.

Paul (N¹ read λαοί in Rom. 21.3 καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡνὶν θύς. (b) *Ad Philad.* 6: οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ στήλαι εἰσὶν καὶ τόφοι νεκρῶν ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων (cp Rev. 3.12 f., in the epistle to the church of Philadelphia). Andrew of Caesarea, moreover, mentions Papias, amongst others, as bearing witness to the Apocalypse (ταύτη προμαρτυροῦντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον), and on Rev. 13.7 adduces (324. ff., ed. Sylle. two observations taken verbatim from Papias. That Irenaeus does not mention the testimony of Papias is doubtless to be accounted for by the historian's unfriendly attitude towards the book. Irenaeus appeals in support of the traditional number 666 to 'elders' who had actually seen John. (In all probability we could reduce this testimony of the elders to that of Papias alone; Harnack, *Chron. der altchristl. Lit.* 133 ff.). We find a writer so early as Justin asserting the book to be apostolical (*Dial.* 81: παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ τις ὃς ὄνομα Ἰωάννης εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ ἐκ ἄποκ.) and canonical (4.14.1. 23: ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων συγγραμμάτων κατὰ δόξαν). This early recognition of the Apocalypse as a canonical writing need not surprise us: the book itself puts forward a claim to this character (13.7, 22.18).

In the second half of the second century we find the Apocalypse widely recognised.

It is generally current (a) in Asia Minor, alike among Montanists, anti-Montanists (Apollonius; Euseb. *HE* v. 18.14), and mediating writers (Melito of Sardis; *ib.* iv. 26.2); and (b) in Gaul, both with Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 22.1 ff. iii. 1. 34. xi. v. 30.1) and in the writing of the church of Lugdunum and Vienna (in Eus. *HE* v. 18).

3. 2nd Cent. (c) In Africa, as already mentioned, Tertullian knows of an *instrumentum Johannis* to which both the Apocalypse and 1 Jn. belong; the *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas* shows acquaintance with it (cp *cc.* Land 12). (d) In Egypt the *Judith of Petri* seems to know the book (Hilgenf. *Nor. Test. extr. Civ. Rescriptum* 101); (e) for Antioch, Bishop Theophilus (Eus. *HE* iv. 24) is our witness to the same effect; and (f) for Rome, the Muratorian Canon. (g) Clement of Alexandria cites the Apocalypse (*Prolog.* 2 n. 3. 114; *Strom.* 6.16). Origen is unaware of any reason for doubting its apostolic origin (in *Jos. Hom.* 6; cp Eus. *HE* vi. 25.9).

The situation changes, however, in the third century. As early as in the second century Marcion had refused to recognise the book (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 1. 4).

4. 3rd Cent. both the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel to Cerinthus (Epiph. *Haer.* 51, Philast. *Haer.* 60, Hippolytus; cp Iren. iii. 11.6) probably on account of their own hostility to Montanism (after Irenaeus; Th. Zahn, *Einleitung* 2. 12. 9 ff., Bousset, *Konm.* 16 f.).

This opposition by the Alogi was continued by the Roman presbyter Caius, who, in his dispute with the Montanist Priscus,

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also attributed the work to Cerinthus (Euseb. *HF* iii, 28). From the relation of Caus by Hippolytus (*apokalypsa kata Iason*, Assen. *Bibl.* 16, 18, 115; fragments in *Exegym*, *Hebr.* 11, 12, 13) equals the writing catalogued in the inscription on the throne: *ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ κυρίου* we learn that Caus directly took up and continued the criticism of the Apoc.

The criticism of Dionysius of Alexandria (Euseb. *HF* vii, 25) was more moderate and more effective. He does not hold Cerinthus to have been the author of the Apocalypse, but conjectures that it must have been the work of some other John than the son of Zebedee, arguing from a comparison between the Apocalypse on the one hand and the Gospel and Epistles on the other as to style, language, and contents. The criticism of Dionysius was afterwards taken up by Eusebius, who was the first to provide a firm basis for the conjecture of Dionysius as to a second John by a reference to what Papias says of 'both' Johns (*HF* iii, 39) and inclines to class the Apocalypse with the spurious books, *apoc.* *HF* iii, 25-4).

Henceforward the view of Dionysius and Eusebius became the prevailing one in the Eastern Church.

The book was recognised, indeed, by Athanasius of Tyre (*Synops.* 156, 84 ff.) and Pamphilus (*Apok.*, ed. de la Rue, 124 ff.), but on the other hand unrecognised by Cyril (*Catech.* 133-5), Greg. of Naz. (*Carin.* 11), the Synod of Laodicea (Can. 64, see Zahn, *op. cit.* 217 ff.), the *Apostolical Constitution* (Can. 85 [84]; Zahn, 219 ff.), the *Lambus* of Seleucus (Zahn, 217).

6. Eastern Church. The Apocalypse is not mentioned by Theodore of Mopsuestia, or by Chrysostom (p. the *epitropia* of the Synops. of Chrysostom, Zahn, 220), or by Theodoret. In the *Antilegomena* of Nicephorus, manipulated in Jerusalem (150-85; Zahn, 223, 26 ff.) it figures among the Antilegomena; in the list of the sixty canonical books it is not found, though it is again introduced into the *Synops.* of Athanasius.

The unfavourable judgment of the Syrian church regarding it is very noteworthy.

The *Doctrine of Addai* which, in the form in which we now have it, dates from about 400 A.D., recognises, as authoritative scripture, nothing beyond the four gospels (Diatessaron), the Pauline Epistles, and Acts. From the Peshitta it is wholly absent. Whether Ephraim recognises the Apocalypse as canonical is, to say the least, doubtful. The Greek works that pass under his name, being of uncertain authenticity, cannot here be taken into account, and thus the evidence that he did appears to rest mainly on a single passage (*Opera*, Assen. 227, cp. Rev. 51-52). In any case, the noteworthy fact remains that Ephraim cites the Apocalypse but little, and develops his apocalyptic ideas on lines supplied by other writings.²

Besides, the Syrian Church did not look upon the book with favour.³ Jacob of Edessa (*op.* 708) cites it (Ephraemi opera, ed. Assen. 192), and Bar Sahb (*op.* 177), bishop of Mabug (Mabugh), comments on it (Gwynn, *lxxxvii* ed.); but Bar Hebraeus (*op.* 123) holds it to be the work of Cerinthus or of the 'other' John (Assen. *Bibl.* *Or.* 815), and 'Ebed Jesu' (*op.* 113) omits it from his list of canonical scriptures. In an Armenian Canon also, by Mesbhar of Nivrank (1290), the Apocalypse is reckoned among the Antilegomena.

Though the opposition to the Apocalypse was thus persistent in the Syrian Church, it gradually died away in the other Eastern provinces.

7. Rest of East. The book is acknowledged by Athanasius, Basil, Cyr. Alex., Nilus, Father of Pelusium (Egypt),⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius of Salamis, and Johannes Damascanus. Andrew, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, wrote his commentary on it in the first half of the fifth century. He was not, however, followed in this until the ninth century, when Arethas, his successor in office, also undertook the task.

In the Western Church, on the other hand, the Apocalypse was accepted unanimously from the first.

8. West. Hippolytus (see above) defended and commented on it in a no longer extant work, and makes copious quotations from it in his Commentary on Daniel and in his *De Antichristo*.

Similarly, it is recognised by Lactantius (*Inst.* 2, 27, 3, 4; 42; cp. 715 ff.), Hilary (*De Trin.* 10, 11), Ambrose

¹ Gwynn (*The Apokalypsa of St. John in a Syriac Version*, Dublin-London, 1897, p. ciii) cites also De Lamy, *Hyom.* 106 a passage which the present writer finds himself unable to accept as proof.

² Thomas of Harkel, it is true, included it in his translation, as probably also according to the latest researches of Gwynn) did Philoxenus of Mabug (Mabugh).

³ See Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis* (2, Bonn, 1829).

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(*De Virg.* 14, *De Spiritu* 3, 20), Rufinus (*Exp. in Apoc.* 1-11; on Novatius, Commodian, Amobius, and others see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*).

Augustine (in *Trang. Joh.* 13, 6, 17; 118, 17; *De Civ.* 2, 27) insists on the identity of the author of the Gospel with the writer of the Apocalypse.

The book was acknowledged at the synods of Hippo (19) and Carthage (397). As early as the end of the third century it was commented on by Victorinus, bishop of Pettau (*op.* 103 A.D.). He was followed by the Donatist Theodorus (before 385).

An exceptional position was taken up by Jerome, who, under eastern influence, relegated the Apocalypse to the second class of *scripturae catholicæ* (*in Is.* 149), as also afterwards by Philastrius, if it be indeed the case that the book was not mentioned in the Canon of his *De hæresibus* 87 f.

At a later date the capitulum Aquileiense (*Corp. Lit.*, *cap.* 177, 2, cap. 20), adopting the decision of the Synod of Laodicea, removed it from the Canon.

At the Reformation the view of Jerome was revived by Erasmus in his *Annotationes*. Luther's well-known

9. Since Reformation. adverse judgment, pronounced in his preface of 1522, rests more on a religious than on a scientific foundation. Subsequently he gradually modified his view in a sense more favourable to the book. In his translation, however, he indicated his unfavourable opinion so far as all events that he relegated James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse to the end of the NT without pagination. The 1st edition of the NT in this form appeared in 1609.

Carlstadt (*Intellect de canonis scripturarum*, 1520), falling back on the canon of Eusebius, classed the Apocalypse among the seven Antilegomena. The opposition to its reception lasted down to the following century, and disappeared only after the introduction of John Gerhard's cunningly devised distinction between canonical and deuter-canonical writings (*Loc. theol.* 1, cap. 9, § 241). In the reformed churches the opposition disappeared much earlier—from the time of Calvin, indeed.

In the eighteenth century the question was again revived by Abauzit (*Phisians hist. sur l'Apoc.* (in *Cheremistories*, tom. 1, 1770); Hermann Oeder (*Christlich freie Untersuchung*, 1720), *sovereignste Offenb. Joh.*, published by Semler, Halle, 1799), reverting to the view of Caus of Rome, attributed the book to Cerinthus. He was followed by Semler (*Freie Untersuchung der Canon*, 1772), and in many controversial writings, and by Corrodi (*Gesch. der Philonismus*, 1781). The last defence was that of Hartwig (*Apokalypsa Joh.*, 1780-81). Cp also the successive editions of J. D. Michælis, *Einl. in die göttlichen Schriften* from 1750 onwards.

Our sources for the text are the following:—

A. *Greek MSS.*—(1) *Evangel.* It exists in *8AC* (39-51, 7-14-17, 8-5-216, 10-10-11, 11-13-18-2, 19-5-22-21) being absent also in P¹.

10. Text.—(1) *Evangel.* Porfirianus Chioensis sec. 9, A¹ Cath. Paul. Apoc. (10-12-17, 19-12-20-22-6-2) being absent.

the material. and Q (in Tischendorf, B, Vaticanus 2066 sec. 8 (Apoc. 1013)). (2) *Cursive.* Of these some seventy are more or less collated. Their readings can be learned from the editions and collations of Mill-Kuster (1710), Bengel (1744 ff.), Wetstein (1751-2), Matthæi (1782-88, tom. x.), Alier (1780-87), Birch (*Varie Lect. in Apoc.*, 1800), Schulz (1803), Schneier (*Index Augustin.*, 1859; *Adversaria Critica*, 191), Tregelles (57-72), Tischendorf (ed. octava major), Alford (*New Test.* vol. iv, ed. 2, 1885), Simcox (*J. Phil.* 22, 285 ff.).

B. Versions.—(1) *Latin.*—A good deal is now known about these. The oldest stage is represented by h (Florænsis), the Latin translation used by Primasius (Haußleiter, *Forschungen zur Gesch. der Kanons* iv); the intermediate, by the Gigas Holmensis (ed. Holsheim, 79). The best material for the Vulgate is brought together in Lachmann (*Nov. Test.*) and Tischendorf. (2) *Syriac.* A valuable Syriac rendering (probably the Philonensis) has recently been edited by Gwynn (*op. cit.*)³. The Syriac MSS. hitherto known (see Gwynn, *lxxv* ff.) represent the text of Thomas of Harkel. (3) *Importance* also attaches to the still comparatively unexplored Coptic (see Gwynn, *Stud. Theol.* 1), and Armenian versions.

C. Church Fathers. There are copious citations in Origen, Hippolytus (especially in the *De Antichristo*) and in the com-

¹ See F. Delitzsch, *Handschriftliche Fund.*, 1861, B. Weiss, 'Die Joh.-Apok.' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 1 (1911); W. Bousset, 'Text-kritische Studien' in *Texte u. Untersuch.* 114 (1914); Gwynn, *The Apokalypsa in a Syriac version*, 1897; on which see T. K. Abbot, 'Syriac version of Apokalypsa,' *Herm. athena*, 1897, pp. 27-35.

² See 1st note.

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mentary on Daniel; see the new edition by Bonwetsch and Achelis) and Cyprian. The text used by Andrew of Caesarea and Arethas in their commentaries has not as yet been fully established. The text of the last commentary of Theodorus can best be made out from the excerpt from the commentary on the Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies.

In the attempt to classify this material, it is best to begin with the class which shows the latest text—namely,

11. **Classifica- tion.**

(1) the Arethas class, so named because a text of this order was used by Arethas for his Commentary (hence also many cursives of this class are, strictly speaking, MSS of Arethas Commentaries). To this class belong Q and about forty of the more or less known cursives. The material being so defective, separate groups within the class can hardly be distinguished.

Tentatively and under great reservation a few may here be suggested: (i) 96, 111, 127, 131 are somewhat closely connected (cp *HE* v. 1874, p. 632); (ii) 12, 2, 114, 115, 131, 204, 30, 97 (the last three very intimately related); 94, 100, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The second class, which we can detach from the rest as having arisen out of a later recension, is (2) the so-called 'Andrew' class—the class to which the text used by Andrew (see above, § 10 c) in his commentary belonged. It falls into several clearly distinguishable subordinate groups.

(i) The group consisting of 15, 63, 87, 121 stands almost entirely apart, presenting as it does many points of contact with the Arethas group, but often showing a very peculiar text. The following three groups, on the other hand, are very closely akin: (ii) 1, 12, 15, 81, 182 (often with a very archaic Latinising substratum); (iii) 22, 73, 79, 80, 92; (iv) 119, 175, 37, 94, 121, 101, 96, 154, 161. Each of these is being ranked with this class as a whole, but cannot be associated with any of the subordinate groups in particular.

Of all the known cursives there are only (3) four—{20}, 38, 51, 95—which it has hitherto been found impossible to classify; they show an ancient text.

It is as yet difficult to detect the 'Western text'

12. **'Western Text.'**

(see *Text*) in the Apocalypse; but this will gradually become practicable as in recent years new sources have become accessible.

Witnesses to it, though only in part, are the *inicial* π (with a very erratic and only partially ancient text), the text of Primasius (identical, according to Hanssler's investigations, with Cyprian's text, and thus old African), the fragments of β , the Gigas Holmensis, γ , Hieronymus containing a later development of the text), and the Syriac version edited by Gwynn and designated Σ (the latter version known as Σ shows a text almost everywhere corrected in accordance with the Arethas class, though in many places also it contains a text older than Σ). To the same category belong also, in part, the group 1, 12, 36, 21, 152 (cp Gwynn, *etc.*), and, finally, the Armenian version, which, unfortunately, is not yet sufficiently known (note the coincidence of 1, 12, 36, etc. with arm.; cp Bousset, *Comm.*, 175). A further point worthy of notice is the close affinity of π , Σ (S), and Origen's, one might almost venture to constitute $\pi\Sigma$ or a distinct group in the Western Class (Bousset, 181; Gwynn, *loc. cit.*).

Distinctly the best text is that presented by ACVg. The Vulgate furnishes us with good means of controlling the text of AC, especially where

13. **Result.**

the two differ or where C is wanting. AVg., therefore, where C is wanting, often constitutes a stronger testimony than that of all the other witnesses together.

'John' can be that heard and saw these things' (22: RV; cp 14: 1). Are we to identify this John with the apostle, the son of Zebedee? Within the book itself 21: 4 might fairly be urged against this identification. 'The

14. **Professed author.**

first to submit the question to thorough discussion was Dionysius of Alexandria (see above, § 4); in the result he attributed the book to another John. 'This theory of a second John, adopted also by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39: 1 ff.), was not'—in the present century (Bleek, Ewald, de Wette, Lücke, Numbler, Düstordieck, etc.), the John of the Apocalypse being usually in this case identified with the 'Presbyter' of *Eus. HE* iii. 39: 1 ff. Criticism advanced another step, however,

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and declared the whole tradition regarding the presence of John the Apostle and Evangelist in Asia Minor to have been due to a confusion between his name and that of the presbyter.

St. Angel, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1804: 1, 2; Zeller, *Die kirchliche Tradition über den Apostel Johannes*, 1844; Kuntz, *Die Joh. von Nazareth*, 1867, 1868 f.; Scholten, *Der Ap. Johannes in Kleinasien*, 1872; Weittenbach, *Das Papianische Fragment*, 1874; Thoma, *Das Johannische*, 1882; and others. A recent edition of Hagenfeld, *ZIT*, 1886: 57, also Zahn, *St. Paulus*, 1890: 49 ff.; *Die Johanneische Schrift*, St. K., 1898, p. 194 ff.; Herzig, *RTD*, 1895: 75 ff.

The question is difficult. The first remark to be made upon it is that the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—finds only slender support in ancient tradition. Whatever the interpretation we may put on the important testimony of Papias preserved by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 39: 1 ff.), it is at least certain that Papias speaks not of two Johns in Asia Minor—the apostle and the presbyter—but of one John, whom we are to look for as a near neighbour of Papias in space and time. Of a second John the second century and the first half of the third know nothing; he is unknown to Irenaeus and to those who disputed the claims of the Fourth Gospel, to the Allog and to Celsus, to Tertullian, to Clement, and to Origen. Not till the time of Dionysius of Alexandria is reached do we find any indication of the sort (*Eus. HE* vi. 25: 16). Even Dionysius alleges no other evidence than that in his day two graves of 'John' were shown.

The inference he draws from this—that there must have been two Johns—is by no means a string of one. It would not be less reasonable to suppose that in his day the precise burial-place of John was no longer known, or that the two *apocrypha* presented two distinct 'places' of John (so Jer. *de corr. ill.*, 9: *due memorie*; Zahn, *Acta Jo.*, clvi). For this supposition, Eusebius has supplied a plausible basis by combining the statement of Papias about two Johns with the traditions mentioned by Dionysius about two graves of John at Ephesus.

If the assumption that there were two Johns in Asia Minor proves to be a baseless hypothesis—and its baselessness is shown by the fact, among other things, that the 'John' of Asia Minor is so often spoken of without distinguishing

16. **Viz., the Presbyter.**

phrase of any kind—the question which text arises is as to whether this John was the apostle or the presbyter. At this point the important testimony of Papias turns the scale in favour of the presbyter. For his contemporary and the authority whom he quotes is—next to Aristion—the 'presbyter' John (*Eus. HE* iii. 39: 1); and Aristion and John are doubtless also to be identified with the *προφῆται* whom, according to *Eus. HE* iii. 39: 3, Papias could still directly interrogate. The evidence of 2 Jn. and 3 Jn., claiming as they do to be written by the *προφῆται*, points in the same direction. Moreover, as has already been pointed out (§ 11), the Apocalypse apparently does not profess to have been written by the apostle. On the other side, it is true, we already find Justin (*Dial.* 81; see above, § 2) asserting the apostolic authorship. It is, however, noticeable that Irenaeus—for whom the Gospel, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse are all by one and the same author—speaks of John as an apostle only in indefinite expressions similar to those in Gal. 1: 19, but elsewhere invariably designates him as 'disciple' (*μαθητής*); see Bousset, *op. cit.* 41 ff.

Further, Irenaeus, who calls Papias a disciple of John, also speaks of Polycarp as his fellow-disciple (*Eus. HE* iii. 39: 1). If we refuse to suppose that Irenaeus had already confounded the presbyter with the apostle, then the great teacher of Polycarp was also, according to Irenaeus, the 'presbyter' John; for Papias was a disciple of the presbyter. In the Murabaran canon, further, John is called simply 'discipulus,' whereas Andrew is 'apostolus.' The testimony also of Polycrates in the letter to Victor (*ap. Eus. HE* v. 24: 2 ff.) claims particular attention in this connection. Here, in a passage where everything turns upon the exact titles of the persons named, Polycrates designates

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s the *συνεργία* of Asia Minor (1) the apostle Philip and his daughters, (2) John who lay on the bosom of the Lord, *κατὰ τὸν κόλπον* who was buried in Ephesus, *ὁ ἐξουσίῃς ἰσχυρὸς τὸ πύλαρον πεφορημένος*, (3) the bishops Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, Papias, Meito. Polycrates thus designates, plainly with intention, the author of the Fourth Gospel also as teacher and witness, not as apostle. Indeed, the traditions relating to the Fourth Gospel become much more intelligible if we are able to assume that the witness (In 1913, *ἐκδοὺς ὁμολογία* is not the Galilean apostle, the son of Zebedee, but another John, a Jerusalemite (Bousset, *Komm.* 41 f.). It may also be remarked that the statement of the Fourth Gospel — that the beloved disciple was 'known unto the high priest' (18.1) — harmonises well with the account of Polycrates, 'who became priest' (*ὁς ἑαυτὸν ἐξουσίῃς*, cp further, H. Döll, *St. Kr.*, 1891, and Harnack, *Church*, 1.50 ff.).

The inference from all this would seem to be that the (true) John of Asia Minor, who was the presbyter, was one who had seen Jesus indeed, but not one of the number of the apostles. The John of the Apocalypse (cp the superscription of the Epistles) is thus the presbyter.

Whether the Apocalypse was really written by him is another question. In order to understand how the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel could both be attributed to the same disciple of the Lord, it is necessary to remove them both a little distance away from him. John is only the eye-witness, not the author of the Fourth Gospel; so, in like manner, in the Apocalypse we may have here and there a passage that can be traced to him, but the book as a whole is not from his pen. Gospel, Epistles, and Apocalypse all come from the same school. They show also at various points linguistic affinities (Bousset, *Komm.* 202 ff.). They had, moreover, at first the same history — they were, it would seem, the favourite writings of Montanism, and were all three alike rejected by the opponents of Montanism, the Alogi.

The earliest Greek fathers who in any measure attempted to interpret the Apocalypse were Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Methodius:

Irenaeus, in *Adv. Haer.* 5; Hippolytus, in *Comm.* on Daniel, in *apocryphic text*, *τοῦ ἀποκαλύπτου*, in extant fragments of the *ἀποκάλυψις κατὰ Πάριον*, and in a no longer extant commentary on the book itself.

18. Interpretation: Greek and Latin. Methodius, in *Symph.* 15.45-54 ff. Of continuous commentaries originating in the Greek Church we possess only those of Andrew (5th cent., ed. Sylburg) and of Arethas (6th cent., ed. Cramer).

The oldest Latin commentary, which contains much interesting and ancient material (for example, the interpretation of various passages referring to Nero), is that of Victorinus of Pettau (c. 303). We possess it only in Jerome's redaction. Haussleiter is about to edit it in its original form. An exceedingly powerful influence was exercised also by the commentary of Tyconius.

This work is, unfortunately, no longer extant, and has to be reconstructed, as far as the materials allow, from the pseudo-Augustinian *Homilies in Apoc.* (Migne, *Pat. Lat.* 35), the commentary of Pseudo-Basilius (c. 886, ed. p. 100, Basel, 1841), and (finally) the great compilations of Bede, written in 776 (*on Apoc. Rev.*, ed. Horst, 1773).

In his commentary, written before 380 A.D., wholly from the Donatistic point of view, Tyconius consistently carries out the spiritualistic interpretation. In his explanation of the millennium passage (20.1 ff.) he was afterwards followed by Augustine (Bousset, *Komm.* 65). Down to the Middle Ages the exegesis of the book continued to follow that of Tyconius, if his Donatistic tendency he left out of account.

¹ Cp. also below, §§ 28 and 31.

² See Lucke, *Funk. in der Offenbarung* (2), 1853; Holtzmann, *HK* 3; Bousset, *Komm.* 21 ff.

³ See Haussleiter, *ZKNT* 7.291 ff.; Bousset, *Komm.* 60 ff.

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Apart from the works already named, mention must be made of those of Cassiodorus (*Commentaries in Apocalypsin* [ed. S. P. Maffey, Florence, 1721]), Bede (c. 735; *explanatio apocalypsis in Biblioth. Pat.*, Cologne, vol. 5), and Androsius Anstetius (c. 770; *in Apocalypsin* [ed. R. L. F. F.], vol. 3). Theopandus, in turn, on Anstetius' account (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 100) and Raymo of Halberstadt (1041) (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 110) depends on Haymo. To the same class of interpretations belong the predilections of Anselm of Laon (Migne, 102), Bruno of Asti (Migne, 103), Rupert of Deutz (Migne, 109), Richard of St. Victor (Migne, 108), Albertus Magnus (*Opuscula*, Lyons, 1601, tom. 12), a commentary, probably in reality of Willemstad origin, which is found, in two recensions, among the works of Thomas Aquinas (*Opera*, Friburg, 1890; tom. 23, 34 ff., 312 ff.), Hugh of St. Caro (1261; *Postillae*, Douai, 1615, 1618, 1619), and thus the single commentary of 1100 continued to dominate the whole interpretation of the Apocalypse until far down in the Middle Ages.

The next interpreter of the Apocalypse to attain wide influence was Joachim of Floris (c. 1135).

19. Joachim. *Epistola . . . abbatis Joachimi in Apoc.* (Venice, 1527). With him the fantastic futurist (chilist) interpretation began to gain the upper hand over the formerly prevalent spiritualising view. He was at the same time the originator of a 'recapitulation theory', which he carried out into the minutest details. As 'the Age of the Spirit,' associated with a messianic order that was to appear, occupied a central place in the prophecies of Joachim, he naturally became the prophet of the 'opposition' Franciscans, and his works were accepted by them as sacred. It was in these circles accordingly that his immediate followers in the interpretation of the Apocalypse arose (Peter Johannes Oliva, Albertus de Casale, Seraphinus de Fermo, Amicus Viterbiensis, Petrus Galatinus); but his influence spread very widely in the course of succeeding centuries, and a continuous chain of many links connects the name of Joachim with that of Cocceus, who, in virtue of his *Capitulum de apoc.* (S. Joannis) (Leyden, 1603), is usually taken as the typical representative of the modern 'recapitulation theory.'

Among the precursors of the Reformation the anti-Roman and anti-papal interpreters began to appear.

20. Reformation. ground, although not only methodical exposition of this view that can be named is the commentary (by John Purvey?) emanating from Wycliffite circles and written in 1390, which was afterwards published by Luther (*Commentarius in Apoc.*, ante centum annos editus, 1530).

The founder of a consistently elaborated universal-historical interpretation was Nicolaus de Lyra (1320).

21. Universal-historical method. In the *Postillae*, which have been often printed. He is followed by certain Catholic interpreters, and, in method at least, by Luther, who in his preface of 1534 (Walch, II) gives, in the space of a few pages, a clever but fantastic interpretation of the entire book, in which, as might be expected, the anti-papal interest holds a central place. Luther's view continued to dominate the interpretation of the Apocalypse within the Lutheran church.

It prevailed from the time of Lucas Osiander (*Bibliotheca sacra*, pars 3) down to that of Jos. Gerhard (*Comment. in Apoc. Joh.*, Jena, 1749) and Vir. Calvisius (*Biblioth. Sacra*, Part. II, 1750, tom. 2, Frankfurt, 1772). A learned work with valuable introductory material and persistent polemic against Hugo Grotius; for a list of the commentaries dependent on Luther see Bousset, *Komm.* 92. None of the works mentioned was of any value for the real interpretation of the book; the Apocalypse and its interpretation, so far as the Lutheran Church in Germany is concerned, became merely the arena for anti-Catholic polemics.

Within this period the number of works produced in Germany and Switzerland on this subject without dependence on the dominant Lutheran view was very small.

Among them the *Polycentum atque expositio expositio libri Apoc. Joh.*, 1547, of Theodor Biliander is worthy of notice, in it we can discern in the treatment of chaps. 12 and 13 the influence of Wycliffe's own interpretation of Rev. in the *Postillae* in Neander, *KG* 6.225.

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beginning of an interpretation looking to contemporary conditions. Bullinger (*Interpretation*, 1897) and James (*Apoc. John*, 1890) have a good deal in common with the founder.

Wildt and most fantastic of all are the English commentaries of this period.

Among them may be named Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of logarithms (*Apoc. John*, 1593), Thomas Brightman (*Apoc. John*, 1601), Thomas Mede (*Apoc. John*, 1627), Joseph Mede (*Apoc. John*, 1676), and John Newton (*Apoc. John*, 1704). The *Apoc. John* of 1704 is a map about upon Mede.

The history of a strictly scientific interpretation of the Apocalypse, on the other hand, must be held to begin with the learned commentaries of French and Spanish Catholic theologians.

22. Scientific. They meet the Protestant polemic with conspicuous and indeed often astounding erudition, and, going back to the point of view of the earlier Church fathers, lay the foundations of a cautious and for the most part purely eschatological interpretation.

To this connection the works of Francisus Ribera (1578), Hieronymus Vassier (1603), Bellarmine, *De Symbolo Pontificis*, his treatise *De Antichristo*, Benedictus Perreye (1606), and Cornelius a Lapide (1609) are well worthy of mention.

Conspicuous above them all is the *Verlegung und Anweisung in Apokalypsa* of Ludovicus de Alazar. That writer was the first to carry out consistently the idea that the Apocalypse in its earlier part is directed against Judaism, and in its second against Paganism, so that in chaps. 12-17 we read of the first persecution of the Christians in the Roman Empire, and in ch. 19 of the final conversion of that Empire. He thus presents us with the first serious attempt to arrive at a historical and psycho-historical understanding of the book.

The idea worked out by Alazar had already been expressed by Hieronymus in the preface to his edition of *Arctas* (*Arctas Commentarius*, ed. Morenus et Huterius 2), and by Salmeron (*Opera*, 14, Cologne, 1514, 'In scriptum Jo. Apoc. prophetia'). Though to be added here that the explanation of the wounded head as referring to Nero Redivivus is found for the first time since Victorinus in the commentary of the Jesuit Juan Mariana. It is to the Jesuits that Protestant science first learned how to work this field.

Victorinus (*Innot. ad A.P.*, Paris, 1664), who is so often spoken of as the founder of scientific exegesis, is, in his remarks on the Apocalypse at any rate, entirely dependent on Alazar, whose interpretation, indeed, he has not improved by the details assuming references to universal history and contemporary events which he has introduced into it.

Corotius in turn was followed by Hammond (op the Latin editions of Clericus, 1601, 1, Amsterdam, 1693, and Clericus's notes, 1, Hammond, Bossuet (1631), and Hervaeus (1684). In Holland and Germany the fantastic school of interpretation continued to flourish for some time longer, prominent representatives being, in Holland, Veringa, with his profoundly learned *ἀποκαλύπτει ἀποκαλύπτει* (1705); dependent on Mede, and his many followers, and in Germany, Bengel, with his commentary (1705-46-53) and sixty practical discourses on the Apocalypse. Much greater sobriety is shown by Joh. Mark in his *In Apoc. Comm.* (1693), with its copious exegetical material and valuable introduction; also by a group of eschatological interpreters in which are included Flemona Peters (1696), Antonius Priessen (1717), and Joachim Lange (*Apokalypstischer Traktat*, 1717).

In the eighteenth century, although Aubert de Versee (*La clef de l'Apocalypse*, 1703) followed the lines laid down by Corotius, Hammond, and Bossuet, the interpretation founded on allusions to contemporary events gained the ascendancy, and in a very narrow form. At this period it took for the most part the very unfortunate course of endeavouring to treat the whole of the Apocalypse, after the analogy of Mt 24, as a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem.

In this category must be placed the expositions of Alonzi (*Dei suo Apoc.*, 1713), Harduin (1741), Weistien (*Libellus ad vnam alicuius interpretationem*, 3rd ed., Semler, 1766), Harenberg (1753), Hartwig (op 40), and, finally, Züllig (1834).

On the other hand, we find much that is rightly said in Semler's notes to Weistien in Corotius's *Gesch. des Chiliasmus*. And a return was made to the sounder general principles of Alazar by Herrenscheider

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(*Unvorgedrachte*, Strassburg, 1780) and by Eichhorn (*Commentarius*, 1781). Even those streaks of the interpretation that looks to universality, which had still persisted in showing the universality of the work, were now stripped away, and thus a provisional resting place was reached.

This stage is seen in the works of Bleek (*Apoc. John*, 1812), Baumgarten-Crusius (*Apoc. John*, 1813), Eichhorn (*Apoc. John*, 1813), and Eichhorn (*Apoc. John*, 1813). The *Apoc. John* of 1813 is a map about upon Mede.

In all these works the interpretation from contemporary history is consistently carried out. All set forth from the decisive chapter 11 that in chap. 11 the preservation of the temple is predicted, and all, accordingly, date the book from before 70 A.D. Further, they all rightly recognise that the main drift of the Apocalypse is directed against Rome, all too except Dusterdieck, recognise Nero Redivivus in the wounded head. In particular, since the discovery, independently arrived at by Fritzsche, Baur, and Renss, that the number 666 is intended for 667, the reference to Nero has become the *raison d'être* of all exegesis of the Apocalypse.

In passing, mention may be made of some works which, although following obsolete exegetical methods, are not without scientific value. Hengstenberg (*Apoc. John*, 1820), Elberfeld (*Apoc. John*, 1821), and Elberfeld (*Apoc. John*, 1821). The *Apoc. John* of 1821 is a map about upon Mede.

The interpretation of the Apocalypse entered on a new phase¹ as soon as doubts arose regarding the unity of the work and the method of literary criticism to be applied. The conjecture, which had been hazarded more than once,² that the Apocalypse was really a composite work was again taken up independently (1) by Daniel Volter, at the suggestion of Weizsäcker, whose pupil he was. The particular hypothesis put forth by Volter³ as to the composition of the Apocalypse may for convenience be called the redaction hypothesis (*Ueberarbeitungs-Hypothese*).

He assumed in his first sketch, which he has not substantially modified, a fundamental text (*Grundchrift*) consisting (apart from single verses) of 14:1-17:18, 19:1-20:1, 21:1-22:1, 23:1-24:1, 25:1-26:1, 27:1-28:1, 29:1-30:1, 31:1-32:1, 33:1-34:1, 35:1-36:1, 37:1-38:1, 39:1-40:1, 41:1-42:1, 43:1-44:1, 45:1-46:1, 47:1-48:1, 49:1-50:1, 51:1-52:1, 53:1-54:1, 55:1-56:1, 57:1-58:1, 59:1-60:1, 61:1-62:1, 63:1-64:1, 65:1-66:1, 67:1-68:1, 69:1-70:1, 71:1-72:1, 73:1-74:1, 75:1-76:1, 77:1-78:1, 79:1-80:1, 81:1-82:1, 83:1-84:1, 85:1-86:1, 87:1-88:1, 89:1-90:1, 91:1-92:1, 93:1-94:1, 95:1-96:1, 97:1-98:1, 99:1-100:1, 101:1-102:1, 103:1-104:1, 105:1-106:1, 107:1-108:1, 109:1-110:1, 111:1-112:1, 113:1-114:1, 115:1-116:1, 117:1-118:1, 119:1-120:1, 121:1-122:1, 123:1-124:1, 125:1-126:1, 127:1-128:1, 129:1-130:1, 131:1-132:1, 133:1-134:1, 135:1-136:1, 137:1-138:1, 139:1-140:1, 141:1-142:1, 143:1-144:1, 145:1-146:1, 147:1-148:1, 149:1-150:1, 151:1-152:1, 153:1-154:1, 155:1-156:1, 157:1-158:1, 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supposition of a Jewish origin. As he nevertheless continued to be convinced of the essential unity of the book, he inferred that in the form in which we now have it it is a *Christian redaction of a Jewish writing*. To the Christian redactor, besides isolated expressions, he attributed the following passages: 1-3:5-14:7, 15:1-12:13, 14:1-15:8, 16:1-17:1, 19:1-20:1, 21:1-22:1.

Vischer's able treatise found wide acceptance. Among those who signed their acceptance of his main thesis were Tschann (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1873), Apokalypsischen Studien (an anonymous writer in *Die Offenbarung*, 1887), Overbeck in *Die Offenbarung*, 1875, p. 25, 63; Menegor in *Rev. de théol. et phil.*, 1877, p. 101; Kroger in *Ev. l.*, 1887, pp. 26-35; Simon in *Ev. l.*, 1887, p. 187. On the other hand, Volter (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1880), Heyshlag (*St. A. v. 1880*), and Hagedorn (*Die Offenbarung*, 1880) sided themselves against it.

Although it must be cordially acknowledged that to Vischer belongs the honour of having first raised the question in its entirety, it must be said that he was not successful in his attempt to solve it. He has neither proved the Jewish character of chap. 11, nor justified his fundamental thesis regarding the unity of the book. We shall be doing him no injustice if we classify him among those who uphold the 'redaction' hypothesis.

The earliest exponent of the 'sources' hypothesis (*Quellen Hypothese*), which has lately come into competition with that of redaction, was Weyland, who wrote almost contemporaneously with Vischer (*Die Offenbarung*, 1880, pp. 451-470; and *Untersuchung in Compilativem Charakter des Apokalypsischen*, 1888). Weyland finds in the Apocalypse two Jewish sources (S and Q) which have been worked over by a Christian redactor.

R corresponds, roughly, to Volter's primary document; Q to the second of Volter's redactions (in Volter's Appendix R and Q are separated). Weyland's Christian redactor corresponds in a general way with Vischer's redactor. In 1894 Rauh (*Die Offenbarung*, 1894) signified his adherence to Weyland.

Against both the hypotheses we have just described serious and far-reaching objections present themselves.

27. Objections. Against the 'sources' hypothesis must be urged, in substance, the linguistic unity of the book (see below, § 34); against the redaction theory it has to be observed (a) that the fundamental document made out by Volter and his followers (see above, § 25) has no special character of its own, inasmuch as all the really living and concrete passages occurring within it are attributed to the redactor; (b) that the disappearance of every trace of these numerous literary redactions is remarkable.

From such considerations the necessity for a third way became apparent. This third way was first pointed out by Weizsäcker in his *Apokalypsis*, 1890. He rightly discerned in the

28. Fragment hypothesis. Apocalypticist's three repeated number of seven the fixed plan of an author who wrote the Apocalypse as a whole, and gave to his work the character of a literary unity. Into this literary unity certain interpolations intrude with disturbing effect (7:1-2; 17:11-13; 12:1-13:17). Thus Weizsäcker arrived at his fragment hypothesis. According to him the Apocalypse is a literary unity proceeding from a single author, into which, however, apocalyptic fragments of various date have been introduced by the author himself. In the opinion of the present writer these are the lines along which the true solution of the problem is to be sought. All later investigators in this field have followed one or other of the three hypotheses just enumerated.

Oskar Holtmann (*Die Offenbarung*, 1896) assumes a Jewish groundwork into which again a still older source (13:14-15) has been worked in a Christian revision. Pfeiderer (*Die Offenbarung*, 1897, pp. 100-101) takes another course; Sabatier (*Les origines littéraires de l'Apocalypse*, 1897) and Schoen (*Le régime de l'Apocalypse*, 1897) represent a combination of Weizsäcker and Vischer (regarding the Apocalypse as the work of a Christian author who has embodied Jewish fragments in his book).

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A thoroughly elaborated 'sources' theory is that of Spitta (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1884). In diametrical opposition to Weizsäcker, he claims to see, in the

29. Spitta. three repeated series of seven, three sources.

These are (a) the seal source or Christian primitive Apokalypsis (1-11 apocalyptic), written soon after to A.D. (probably, apart from the specifically Christian interpolations of the redactor, chaps. 1-6 and 7:1-7:8; 19:1-19:22; 21:1, 6-7); (b) the trumpet source (12-14), a Jewish writing (1-11), of the reign of Caligula (67-68 A.D.); (c) the vials source (15-16), of the time of Pompey (containing, approximately, the remainder of the book).

These three have been worked together into a collected whole by a Christian redactor. (The additions assigned to him by Spitta are of about the same extent as those assigned to him by Vischer.)

The sources theory was next carried to the utmost by P. Schmidt (*Untersuchungen über die Compilativität der Offenbarung*, 1891).

Fries (*Die Offenbarung*, 1891) in his separation of the literary sources agrees in the main with O. Holtmann, but also maintains with Volter (whose hypothesis he simplifies) the thoroughly Christian character of the whole book. Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Offenbarung*, 1892) pursues a path of his own. Menegor (*Commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, 1893, 1:1-1:11, pp. 47-48) assumed two Jewish apocalypses and a Christian redactor.

The unity of the book is defended by certain scholars: Not only by the time of Vischer mentioned above, but also by B. Weiss (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1891), and E. H. Reuss (*Die Offenbarung*, 1891), Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Offenbarung*, 1892), Hirsch (*Die Offenbarung*, 1892), and H. Holtmann (*Die Offenbarung*, 1896).

Finally, altogether new lines of investigation were opened up by Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1901). He

30. Gunkel. controverted sharply, and sometimes perhaps not altogether fairly, both the current methods of interpreting the Apocalypse (that which looks to contemporary history for a clue, and that which adheres to literary critical methods), and proposed to substitute for them, or at least to co-ordinate with them, a history of apocalyptic tradition. He insisted with emphasis upon the thesis that the conical Apocalypticist was not himself the creator of his own representations, that his prophecies were only links in a long chain of tradition. In his investigation of this apocalyptic tradition he greatly enlarged the scope of the usual question 'Jewish or Christian?' by his endeavours to prove for chap. 12 a Babylonian origin, and in other places also (see below, § 40) to trace Babylonian influences in the book. Even if we grant that Gunkel has often overshot the mark, as, for example, when he refuses to recognise Nero in the beast and its number it is undeniable that his book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

Stimulated by Gunkel, and accepting some of his results, Bousset (*Der Antichrist in der Offenbarung des Judentums, des neuen Testaments, und der neuen Kirche*, 1895) proceeded

31. Bousset. to illustrate Gunkel's method by applying it to a definite concrete example, investigating the entire tradition regarding Antichrist, and endeavouring to show that in this instance a stream of essentially uniform tradition can be traced from New Testament times right through the Middle Ages and beyond them. In his view the Apocalypse can be shown to be dependent in a series of passages, particularly in chap. 11, on this already ancient tradition regarding Antichrist.

This view has been controverted by F. E. (Theologische Zeitschrift und die theologischen Wissenschaftlichen Predigerzeitung, 1902, 4, Freiburg, 1902, 1903), who, as against it, advocates for the contemporary day method in its most perverse form.

Finally, in the *Kritisch-geograph. Kommentar* (1903), Bousset has sought to bring to a focus the results of the labours of previous workers. In his method of interpretation he follows Weizsäcker (fragment hypothesis), and then he gives a continuous commentary, describing the character of each particular fragment in its own place. In his egresses he has given special attention to

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[illegible][illegible]

The general style of the Apocalypse is monotonously diffuse: article and preposition are almost always repeated when there are more substantives than one, as also is the governing word before the governed. Whole clauses are gone back upon and repeated in the negative; Hebrew parallelism is not uncommon.

We are now at last able to form a tolerably clear conception of the personality, the time, the circum-

35. **Date.** states, and the literary aims of the apocalyptic who planned the Apocalypse, as a whole, in the form in which we now have it.

(a) The Apocalypticist writes at a time in which violent persecutions have already broken out—indeed they are beginning to become, so to say, epidemic.

Of the seven churches, four—Ephesus, Pergamum, Smyrna, Philadelphia—are passing through such times of trial. The martyrs already form a distinct class in the general body of believers. They are destined to have part in the first resurrection before the thousand-years reign begins (20.4 ff., esp. 7.9 ff.). The sea-bellows then under the altar (6.9 ff.). All through the book this time of struggle is kept in mind (13.1 ff., 14.1 ff., 16.6 ff., 17.8 ff., 20.2-4).

(8) The Apocalyptic predicts a still tougher and more strenuous struggle.

In this struggle the predestinated number of martyrs is to be fulfilled (6:4, 9). Philadelphia is to be preserved in this last great tribulation (6:10) (cf. the *μεγάλη θλίψις* of 7:14). This time is not far off; the martyrs who have already suffered are hidden and live only a little longer (6:11). Therefore, "Blessed are they that die in the Lord from henceforth" (*ἄν' ἄρτι*; 14:13).

(c) This struggle turns, and will in the future turn, upon the worship of the beast. That this beast is in one sense or another the Roman Empire, or some

with the Jews, and another, the Roman Empire, or connected with it, is admitted on all hands. It is important, however, to consider the grounds on which the Apocalypse opposes Rome. Rome's horrible deed is not, as might perhaps be guessed, the destruction of Jerusalem, nor

the emperor's question, the deification of Terentianus, nor yet – in the first instance, at least – the Verulam persecution, but the worship of the beast – i.e., Caesar-worship (cp. 13.149 ff., 160 ff., c. 176.191 ff., 204 ff.) (cp. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* § 55 n. 3). What the

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(6) The *contractio ad sensum* is specially frequent (e.g., 17, 17, 36, 12, 1, 9, 9, 11, 11, 11, 13, 17, 17, 10, 19, 14); sometimes involving a plural predicate after a neuter plural object (32, 2, 18, 9, 11, 9, 20, 11, 13, 13, 14, 18, 1, 21, 4), less clearly attested is the simple ungrammatical confusion of gender (9, 7, 14, 9, 19, 20, 21, 14, 22, 21; see the MSS.).

(2) Various other systematic peculiarities of idiom. For example, *παροικία* governs the dative when the object is *ἐν* (110.7, 111.1, 119.4, 220, cp 147) or *δρακμή* (134), whilst, on the other hand, we have *παρεν* to *θηναίων*, *τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, (131) 112.15, 113.1, 119.1, 120.4 (in 162 also we should read *τῆς ἐκκλησίας* accord-

¹ A justification of these results in detail will be found in the author's Commentary on this book (Introd. pp. 13-208). In some cases, where the reading adopted is less strongly attested, the citations are in brackets.

book predicts is the great conflict about to break out all over the world between Christianity on the one hand and the Roman Empire (with the Roman state religion, the worship of the emperors) on the other (cp. ANTI-NRST, § 7).

(f) This great battle will begin with the return of Nero Redivivus.

In common with the rest of the men of his day, the Apocalyptic shares the popular expectation of the coming again of that emperor. Nero is (13:12-14) the head that was wounded to death and afterwards healed. He is only 'as it were' (καὶ ὡς) slain, like the lamb (6:16). For as the latter continues to live on in heaven, so does Nero prolong a shadowy existence in hell. Out of the abyss (17:8) he will again return, and as Roman Emperor demand adoration. Then will be the days of the great future struggle. Hence the name of the beast is *εὐρώπαιος*, ὁ βασιλεὺς (cp. ANTI-NRST, § 13).

(g) Thus the date of the Apocalypse admits of being approximately determined. The end of the first century is already sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Apocalyptic expects the return of Nero from hell (Th. Zahn, 'Apocd. Stud.' in ZKNT, 1885, pp. 561-76, 1886, pp. 337-52, 393-495; see below, § 45). The following consideration points to the same inference. Behind the Apocalyptic in point of time there already lies a great persecution. He himself is again living in times of persecution, and is expecting worse to come. Inasmuch as the former persecution must be assumed to be the Neronian, we are compelled to carry the Apocalypse down to the later period of Domitian. When we do so the fact that 11:1 ff. points to a time before the destruction of Jerusalem need not cause us any misgiving; doubtless the passage comes from an earlier source. On the other side we should be able to fix an inferior limit for the date, could it be shown that the epistles were already known to Ignatius (see above, § 2). The date thus indicated—the close of the first century—was in point of fact the date at which, it would seem, the general persecutions of the Christians, turning substantially on the rendering of divine honour to the emperor, first broke out (see CHRISTIAN, § 6). The Apocalypse, as we now have it, presupposes conditions very similar to those which we meet in the well-known correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. In this it is not implied that the Apocalypse could not have been written some ten years or more earlier.

In the conclusion just indicated we find ourselves in agreement with the best attested tradition as to the date of the writing of the Apocalypse.

According to Irenaeus (c. 180-2; cp. v. 20-5), the Apocalypse was 'seen' at the close of Domitian's reign at Pannos, and therefore, of course, to say the least, not written earlier (cp. Viet, Petron, Comm. on Apoc. 10:11; Eus. HE, iii, 18:13; Jer. De vir. illis, 9; Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2:11). A different tradition is met with, it is true—perhaps in Tertullian, who (*De praescr. Haer.* 36) mentions the martyrdom of John (by boiling oil—a death from which he was miraculously delivered), and his subsequent banishment, in connection with the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (but see, on the other hand, *Scorpia*, 15). It is certain that at all events Jerome (*Adv. Jovin.* 1:26 [2:16]) understood Tertullian as assigning this martyrdom and banishment of John to the reign of Nero (cp. Eus. *Dem. Evang.* 3; the superscription of the Syriac translation of the Apocalypse edited by Ludovici de Dieu; the Gnostic *Acts of John*; Theophylact (who gives the date as thirty-two years after the Ascension; cp. the notes of some of the Greek cursives of the Fourth Gospel; thirty years after the Ascension, under Domitian (?); Erbes, 43). Finally, Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51:12-13) will have it that the book was written under Claudius. The same statement occurs in the Commentary of Aprinthus (upon whom see Bonset, *GG.V.* 1895, p. 2), whence it found its way into that of Beatus (ed. Florez, 35).

The Apocalypse is distinguished from the apocalyptic literature of Judaism from the time of the book of Daniel onwards by the high prophetic consciousness which it displays.

36. Personality of Apocalypticist.

The Apocalyptic as he stands at one of the turning-points of the world's history looks with a clear eye into the future and feels himself to be a prophet. He is a Christian of an especial type. For the prophets are servants of God in a peculiar sense (1:10; 11:18; 22:6); they are the fellow-servants of the angels (22:3); other Christians are so only in so far as they follow the revelation of the prophet.

(22:6). God is master of the spirits of the prophets (22:6 cp. 17:17; 19:10). Hence the author directly claims for his work the rank of a sacred book. It is intended from the first to be publicly read (1:3); those who hear it and obey what is written therein are blessed (1:3; 22:7), and whosoever adds to or takes away from it falls under the most grievous curse (22:18). The frequent mention of the prophets along with the saints (7:13; Christians in general) (see 11:12; 16:9; 18:20-24) is a proof, not, as many critics have supposed, of the Jewish, but of the Christian, origin of the related passages. The Apocalypse in this respect was the forerunner of Montanism, and it is no matter for surprise that it was specially valued in Montanistic circles. It is also noteworthy that the Apocalyptic speaks to his own age and time. Whilst Daniel is represented as receiving, at the close of his vision, the command to seal the book for long, here in sharp contrast we read (22:3): 'Seal not up the words of the prophecy.' The Apocalyptic seems to have been a Jewish-Christian of universalist sympathies. For him the name of Jew is a name of honour (2:9, 30); he seems to uphold a certain prerogative for the Jewish people (7:1-3; 11:1-12; 20:7 ff.). He shows himself intimately familiar with the language of the O.T.

Into the apocalyptic unity thus defined, isolated fragments have been introduced in a manner which cannot still be more or less clearly detected.

37. Details of criticism. Of these the more important at least must now be discussed, and some detailed account of the more noteworthy results of criticism given.

Of recent critics the majority (Vischer, Volter, Weyland, Pfeiderer, O. Holtzmann, Schmidt) regard

38. Chaps. 1-6. 1-3) as having been originally separate from the rest of the book and as having been prefixed only after the Apocalypse had in other respects assumed its present form; but Spitta has shown good grounds for believing that chaps. 1-3 and 4-6 ought not to be separated, and (as against Vischer and others) has established for the whole of chaps. 4-6 that Christian character which unquestionably belongs to 5:6 ff. Thus Spitta takes chaps. 1-6 as a single original document (Christian primitive apocalypse = U).

He seeks to prove this by pointing out that there is a definite close at the end of 6, and a fresh beginning of a new apocalypse in 7:1 (so also P. Schmidt). But the sixth seal (6:12 ff.) does not represent the final catastrophe; it only pictures a great earthquake in the typical apocalyptic manner. In 6:15 ff. the end is still to come, and if, with Spitta, we pass on to 7:1-17 immediately after 6:17, any representation of the end of all things has completely disappeared from our reconstructed Apocalypse. In any case, it is impossible that one should fail to recognise an interpolated fragment in the short passage (6:9-11) relating to the fifth seal. We have an exact parallel to it in 4 Esd. 4:35 (cp. also *Ethiop. Enchir.* 47). And the tradition of 4 Esd. must be regarded as the original one. It speaks quite generally of a predestined number of the righteous which has to be fulfilled before the coming of the end, whilst in the Apocalypse the conception is applied to the predestined number of the martyrs—a modification which can be explained very easily by his general position (see above, § 35).

Spitta's view that 7:1-8 constitutes a fresh beginning, which has nothing to do with the preceding chapters,

39. Chap. 7:1-8. is certainly correct; but neither has the passage anything to do with that which follows it (7:9-17); as to this practically all critics are agreed. These facts, however, will not justify us in attributing 7:9-17 to the redactor (as do Volter, Vischer, Pfeiderer and Schmidt), nor yet in carrying out a system of deletions in chap. 7 (as do Erbes, Weyl, Ranch) until the two disparate sections have been brought into harmony. Our proper course is to recognise (cp. also Spitta) in 7:1-8 an interpolated fragment—probably Jewish.

The sudden mention of the four winds, which are held by the angels and are nowhere in the succeeding narrative let loose, points to this conclusion, as also does the introduction of the 144,000 Israelites of the twelve tribes—a number which in 14:1 ff. is interpreted in a sense inconsistent with the original intention.

Bonset has hazarded the conjecture that here we have a fragment of the Antichrist legend.

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The next passage which presents special difficulties is 11:1-13. Here all critics are agreed in recognising a

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11:1-13. Further, almost all critics agree in regarding chap. 10 as an introductory chapter connected with this fragment. On closer examination it is found, moreover, that 11:1-13 really consists of two smaller fragments: (a) 11:1-6, a prediction of the preservation of the temple, written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and presenting points of contact with 1k 21:2-4; (b) the prophecy relating to the beast and the two witnesses (11:7-13). This latter piece is of an extremely fragmentary and enigmatical character.

Certain matters are introduced without any preparation; the two witnesses, the beast from the abyss, the war of the beast with the witnesses, the plagues and tribes rejoicing over the death of these last. All these are *dispositio monstra* which point to some larger connection.

In this passage, too, Bonsset has sought to show that we have a fragment from the Antichrist legend.

In accordance with Jewish and primitive Christian anticipation the Antichrist is destined to appear as a god-defying ruler in Jerusalem, to lead the people astray and tyrannise over them, and to gather together a great army from all nations. Against him will arise the two prophets Elijah and Enoch, and Israelites not a definite number (71-82) will be converted. A great famine and drought will come. Then Antichrist will put to death the two witnesses, and the end will draw near. It is evident that here we have a coherent tradition, of which some fragments are preserved in chap. 11.

Chap. 12 is the most difficult in the book. It also falls into two sections, 12:1-12 and 12:13-17, and betrays itself as a foreign intrusion both by its unfamiliar character and by its strange and bizarre representations.

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12:1-13. A. Dietrich (Abraxas) was the first who sought to trace in the chapter an adaptation of the myth of the birth of Apollo: he held the pregnant fugitive woman to be Leto, the dragon was the Python, the child (who in the original legend himself slew the Python, Michael being a later introduction) was Apollo. The water which in the Greek myth figured as a protecting power has here become auxiliary to the dragon.

Recently Gunkel, in his *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, has directed special attention to this chapter, and shown that an adequate understanding of it could be arrived at neither on the assumption of a Christian nor on that of a Jewish origin (Vischer, Weyland, Spitta) - that on either hypothesis there remains an intractable residuum, bearing a mythological character. Here, accordingly, as elsewhere in the Apocalypse (cp. the seven angels, stars, candlesticks, torches [EV 'Lumps'], eyes, pp. 294-302; the twenty-four elders, 302-8; Armageddon, 203-06; and p. 325 n. 2; the number 34, pp. 266-70; also chaps. 13 and 17, 379 ff.), he found elements taken from Babylonian mythology, and in particular the myth of the birth of the sun-god Marduk and of the persecution of Marduk by the dragon Tiamat. The difficulty in this construction of Gunkel's is that down to the present date it has been impossible to find in the Babylonian mythology any trace of the myth of the birth and persecution of the youthful sun-god. Bonsset (*Apok.* 410 ff.), however, has called attention to parallels with one chapter in Egyptian mythology (the myth of the birth of Horus).

In the result, there seems much probability in the supposition that chap. 12 embodies a myth of the birth of the sun-god and the persecution of the young child by the dragon, the deity of winter and of night. The Apocalypticist has changed the sun-god, however, into the *παῖς ἡσυχίας* Χριστός, the persecutor into the devil, and the deliverance of the child into the resurrection to serve the community of this adaptation. In this treatment of the material laid to his hand, he was not able to give full significance to the flight of the woman, which is so prominent a feature in the original myth. This is accordingly only briefly touched on in 12:6; but it receives copious and special treatment in the second half of the chapter (vv. 13-17). Hence the incongruity between 12:1-12 and 12:13-17 which Weissaker pointed out.

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What historical occurrence is intended by the flight of the woman in 12:13-17 is not quite clear. Usually the flight is taken as referring to circumstances

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12:13-17. - either to the destruction of Jerusalem or the deliverance of Judaism, or, better, to the flight of the primitive Christian Church.

Kries, who seeks to explain ch. 13 as referring to the Caligula period (see below), interprets the flight and deliverance of the woman in connection with the first persecution of Christians at Jerusalem, strangely taking 17:17, 'the remnant of her seed who hold the testimony of Jesus,' as pointing to the Jews (at the time of the Caligula persecution). Spitta actually takes the persecution of the woman as representing an occurrence in heaven. 'The remnant of the seed of the woman represents, he thinks, the actual Israel as contrasted with the ideal pre-existent Jerusalem (Israel'). Others (Vischer) interpret the remnant as meaning believers as distinguished from the Messiah.

Chap. 13 also contains two passages of a peculiar character - those describing the first beast and the

43. Chap. 13:

second. O. Holtzmann, Spitta, and

the first beast.

Lohs were agreed in recognising here a Jewish (Holtzmann, Spitta) or a Christian (Lohs) source dating from the time of Caligula. Independently of each other, they all (as had already been done by Th. Zahn) accepted the number 666 which is given in some MSS (C, 11, 1600), instead of 606, and interpreted it as meaning *ἑξάς ἑξαράς*. The beast demanding worship, whose image (*εἰκών*) is repeatedly spoken of, is, on this view, the half-mad tyrant Caligula, who in 30 A.D. ordered his procurator, Petronius, to set up his statue in the temple at Jerusalem. Parallels to this prophecy belonging to the same date were found in Mt 21 ('domination of desolation') and in 2 Thess. 2. The 'wound' (*πληγή*) of the beast was interpreted by Spitta as meaning the sickness which befell Caligula towards the beginning of his reign. These conjectures are by no means impossible; but if they are accepted, certain important particulars in the chapter must be deleted - in particular, references to the wounded head of the beast. This and the number 666 (כס"ו) show distinctly that (in its present form) the chapter was intended to be understood of the return of Nero Redivivus. Whether an older source dating from Caligula's time has here been worked over remains doubtful.

As compared with this interpretation, the view which takes the wounded head to be Julius Caesar (Gunkel, Bruston) has little to be said for it - since the number 666 in that case remains unexplained; nor can we reasonably interpret the death-wound to mean the interregnum of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, or refer the number to the Roman empire (*Ἀρετινός*, Diesterdieck; קיסר, Kewale).

Still greater has been the perplexity of interpreters over the second beast. All attempts to make it out to be some definite personality have hitherto been unsuccessful. Bonsset (*Comm. ad loc.*) upholds the view that it is in reality a modification of the older conception of Antichrist, who is here represented as serving the first beast, the Roman emperor, and perhaps is to be interpreted as signifying the Roman provincial priesthood, the active agency in promoting the worship of the emperor.

The objection usually urged against referring the passage to Nero - that the beast whose number is 666 cannot mean Nero the man; that it must mean the Roman empire - is not valid. To the Apocalypticist Nero Redivivus is at the same time the incarnation of all that is dreadful in the Roman empire. 'The number of the beast is the number of a man: cp 17:11, 'and the beast is himself also an eighth' (*καὶ αὐτὸς ὅγδοος ἐστίν*).

Chap. 17 is intimately connected with chap. 13, and this duplicate treatment of the same subjects is in itself proof

45. Chap. 17. sufficient that the Apocalypticist had before him older prophecies, which he has worked over more than once. In this chapter also the reference to the returning Nero is clear. Since Eichhorn, however, it has further been recognised on all hands (cp. De Wette, Bleek, Lucke), and with justice, that the kings with whom the beast returns for the destruction of Rome are

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the Parthians, whose satraps might already be regarded as independent kings (Mommson, *Röm. Kaisergesch.* 572). Thus our present chapter also comes into a larger historical connection. As early as the year 69 A.D. a pseudo-Nero had raised commotions in Asia Minor and Greece (Tac. *Hist.* 23 f.; Dio Cassius, 64); Zonaras, 11.13; in the reign of Titus a second pseudo-Nero showed himself on the Euphrates (Zonaras, 11.18) and was acknowledged by the Parthian King Artabanus (Mommson, 551). About 88 A.D. a third pseudo-Nero again made his appearance, also among the Parthians, and threatened the Roman empire (Suet. *Nero*, 50; Tac. *Hist.* 1.2). In this form we find the same expectation also in the fourth Sibylline book, written shortly after 70 A.D. (Sib. *ff.* 119 ff. 137 ff.), and in the oldest portion of the fifth book, written about 74 A.D. (Sib. *ff.* 361 ff.); in the last passage it is associated with a denunciation of Babylon and a prophecy of the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Rev. 18.21); cp. Z. his exhaustive researches (as above, § 33). By both time and place our chapter (perhaps associated with the threatening utterance against Rome and the prophecy of a new Jerusalem) belongs to the same circle of expectations and predictions. It was doubtless written in Asia Minor; but the exact date is disputed.

According to 17 the Apocalypticist represents himself as with 2 under the sixth emperor, five having died and a seventh having yet to come, to be succeeded by the eighth, who is to be one of the seven (Nero). To reckoning, it is possible to begin either with Julius Caesar or with Augustus, to count or not to count the interregnum of Galba-Otho-Vitellius, and finally to ask whether the passage was really written under the sixth emperor, or later, rather, as a *retrodictum ex eventu*, under the seventh or eighth. Thus interpreters have taken the sixth emperor to be now Nero (small, who held the Apocalypse to have been written before 70 A.D.; also Väter), now Vespasian, and, conformably, take the chapter to have been written now under the last-named emperor, now under Titus (the seventh; Weyland) or Domitian, who is then taken, on rationalising lines, as Nero Redivivus (Loes).

The parallels cited above appear to render the reign of Vespasian the most probable date. The writer—probably a Christian—expected after Vespasian a short reign for his successor also. The tradition was that seven Roman emperors were destined to reign. Thereafter Nero was to come back with the Parthians, and, in alliance with these, to take vengeance on Rome, the bloody persecutor of the Christians (17.6); 'with the blood of the saints'; the words 'with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus' appear to be a gloss. The denunciation of Rome (chap. 18) connects itself very well with this prophecy (see Sibyll. 5).

It is further to be noted that chap. 17 has already, in the form in which we now have it, undergone redaction.

On the one hand, Nero is simply the eighth ruler who was one of the seven; on the other, he is the least who comes up from the abyss. On the one hand, he wages war along with the Parthians against Rome; on the other, he wages war along with the kings of the earth against the lamb. In this redacted form (17.12-14 or 15; cp. also Väter) Nero is designated as the dread spectre of the time of the end who comes back from hell. Now, we find the same expectation in chap. 13, where Nero is plainly represented as dead (*ὁ νεκρὸς*), 'as though it had been smitten unto death' and as a counterpart (*Wiederspiel*) of the lamb that had been slain and is to come again. This mode of representing Nero probably comes from the latest redactor. Parallels to it can be found in the later portions of the fifth book of the Sibyllines (33 f. 215-26), and in the eighth book (1-215).

The legend of Nero Redivivus first arose towards the end of the century, a full generation after Nero's death, when he could no longer well be supposed to be still alive among the Parthians (cp. Zahn, as above). Its reception into the Apocalypse supplies one of the elements for determining the date of the book.

Chap. 16.12 ff. (the sixth and seventh vials) also must have originally belonged to chap. 17. In this passage the angel pours out his vial upon the Euphrates, 'that the way may be made ready for the kings from the east' (cp. 9.13 ff., with its reference to the angels bound and loosed at the Euphrates; on which, see Iselin in *Thol. Z. aus der*

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Schweiz, 1887, as above, § 25). The representation of the gathering of the kings at Armageddon (Har-Magedon) in this passage is noteworthy; it is not very intelligible, as we read of no mountain of Megiddo, but only of a plain (but see ARMAGEDDON). It recalls the ancient accounts of battles of the gods upon the mountains (Gunkel, *Sibyll.* 263 ff. 389 n. 2).

Chap. 11.14-20 also appears to be an ancient fragment. It thus early sets forth a final judgment by the Son of Man. The passage, however, is so very fragmentary that it is hardly possible for us to make out what its original character may have been (cp. the expression 'without the city' in 11.20). Bousset has sought to explain it by reference to the Antichrist legend.

Fragments of older date seem to have been introduced into the account of the chaining of the dragon, the millennium, the irruption of Gog and Magog (20.1-7), cp. 20.9, *παρευθλή των ἁγίων, πόλις ἡγαγμενη*, and Ethiop. *Ench* 56, *Sibyll.* 3319-3221. The description of the binding and loosing of Satan recalls the Persian legend of the chaining of the dragon Azi Dahak on Mt. Fomayend. Finally, a continuous piece—perhaps of Jewish origin (see 21.2-22.2)—lies before us in the description of the new Jerusalem, 21.2-22.5.

We ought to compare Tob. 13.16 ff., Ps. Solom. 17.23 ff., *Sibyll.* 5217-35, 414-15, and the Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*, edited by M. Bartenweiser, 65-67. In this last-named Jewish source also we find the new Jerusalem coming down from heaven.

To summarise the results of the foregoing analysis: With the conclusion of the epistles to the seven churches

47. Summary. (chaps. 1-3) the Apocalypse, properly so called, begins. Here the first six seals succeed one another uninterruptedly, till the interpolated fragment in 7.1-8 is reached. As a pendant to this fragment, with its distinctly Jewish character, the Apocalypticist prophetically introduces in 7.9-17 a picture of the blessedness of believers from every nation who have come out of the great tribulation. Now follow the seventh seal and, arising out of this, the seven trumpets (chaps. 8-11). Between the sixth and the seventh trumpets the passage 10.1-11.13 has been interpolated. In chap. 10 the Apocalypticist indicates to some extent what the 'disposition' of the remainder of the book is to be (cp. 10.11). It is to be observed that in chaps. 9 ff., in addition to the distribution under seven trumpets, the Apocalypticist has attempted a second under three woes. The first woe answers to the fifth trumpet; the second, the mention of which might have been expected after the sixth trumpet, does not come up until 11.14, after the great interpolation has been reached. The third great woe (which is not expressly named by the Apocalypticist) is doubtless indicated in 12.12. It is hardly likely that we have here a redaction from an older source. Before, then, he comes to the culmination of his prophecy, in chap. 13, the Apocalypticist casts his glance backwards in chap. 12. Borrowing the imagery of an ancient sun-myth, he depicts the birth, persecution, and rescue of the Saviour, and afterwards the persecution of the Church. In chap. 13 he goes on to foretell the coming final struggle, the last great and decisive battle between the faithful ones and the least who demands adoration. For him the supreme crisis of this struggle still lies in the future, when Nero Redivivus is to appear. In the bright picture which he prophetically introduces at 14.5 by way of contrast to chap. 13, he adapts and modifies 7.1-2. 11.1-13 is intended to effect the transition to what follows. 14.14-20 is a smaller interpolated fragment. The great finale remains. The Apocalypticist still had to work in the prophecies contained in chap. 17 f.; by way of introduction to these, chap. 15 f. are given. Then follows, after an intermediate passage (19.1-1), the picture of the final judgment (19.11-218); after which we have a new fragment, 21.9-22.5, followed by the close.

Literature.—The literature of the subject has been indicated in the course of the article.

W. B.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

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Introductory (§§ 1-4).	Ascension of Isaiah (§§ 42-47).	Testaments of xii. Patriarchs (§§ 68-76).
Apocalypse of Baruch (§§ 5-17).	Jubilees (§§ 43-52).	Psalms of Solomon (§§ 77-83).
Enoch: Ethiopic (§§ 18-32), Slavonic (§§ 33-41).	Assumption of Moses (§§ 53-67).	Silyhine Oracles (§§ 84-92).

See APOCRYPHA for references to the following less important apocalypses.

Abraham (APOCRYPHA, § 1).	Elias (APOCRYPHA, § 21, no. 10).	Paul (APOCRYPHA, § 13).
Adam (ib. § 10).	Eldras (ib. § 22, no. 13).	Zephaniah (ib. § 21, no. 1).
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INTRODUCTORY: The objects and nature of apocalyptic literature (§§ 1-4).

I. APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.—A composite work derived from at least five authors, written mainly in Palestine, if not in Jerusalem, by Pharisees (ib. A.D. 50-70). Preserved only in Syriac (§§ 5-17).

1. Synopsis of Article. II. Ethiopic Book of Enoch.—Written originally in Hebrew or Aramaic by at least five Assidarian authors (200-400 B.C.) in Palestine. Part I, chaps. 1-36 earlier than 170 B.C.; Part II, chaps. 37-50, 100-161 B.C.; Part III, chaps. 91-104, 114-95 B.C.; Part IV, (the Similitudes) chaps. 37-70, 64-64 B.C.; Part V, (the Book of Celestial Physics) chaps. 72-75, 82, 79; Part VI, (Fragments of a lost Apocalypse of Noah) (§§ 12-13).

III. Slavonic Book of Enoch, or THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—Written by an Alexandrian Jew, mainly from pre-existing materials, about A.D. 150. Eclectic in character; preserved only in Slavonic (§§ 33-41).

IV. ASCENSION OF ISMAEL.—A composite work, written originally in Greek, partly by Jewish, partly by Christian authors, A.D. 150-200. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Latin (§§ 12-17).

V. BOOK OF JUBILEES.—Written originally in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew, a Pharisee of the Pharisees, probably 400-300 B.C. Preserved in Ethiopic and partially in Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Slavonic (§§ 42-47).

VI. ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—Written in Palestine, in Hebrew, 70-100 A.D., by a Pharisee. Preserved only in Latin (§§ 53-67).

VII. TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.—A composite work written originally in Hebrew by two Jewish authors representing respectively the legalistic and the apocalyptic sides of Pharisaism, 170 B.C. to A.D., and interpolated by a succession of Christian writers from the close of the 1st century down to the 4th century A.D. Preserved in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic versions (§§ 68-76).

VIII. PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Written originally in Hebrew, possibly in Jerusalem, by two or more Pharisees, 70-100 B.C. (§§ 77-83).

IX. SILYHINE ORACLES.—Written in Greek hexameters by Jewish and Christian authors, mainly by the latter—the earliest portions belonging to the 2nd century B.C., the latest not earlier than the 3rd century A.D. (§§ 84-92).

INTRODUCTORY.—The object of apocalyptic literature in general was to solve the difficulties connected with

a belief in God's righteousness and the suffering condition of his servants on earth. The righteousness of God postulated the temporal prosperity of the righteous, and this postulate was accepted and enforced by the Law. But while the continuous exposition of the Law in the post-exilic period confirmed the people in their monotheistic faith and intensified their hostility to heathenism, their expectations of material well-being, which likewise the Law had fostered, were repeatedly falsified, and a grave contradiction thus emerged between the old prophetic ideals and the actual experience of the nation, between the promises of God and the bondage and persecution which the people had daily to endure at the hands of their pagan oppressors. The difficulties arising from this conflict between promise and experience might be shortly resolved into two, which deal respectively with the position (1) of the righteous as a community, and (2) of the righteous man as an individual.

The OT prophets had concerned themselves chiefly with the former, and pointed in the main to the restoration (or 'resurrection') of Israel as a nation, and to Israel's ultimate possession of the earth as a reward of righteousness. Later, with the growing claims of the individual, and the acknowledgment of these in the

religious and intellectual life, the second problem pressed itself irresistibly on the notice of religious thinkers, and made it impossible for any conception of the divine rule and righteousness which did not render adequate satisfaction to the claims of the righteous individual to gain acceptance. Thus, in order to justify the righteousness of God, there was postulated not only the resurrection of the righteous nation but also the resurrection of the righteous individual. Apocalyptic literature, therefore, strove to show that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated; and, in order to justify its contention, it sketched in outline the history of the world and of mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and the final consummation of all things; and thus, in fact, it presented a Semitic philosophy of religion (cp CHRONOLOGY OF OT, § 1). The righteous as a nation should yet possess the earth either in an eternal or in a temporary Messianic kingdom, and the destiny of the righteous individual should finally be determined according to his works. For, though he might perish untimely amid the world's disorders, he would not fail to attain through the resurrection the recompense that was his due in the Messianic kingdom, or in heaven itself. The conceptions as to the duration and character of the risen life vary with each writer.

The writings that are treated of in the rest of this article, however, deal not only with the Messianic expectations but also with the exposition and application of the Law to the numberless circumstances of life. As Schürer has rightly observed, the two subjects with which Jewish thought and enthusiasm were concerned were the Law and the Messianic kingdom. These were, in fact, parallel developments of Pharisaism. As we have the former—its legalistic side—represented in the *Book of Jubilees*, so we have the latter—its apocalyptic and mystical side—set forth in the *Book of Enoch*. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* give expression to both sides of Pharisaism; but this book, as we shall see in the sequel, is really a composite work and springs from authors of different schools. The rest of the books here discussed belong mainly to the apocalyptic side of Pharisaism.

It is a characteristic of apocalyptic as distinguished from prophecy that the former trusts to the written, the latter to the spoken, word. This is due

3. Method. largely to the fact that the prophet addresses himself chiefly to the present and its concerns, and that, when he fixes his gaze on the future, his prophecy springs naturally from the circumstances of the present. The apocalyptic writer, on the other hand, almost wholly despairs of the present; his main interests are supramundane. He entertains no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals. His pessimism and want of faith in the present thus naturally lead him to pseudonymous authorship, and so he approaches his countrymen with a writing which purports to be the work of some great figure in their history, such as Enoch, Moses, Daniel, or Baruch. The standpoint thus assumed is as skilfully preserved as the historical knowledge and conditions of the pseudonymous author admit, and the future of Israel is 'foretold' in a form enigmatical indeed

¹ On other Apocalypses of Baruch, see below, APOCRYPHA, § 20.

² Ch. lxxv. 71-80, see § 30.

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but generally intelligible. All precision ceases, however, when we come to the real authors' own time, his predictions, thenceforward, are mere products of the religious imagination, and vary with each writer. In nearly every case, we should add, these books claim to be supernatural revelations given to the men by whose names they are designated.

It will not be amiss here to notice the gross misapprehension under which Jost, Graetz, and other

4. Historical value.

Jewish writers laboured when they pronounced this literature to be destitute of value for the history of Jewish religion. To such statements it is a sufficient answer that from 200 B.C. to 70 A.D. the religious and political ideals that really shaped the history of Judaism found their expression in this literature. It is not in the discussions and logomachies of the Rabbinical schools that we are to look for the influences and aims that called forth some of the noblest patriotism and self-sacrifice the world has ever witnessed, and educated the nation for the duties that waited it in the first century of our era, but in the apocalyptic and pseudopigraphic books which, beginning with Daniel, had a large share in preparing the most religious and ardent minds of Greece and Judaea either to pass over into Christianity, or else to hurl themselves in fruitless efforts against the invincible might of Rome, and thereby all but annihilate their country and name. Still it is true that the work of the scribes and the exposition of the schools had opened the way for this new religious and literary development. The eschatological element, moreover, which later attained its full growth in such pseudopigraphical writings as Daniel, Enoch, Noah, etc., had already strongly asserted itself in later prophets such as Is. 21-27, Joel, Zech. 12-14. Not only the beginnings, therefore, but also a well-defined and developed type of this literature had already established itself in the O.T. Its further developments were moulded, as we have pointed out above, by the necessities of the thought and by the historical exigencies of the time.

Cp. Siever's introductory essay on Jewish apocalyptic, *ZATW* 3 229-250 (C 5); Schürer, *Hist.* 3 44 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalyphe in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 1857 (Eint.).

1. THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH. — The Apocalypse of Baruch was for the first time made known to the modern world through a Latin version of Ceriani in 1866 (*Mon. Sacra* i 271-98). This version was made from a Syriac MS. of the sixth century, the text of which was also in due course published by the same scholar, in ordinary type in 1871, and in a photo-lithographic facsimile in 1883. An examination of the Syriac version makes it clear that this version is a translation from the Greek. It occasionally transliterates Greek words, and the text is at times explicable only on the supposition that the wrong alternatives of two possible meanings of certain Greek words have been followed by the translator. Even before Ceriani's publication, however, we had some knowledge of the Apocalypse of Baruch; for chaps. 78-86, which contain Baruch's Epistle to the nine tribes and a half that were in captivity, had already appeared in Syriac and Latin, in the London and the Paris Polyglots, in Syriac alone in Lagarde's *Lib. Vet. Test. Apoc. Syr.* 1861, in Latin alone in Fabricius's *Col. Pseudop. Vet. Test.*, and in English in Whiston's *Authentic Records*. Ceriani's Latin version was republished in Fritzsche's *Lib. Apoc. Vet. Test.* (77) in a slightly emended form; but, as the Syriac text was still inaccessible, Fritzsche's emendations are only guesses more or less fortunate—generally less.

We have just remarked that the Syriac version is a translation from the Greek. We shall now enumerate the reasons from which it appears that the Greek was in turn translated from a Hebrew original.

6. A translation from Greek.

7. The original Hebrew.

(i) The quotations from, or references to, the O.T. agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic text against the (iii) Hebrew idiom survive in the Syriac text. Thus there are many instances of the familiar Hebrew idiom of the infinitive absolute combined with the finite verb, and many locutions of Syriac grammar in the Syriac text are plainly to be explained as survivals of Hebrew order and Hebrew syntax. (iii.) Unintelligible expressions in the Syriac can be explained and the text restored by retranslation into Hebrew. Thus, among many others, the passages 21 9, 11, 12, 21 2 and 62 7 can be read by retranslation into Greek and thence into Hebrew. The Syriac in these verses is the slavish rendering of *ἀκαταστάτος*, and this in turn of *ἄστατος*; but *ἄστατος* also *ἀκαταστάτος*, and this is the meaning required in the above passages, where the Greek translator erroneously adopted the commoner rendering. (iv.) Many *paronomasiae* discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 44-53.

The final editor of this work assumes for literary purposes the person of Baruch, the son of Neriiah, of Jerusalem; the supposed time is the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldeans. Baruch, who begins by declaring that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah,¹ speaks throughout in the first person. If we exclude the letter to the tribes in the captivity (chaps. 78-87), the work naturally divides itself into seven sections, separated from one another in all but one instance (*i.e.* after 35) by fasts which are, save at the end of the first section, of seven days' duration. The omission of a fast after chap. 35 may have been due either to an original oversight of the final editor or to the carelessness of a copyist.

8. Contents. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; the supposed time is the period immediately preceding and subsequent to the capture of the city by the Chaldeans. Baruch, who begins by declaring that the word of the Lord came to him in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah,¹ speaks throughout in the first person. If we exclude the letter to the tribes in the captivity (chaps. 78-87), the work naturally divides itself into seven sections, separated from one another in all but one instance (*i.e.* after 35) by fasts which are, save at the end of the first section, of seven days' duration. The omission of a fast after chap. 35 may have been due either to an original oversight of the final editor or to the carelessness of a copyist.

That the text requires the insertion of such a fast is to be concluded on the following grounds: According to the scheme of the final editor events proceed in each section in a certain order (see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 9, 26, 61). Thus first we find a fast, then generally a prayer, then a divine message or disclosure, and finally an announcement of this to an individual or to the people. Thus in the fifth section, 21-34, we have a seven-days' fast (21 1), a prayer (21 4-26), a revelation (22-30), and an address to the people (21 24). Then another seven-days' fast should ensue at the beginning of the sixth section (36-46). With the exception of this omission events follow in this section as in the others.

These sections are very unequal in length—1-56 57-8 9-124 125-20 21-35 36-46 47-77—a fact that though it does not in itself make against unity of authorship, confirms the grounds afterwards to be adduced for regarding the work as composite.

1. The first section (1-56) opens with God's revelation to Baruch regarding the coming destruction of Jerusalem. But a time of prosperity should return.

2. According to the next section (57-91), Baruch fasts until the evening, and the Chaldeans encompass Jerusalem next day. In a vision Baruch sees the sacred vessels removed from the temple by angels and hidden in the earth till the last times. The angels next overthrow the walls, the enemy are admitted and the people carried away captive to Babylon.

3. In the third section (92-124), Baruch fasts seven days, and receives a divine command to tell Jeremiah to go to Babylon; but Baruch himself is to remain at Jerusalem to receive God's revelations regarding the future. Baruch bewails Jerusalem and the lot of the survivors. "Would that thou hadst ears, O earth, and that thou hadst a heart, O dust, that ye might go and announce in Sheol and say to the dead: 'Blessed are ye more than we who live!'"

4. In the fourth section (125-20), Baruch fasts for seven days, and is told by God that he will be preserved till the end of time in order to bear testimony against the nations that oppressed Zion. When Baruch complains of the prosperity of the wicked and the calamities of the righteous, God answers that the future world is made on account of the righteous—that the blessings of life are to be reckoned not by its length but by its godliness and its end. Baruch is bidden not to publish this revelation (20 2).

5. In the fifth section (21-35), Baruch fasts, as usual, seven days. He deplores the littleness of life, and supplicates God to bring about the promised end. God reminds him of his ignorance, and declares that the end, though close at hand, cannot arrive till the predestined number of men be fulfilled, and again, in answer to Baruch's question respecting the nature and the duration of the judgment of the ingodly, describes the coming time of tribulation, which will be divided into twelve parts. At its close the Messiah will be revealed. Baruch summons a meeting of the elders in the valley of Kedron, and announces to them the future glory of Zion.

6. The sixth section (36-46) should begin with the missing fast of seven days. Shortly after, he has a vision of a cedar and a vine

¹ We may observe here that Jeconiah reigned only three months, and was carried captive to Babylon eleven years before the fall of Jerusalem.

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which symbolise the Roman power and the triumph of the Messiah. When Baruch asks who shall share in the future blessedness, God answers: 'To those who have believed there will be the blessedness that was spoken of above.' Baruch then (14:47) calls together his firstborn son and seven of the elders, tells them of his apocalyptic vision, and exhorts them to keep the law, for 'a wise man will not be wanting to Israel, nor a son of the law to the race of Jacob'.

7. After a fast of seven days, Baruch in the seventh section (15:1) prays for Israel. The revelations that ensue tell of the coming tribulation. Baruch knew as the evil effects of Adam's fall. In answer to this request, he is inspired as to the nature of the resurrection bodies. Then, in a new vision (16:1), he sees a cloud ascending from the sea and covering the whole earth. There was lightning about its summit, and soon it began to discharge first black waters and then clear, and again black waters and then clear, and so on till there had been six black waters and six clear. The last it rained black waters, darker than had been all that were before. Thereupon the lightning on the summit of the cloud flashed forth and healed the earth where the last waters had fallen, and twelve streams came up from the sea and became subject to that lightning.

In the following chapters the vision is interpreted. The cloud is the flow, and the twelve successive discharges of black waters and clear waters symbolise six evil periods and six good periods of the world's history. The eleventh period, symbolised by the black waters, pointed to the supposed present tribulation of Jerusalem. The rest of the interpretation follows in the future tense. The twelfth clear waters point to the renewed prosperity of Israel and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The last black waters that were to flow pointed to troubles, earthquakes, and wars over the whole earth. Such as survived these were to fall by the hands of the Messiah. These blackest of all the waters were to be followed by clear waters, which symbolized the blessedness of the Messianic times. This Messianic period should form the boundary line between corruption and incorruption. 'That time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is incorruptible.'

Baruch thanks God for the revelation you have had. He is then informed of his coming departure from the earth, but is bidden first to go and instruct the people. He admonishes them to be faithful (chap. 17), and at their request sends two epistles, one to their brethren in Babylon (the two and a half tribes) and the other to the tribes (nine and a half) beyond the Euphrates. The latter is given in chaps. 18-21. It is probable that the last letter to the two tribes and a half is identical with, or is the source of, the Greek Baruch 3:2-4:24. See Charles, *Apoc. Bar.*, 1:54-7.

From the discovery of the Apocalypse of Baruch in 1860 till 1891, it was regarded by scholars as the work of one author. In the latter year, Kabisch, in an article entitled 'Die Quellen der Apokalypse Baruchs' (*UPT*, 1891, pp. 66-107), showed beyond the possibility of question that the work was composite and derived from at least three or four authors.

Thus he distinguishes 1:21-3, 30:2-34, 41-52, and 75:87 as the groundwork written after 70 A.D., since these chapters imply the destruction of the temple. He further observes that these parts are marked by a despair which no longer looked for peace and happiness in this world, but fixed its regards on the world of incorruption. In the other pieces of the book there is a strong faith in Israel's ultimate triumph here, and an optimism which looks for the consummation of Messianic bliss in this life; and, as Kabisch rightly remarks, the temple is still standing. These other sections, however, are the work not of one writer but of three, being constituted as follows: a short Apoc. 21:1-29, the Nine and Cedar Vision (36-40), and the Cloud Vision (53-74); 30:1-32:24, 35 are due to the final editor.

This theory is certainly in the right direction. It is open, however, to transmissible objections. There is

no unity in the so-called groundwork. When submitted to a detailed criticism, it exhibits a mass of conflicting conceptions and statements. The results of such a criticism may be stated briefly as follows (for the details see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.*, 53-67). 1-26 31-35 41-52 75-87 were written after the fall of Jerusalem, and were derived from three or possibly four authors, B₁, B₂, B₃, and possibly S.

B₁ 1:21-43:44 45:1-77:82 84-86 f., written by a Pharisee who expected Jerusalem to be rebuilt and the dispersion to be brought back from exile.

B₂ 1:12 1:25 20:25 41 f. 48:15 47:52 75 f. 83, also by a Pharisee who looked for national restoration, but only for the recognition of the righteous in heaven.

B₃ 85, written by a Jew in exile.

S. 10:2-12:4, possibly by a Sadducee, but perhaps to be assigned to B₂.

The rest of the book was written before the fall of Jerusalem. It consists of an Apocalypse 27-30 (= A₁)

and the two Visions 36-40 (= A₂) and 53-74 (= A₃) already mentioned. All these different elements were combined by the final editor to whom we owe also 1:1-26 28:1-32:24 and possibly some other additions.

Jewish tradition thought of it, as already observed, mainly with two subjects, the Messianic hope

and the Law, and in proportion as the one became more prominent the other fell into the background. Now, the chapters written before 70 A.D. are mainly Messianic.

Chaps. 27-30 (= A₁) and 36-40 (= A₂) take account of the Law only indirectly, whereas in those written after that date the whole thought and hope of the writers centre in the Law, which is their present mainstay and their source of future bliss. For chaps. 53-74 (= A₃) again, the Messianic hope and the Law are equally emphasised. This writing marks the dawn of early Rabbinism and the popular Messianic expectation. (See Charles, *op. cit.*)

In the sections B₁ and B₂, on the other hand, written after the fall of Jerusalem, we have two distinct outlooks as to the future. In B₁ the writer is still hopeful as to the future of Jerusalem.

It is delivered into the hands of its enemies indeed, but only for a time (11:6). The consolation of Zion should yet be accomplished (41:8-14), and the ten tribes brought back from their captivity (52:8-14). Moreover, the tribulation of the Gentiles will cease at God's (12:20), and in due time will arrive the judgment, in which God's justice and truth should exact their mighty due (8:5).

In B₂, on the other hand (and if possible still more in B₃, chap. 85), the writer is full of memorable despair as to the earthly lot of Zion and its people in this world (10:6-11).

Destruction awaits this world of corruption (21:1, 31-3). The righteous have sought to look for save the new world (41:1), the world that does not (41:3), the world of incorruption (8:5). Only in the world to come will every man be recompensed in the resurrection according to his works (20:12), when the wicked shall go into torment and the righteous shall be made like unto the angels.

In the sections written before the fall of Jerusalem, the Messianic element, which was wanting in B₁, B₂, and B₃, is predominant. The three Apocalypses 27-30 (= A₁) 36-40 (= A₂) 53-74 (= A₃) have many features in common—such as an optimistic outlook as to Israel's earthly prosperity, the earthly rule of the Messiah till the close of this world, and the material blessings of his kingdom. There are, however, good grounds for regarding them as of different authorship. The Messianic reign is to close with the final judgment. On the Eschatology of the book see, further, ESCHATOLOGY, § 78.

All the elements of this book are distinctly Jewish. Its authors, as already observed, were Pharisees, full of

confidence in the future glories of their nation, either in this world or in the next, notwithstanding their present humiliations. They enter on the most lofty conceptions as to the divine election and the absolute pre-eminence of their race.

It was on Israel's account that not only the present world (11:6) but also the coming world (1:7) was created. Israel is God's chosen people whose like is not on earth (1:5); the perpetual felicity of Israel lay in the fact that they had not mingled with the nations (18:2). The one law which they had received from the one God (18:24) could help and justify them (31:3); for so far as they kept its ordinances they could not fall (18:25); their works would save them (44:1-51-63). In due time also all nations should serve Israel; but such of them as had injured Israel should be given to the sword (72:9). The eternal source of the Messiah and his kingdom (20:6-8-40 72:10) is essentially Pharisaic. There was to be a general resurrection (42:1-2); but apparently only Israel should be saved (51:4).

It is possible to determine approximately the earlier limit of the composition of A₁ by means of what we might call the Linochic canon. This is: *No early Jewish book which extols Enoch could have been written after 50 A.D., and the attribution of Enoch's words and sayings in a Jewish book to other Old Testament heroes is a sign that it was written after the Pauline preaching of Christianity.* This liability to Linochism from 50 A.D. onwards (cp. Enoch) is to be traced to Linoch's pre-eminence among the Christians as a Messianic prophet. For the grounds and illustrations of this canon see Charles, *Apoc. Bar.*, 21:22, 100. Now, in 20:1-21 of this Apocalypse many of Enoch's prophecies and revelations are assigned to Moses. Hence A₁ was written after 50 A.D.

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The affinities of Apoc. Bar. with 4 Esdras are so striking and so many that I would ascribed the two books to the same author. Though this view has not been accepted in later criticism, it will not be amiss to draw attention to these

13. Affinity with 4 Esd.

(1) The main features of the two books are similar. They have one and the same object: to deplore Israel's present calamities and awaken hope in the coming glories, temporal or spiritual, of their race.

In both the speaker is a notable figure of the time of the Babylonian captivity. In both there is a sevenfold division of the work, and an interval (as a rule, of seven days) between each two divisions; and, whereas in the one Ezra devotes forty days to the restoration of the scriptures, in the other Baruch is hidden to spend forty days in admonishing Israel before his departure from the earth.

(2) They have many doctrinal peculiarities in common.

According to both, man is saved by his works (4 Esd. 7:77-8:33; 9:7, *Ap. Bar.* 2:214 etc.); the world was created in behalf of Israel (4 Esd. 6:55-7:119-13; *Ap. Bar.* 14:19-15:7 etc.); man came not into the world of his own will (4 Esd. 8:5; *Ap. Bar.* 14:11-18:15); a predetermined number of men must be attained before the end (4 Esd. 4:30-4; *Ap. Bar.* 23:45); God will visit his creation (4 Esd. 5:55-6:129-2; *Ap. Bar.* 20:2-24:4); Adam's sin was the cause of physical death (4 Esd. 3:7; *Ap. Bar.* 28:4); the souls of the good are kept safe in treasures till the resurrection (4 Esd. 4:35-37; 32:80-95; *Ap. Bar.* 30:2).

This list might have been indefinitely added to. On the other hand, there are clear points of divergence.

14. Divergence from 4 Esd.

In Esdras the Messianic reign is limited to 400 years (7:23 f.), whereas in Baruch this period is quite indeterminate. Again, in the former (7:20) the Messiah is to die, and the Messianic reign is to close with the death of all living things; whereas in the latter, according to 30, the Messiah is to return in glory to heaven at the close of his reign, and, according to 73 f., this reign is to be eternal, though it is to belong partly to this world and partly to the next.

Again, in Esdras the writer urges that God's people should be punished by God's own hands and not by the hands of their enemies (5:29 f.), for these have overthrown the altar and destroyed the temple, and made the holy place a desolation (10:21 f.). In Baruch it is described at length how the holy vessels were removed by angels and the walls of Jerusalem demolished by the same agency before the enemy drew nigh (6:8).

On the question of original sin likewise these two books are at variance. Whilst in Esdras the entire stream of physical and ethical death is traced to Adam (3:7-21 f.; 4:30-7:48), and the guilt of his descendants minimised at the cost of their first parent (yet see 7:55-6), Baruch derives physical death indeed from Adam's transgression (17:123-4-51-5), but as to ethical death declares that "each man is the Adam of his own soul" (51:19; yet see 45:42).

It will be clear from the facts set forth above that the relations of these two apocalypses constitute a complex problem. If we attempt to deal with this problem on the supposition that each book is derived from a single author, no solution is possible; and the barrenness of criticism hitherto in this direction is due to this supposition of their unity. When, however, we come perforce to recognise their composite nature, we enter at the same time on the road that leads to the desired goal. For a provisional study of the relations between the various constituents of this apocalypse and 4 Esdras, the reader can consult Charles, *Apoc. Bar.* 67-76. The results of this study tend to show that, whilst some of the constituents of 4 Esdras are older than the latest of Baruch, other constituents of Baruch are decidedly older than the remaining ones of 4 Esdras.

15. Real relation.

The points of contact between this apocalypse and the NT are many; but they are for the most part insufficient to establish a relation of dependence on either side. The thoughts and expressions in questions are explicable from pre-existing literature or as commonplaces of the time.

Such, among many others, are Mt. 3:16, *Ap. Bar.* 22:1, Mt. 26:24, *Ap. Bar.* 10:5, Lk. 21:28, *Ap. Bar.* 22:7, Rom. 8:18, *Ap. Bar.* 1:6.

The following passages are of a different nature and postulate the dependence of our apocalypse on the

NT, or possibly, in one or two of the instances, of both on a common source.

With Mt. 16:26, 'For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world and forfeit his soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' cp. *Ap. Bar.* 51:15, 'For what then have men lost their life, or for what have those who were on the earth exchanged their soul?' Also with 1 Cor. 15:19, 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,' cp. *Apoc. Bar.* 21:1, 'For if there were this life only . . . nothing could be more bitter than this.' Also with 1 Cor. 15:35, 'How are the dead raised and with what manner of body do they come?' cp. 49:2, 'In what shape will those five who live in that day?' Cp. also Lk. 14:2 with *Ap. Bar.* 64:10, Jas. 1:2 with 52:6, and Rev. 4:2 with 51:2.

As the Apocalypse of Baruch was written between 50 and 100 A.D. it furnishes us with the historical setting

17. Value and background of many of the NT problems, and thereby enables us to estimate

the contributions made in this respect by Christian thought. Thus, whereas, from 49:2-51, we see that the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. 15:35-50 was not an innovation but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism, it is clear, on the other hand, from the teaching of this book on Works and Justification, Forgiveness and Original Sin and Freewill (see Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 80-85), what a crying need there was for the Pauline dialectic, and what an immense gulf lay herein between Christian and Rabbinic teaching. No ancient book is so valuable in attesting the Jewish doctrine of that period.

Bibliography.—In addition to the works already mentioned, the reader may consult Lange, *De Apoc. Bar. comm.* (187); Lk. *OGA* (187), 17-6-17, 17-20; *Hist. of Israel*, 8:57-61; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (77), 117-132; Kneucker, *Das Buch Bar.* (76), 190-198; Di. 'Pseudep.' in *PKK* 12, 12:356-358; Deane, *Pseudep.* (91), 130-162.

II. THE BOOK OF ENOCH.—By the exegesis of later times, the statement that Enoch walked with God (Gen.

18. Jewish view of Enoch.

5:24; see Enoch) was taken to mean that he enjoyed superhuman privileges of intercourse with God, and in this intercourse received revelations as to the nature of the heavens and the earth, the present lot and the destinies of men and angels. It was natural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature should seek the shelter and authority of his name in ages when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch* preserved in Ethiopic we have large fragments of this literature proceeding from a variety of Jewish writers in Palestine; and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* preserved in Slavonic we have further portions of it, written originally by Hellenistic Jews in Egypt. To the latter book we shall return.

The Book of Enoch as translated into Ethiopic belongs to the last two centuries B.C. All the writers of

19. Book of Enoch: its fortunes.

the NT were familiar with it and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production in the Epistle of Jude (14 f.) and as Scripture in that of Barnabas (Ep. 4:3-16). The authors of the *Secrets of Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.* and 4 Esd. laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book; but towards the close of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries it began to be discredited, and finally it fell under the ban of the Church. The latest references to it are to be found in Synellus and Cedrenus, who have preserved large fragments of the Greek version. The book was then lost sight of till 1773, when two MSS of the Ethiopic version were discovered by Bruce. From one of these MSS Lawrence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

Enoch was originally written in Heb. or Aram., not in Greek. On this question the chief Apocalyptic scholars are practically agreed.

In the case of chaps. 1-32 this view is established beyond the reach of controversy; for in 19:25-18:27-28:4-29:31 of the Greek version we find the translator transliterated Heb. or

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Arām, words that were unintelligible to him. The same view as to the remaining chapters has been amply proved in the *Journal*, ix. (63) 350-395 by Halesy, who regards the entire work as copied from a Hebrew original. See also Charles, *Book of Enoch*, i. 22, 325. Recently some Dutch and German scholars have argued for an Arām. original on the ground that three Arām. forms have been preserved in the Greek text-fragment viz. *dōwka* in 180, *uachdāpa* in 224, and *hāpāpa* in 224. The first is, it is true, an Arām. form of דָּוָק and the two latter of הָפָק . This argument, however, is in no wise decisive. We find *axara* in 2 K. 14:13 [14] as a transmutation of אָרָא , and *Asa* in Neh. 2:14 [18] as a transmutation of אָסָא ; and there are other instances of the same peculiarity in אָ . Hence the presence of such Arāmisms in a text is not sufficient in itself to establish an Arām. original.

The Heb. original was translated into Greek, and from Greek into Ethiopic and Latin. Of the Greek

21. Version
Greek.

21. Versions
Greek.

M. Lohd's crucial edition of this fragment, as accompanied by a translation, appeared almost simultaneously, and next year it was edited by the present writer, with an extensive comparison of the Greek and Latin versions of 1332, as an Appendix to his work on *Enchir.* The other Greek fragments will be found in my *CVIII* [vol. II, fasc. 1, pp. 100-102]. The fragments of the Greek *Enchir.* with a critical apparatus are to be published in the 2nd edition of vol. III. of Sweet's *Cambridge LXX.*

The Latin version is wholly lost—with the exception of 19, which is found in a treatise of the Pseudo-Augustin.

22. Latin

22. Latin. entitled *At Vertuam* (see Zahn's *Gesch. d. V. Theol. Kanons*, 2, 1904), and 1061-12, which owes its discovery to Mr. James, in an eighteenth-century MS in the British Museum. This fragment is critically edited in Charles's *Text of Enoch*, 372-375. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1, p. 150.

The Ethiopic version alone preserves the entire text, and that in a more ancient and trustworthy form than

23. Ethiopic.

23. Ethiopic. the other versions. It has fewer additions, fewer omissions, and fewer and less serious corruptions.

1. *The Ethiopic MSS.* The Ethiopic MSS are comparatively many. There are about twenty scattered throughout the libraries of Europe; half of them are found in the British Museum. The best of all the known MSS is undoubtedly that designed *Orion*, 45 in the Lin. Museum.

II. *Editions of the Phlegon*. . . . Only two editions have appeared—that of Lawrence in 1871, from one MS, and that of Dillmann in 1881 from five MSS. Unhappily, these MSS were late and corrupt. The present writer hopes to issue a text based on the incomparably better MSS now accessible to scholars. Such a text is actually presupposed in his Translation and Commentary of 1893.

III. *Translations and Commentaries.* Translations accompanied by Commentaries have been issued by Lawrence (27), Hoffmann (33-35), Tillmann (53), Scholde (52), and Charles (93). Of Tillmann's and Scholde's Translations the reader will find a short review in Charles (6-7).

will find a Short review in Charles (69).

(iv) W. C. Oetzel, *Inquiry* 85. Some account of these will be found in Schreier, *History*, pp. 7-23, and in Charles's *Book of Enock*, p. 201-209, 311. Of many works on this book the following deserve particular mention here: Luke, *Enoch*, in *d. Offenb.* des Joh., 121 (134); Ew. Abhandl. *W. d. ant. Buches Henoch Entstehung, Sinn, und Zusammenhang* (1855); Kistling, 'Zur Theol. Entsch.-d. B. Henoch' (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1856, pp. 246-279, 373-380); Hülsmeyer, *Die jüd. Apokryphen* 157; Grotzinger, 'Gehört die "Die 7 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen" (Merk's) Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung' (*Bibl. u. Pgr.* 1892, vol. 3, liss. 2, 153-60); Drummond, *The Jewish Messianic Prop.*, 17, 73; Hepburn in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Chr. Biogr.* (Vol. 1), 123-128; Schuler, *Past.* 54-73; Lawlor, *Journ. Phil.* vol. XXV, pp. 174-205 [187].

The Book of Enoch is a fragmentary survival of an entire literature that once circulated under his name.

24. Compositeness

24. Compositeness. To this fact the plurality of books assigned to Enoch from the first may in some sense point: as, for instance, the expression 'books' in 101¹²; *Test. xii. Patr.* Jud. 18; Origen, *c. Celsum*, 554, and elsewhere. Of this literature five distinct fragments have been preserved in the five books into which the Book of Enoch is divided (1-36

37-71 72-82 83 90 91-108). These books were originally separate treatises; in later times they were collected and edited, but were much mutilated in the course of redaction and incorporation into a single work. In addition to this Enoch literature, the final editor of the book made use of a lost apocalypse, the Book of Noah (mentioned in Jubilees 10:1, 21:1-3), from which he drew 6:11 (2) 17:19 31:1 x 41:1 43 f. 54 f. 55 f. 59 f. 65-69:2 100 f. Another fragment of the Book of Noah has been embodied in the Book of Jubilees (see below, § 57).

We have already remarked that in the five books into which the whole work is divided we have the writings

25. Criticism.

25. Criticism. of by different authors. Before we proceed to give some of the grounds for this statement, we shall give in brief outline the different constituents found in the work by the chief scholars who have studied the subject.

think in his *Stud.* (See above, § 2) regards the book as consisting of two parts. The first part embraces 1:36-7:165, written at the beginning of the Maccabean revolt, or, in another later view, in the reign of John Hyrcanus, the second consists of the Similitudes (36:7-11), and was written in the early days of the fall of the Temple. In the latter, however, there are some interpretations. Hofmann (J. Chr. C.) ascribes the entire work to a Christian author of the second century. In this view he was followed later by Weiss and Philippi. Hofmann deserves mention in this connection on the ground of his having been the first to give the correct interpretation of the seventy shepherds in 9:17. I w. in his *Abhandl.* (See above, § 2) gives the following scheme: Book I, (37:7-11) (*chap. 144-145*); Book II, (1:16-8:1 + 8:19-20:16) (*chap. 145-146*); Book III, (20:26-72:90) (*chap. 146-147*); Book IV, (72:91-81:1) (*chap. 147-148*); Book V, (81:2-87:10) (*chap. 148-149*); Book VI, (87:11-94:1) (*chap. 149-150*); Book VII, (94:2-100:1) (*chap. 150-151*). Kautzsch in his essay (See above, § 2), a contribution of great worth, arrives at the following analysis: the 2nd-ndwark (1:16-21:36) + 165; 2nd-ndwark; the Similitudes (37:7-11 and 17-19) before 70 A. C.; the Næstorian fragments (51:55-52:60-53:25, possibly also 50:52-52:165 A. C.); 108 is an Essene addition; 113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989

26. Results. We shall now proceed to discuss this question directly, and endeavour to carry the criticism of the book one further stage towards finality.

26. Results

26. Results. directly, and endeavour to carry the criticism of the book one further stage towards finality.

Disregarding the interpolations from the Book of Noah already mentioned as well as the closing chapter, we find that all critics are agreed in ascribing the *Similitudes* (37-70) to an authorship different from the rest. The remaining chapters (1-36, 72-104) have been regarded by all critics except Ewald and Lipsius as proceeding from one and the same author; but these scholars, while differing from each other, have not persuaded any one but themselves as to the justice of their respective analyses. In their contention, however, as to the compositeness of these chapters they were undoubtedly right. This question has been gone into at length in Charles's *Book of Enoch*, 55 f., 187-189, 220 f., 260-263, where grounds are given for believing that sections 1-36, 72-82, 83-99, and 101-104 are writings distinct as to authorship, system of thought, and date. We must now proceed to sketch briefly the various independent writings contained in the entire work, assigning to each its most probable date.

Part I., consisting of chaps. 1-36 (for the Noachic interpolations, see § 24), was written at latest before

27. Chaps.

27. Chaps. 170 B.C., and mainly from the prophetic standpoint of such chapters as 18, 45, 1-36. This is, undoubtedly, the oldest part of the book, being anterior to 72-82, 83-90, 91-104, as it is used by the writers of these sections.

As 88:40 was written not later than 161 n.c., 1-50 must be some years earlier, and, as there is no allusion to the massacres

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of Antiochus Epiphanes, the above date, 170, is the latest reasonable limit for its composition.

This book, i.e., 1361, is the oldest piece of Jewish literature that teaches the general resurrection of Israel, describes Sheol according to the conception that prevails in the N.T. as opposed to that of the O.T., or represents Gehenna as a final place of punishment (cp. *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 64). The prebend of the author is to justify the ways of God to men.

The righteous will not suffer always (11). Sin is the cause of this suffering, and the sin of man is due to the lust of the angels (the Watchers) (9:6-9 to 10:1). Hence the Watchers, their companions, and their children, will be destroyed (10:1-11:1). The destruction will be the prelude to the first world-judgment, of which the Deluge, however, though the influence of the evil spirits that went forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men (10:1). These act with impunity till the final judgment. In the meantime character finds its recompense in some measure immediately after death (22). In the last judgment the Watchers, the demons, and all classes of Israelites with one exception, will receive their final award (1:22-23). This judgment is preceded by a general resurrection and Israel (20). The wicked are cast into Gehenna (27:2), the earth is cleansed from sin (10:1-2); the Messianic Kingdom is established, with Jerusalem as a centre (25:1), and Gentiles with men (25:1). The Gentiles are converted (10:1). The righteous eat of the tree of life (27:2) and thereby enjoy eternal life (27:2). As to what befalls the righteous after the second death there is no hint in this fragmentary section.

Part II., consisting of 83-90, was written between 100 and 160 B.C., mainly from the same standpoint as Daniel. On a variety of grounds we are obliged to discriminate this section from the preceding.

It will be enough to mention that, whereas in this there is a Messiah, in the preceding there was none; in this the life of the righteous is apparently ending, in the other it was beginning; in this the scene of the kingdom is the New Jerusalem set up by God himself, in the other it was Jerusalem and the entire earth unchanged though purified. Finally, the picture in 83-90 is developed and spiritual, while that in 1-36 was naive, primitive, and sensuous.

The date assigned above is not difficult to fix. The Hasmonean (see *ASIA*), symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sea (cp. 90:6), are already in organized party in the Maccabean revolt. The lambs that become horned are the Maccabean family, and the great lion who is still waiting while the author of the section is writing is Judas the Maccabee (90:6), who died in 130 B.C.

Chapters 83-90 recount two visions: S. f., dealing with the first world-judgment, 85-90, dealing with the entire history of the world till the final judgment. In the second vision the author considers the question of Israel's unmitigated suffering.

Israel has indeed sinned; but the punishment immeasurably transcends it (91:1). These unending severities, the author shows, have not come from the hand of God, they are the doing of the seventy shepherds into whose care God committed Israel (85:5). These shepherds or angels have proved faithless to their trust; but not with impunity. An account has been taken of all their deeds (89:6-9), and for them and for their victims there is laid up a due recompense (90:13). More over, when the tribulation is darkest, a league of the righteous is organized in Israel (90:1). In it there will arise a family from which will come forth the deliverer of Israel, Judas the Maccabee (90:1-16). Every effort of the Gentiles to destroy him will prove vain, and God's appearance in person to judge will be the signal for their destruction. The apostates will be cast into Gehenna, and the wicked angels, into an abyss of fire (90:20-25). God himself will set up the New Jerusalem (90:26-29); the surviving Gentiles will be converted and serve Israel (90:30); the righteous dead will be raised to take part in the kingdom; and finally the Messiah will appear among them (90:37). The Messianic kingdom lasts on earth for ever, and its members enjoy everlasting blessedness.

It will be observed that this is the earliest appearance of the Messiah in non-canonical literature (see *MESSIAH*, § 5; *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 60). He has, however, no rôle to play; he has not as yet vindicated for himself a place in the apocalyptic doctrine of the last things.

Part III., consisting of 91-104, was written between 134 and 65 B.C. The well defined opposition of the

29. Chaps. 91-104. Pharisees and the Sadducees depicted in this section cannot have been earlier than the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees (see *ISRAEL*, § 78; *SCRIPTURES*, § 18); hence not earlier than 134 B.C. On the other hand, it cannot

have been later than 95 B.C., as the merely passing reference to persecution in 103:13 could hardly be interpreted of James after his savage massacres of the Pharisees in 95 B.C., which won for him the title, 'the saviour of the poor.'

This section is originally, like 83-90, an independent writing. In adapting it to its present environment, the redactor of the entire work took up its original arrangement. In order to receive this we must read it in the following order: 92:1-1:1; 93:1-94:1; 91:1-94:1. On a variety of grounds (see *CHRONOLOGY*, § 104), we must attribute this work to quite another author than that of either of the preceding sections.

In passing from 83-90 to 91-104 we enter on a world of new conceptions (cp. *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 61). In all previous apocalyptic writings the resurrection and the final judgment have been the prelude to an everlasting Messianic kingdom; whereas in the present writing these great events are relegated to the close of the Messianic kingdom, and not till then do the righteous enter on their reward. This kingdom is temporary (91:1-14); there is no Messiah; the righteous with God's help vindicate their just cause and destroy their oppressors. On the close of the kingdom follow the final judgment (91:15) and the risen spiritual life of blessedness in a new heaven (91:16-19:2). In this view of the future the centre of interest has obviously passed from the material world to the spiritual, and the Messianic kingdom is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Their faith finds its satisfaction only in a blessed immortality in heaven itself. This immortality is an immortality of the soul only (101:3-1). As for the wicked, they will descend into the pain of Sheol and abide there everlastingly (98:1-101:2). Here (103:7) Sheol appears as Hell for possibly the first time.

30. Similitudes. Part IV. The Similitudes, consisting of 37-70, were written between 94 and 70 B.C., or between 70 and 64 B.C.

'The kings and the mighty,' so often denounced, are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters; the later Maccabean princes, for the blood of the righteous was not shed (as the writer complains, 57:24) before 95 B.C.; not the Herods, for the Sadducees were not allies of the Herods, and Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers. This last fact necessitates an earlier date than 64 B.C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea.

In his attempt to solve the problem of the suffering of the righteous, the author of the Similitudes has no interest save for the moral and spiritual world. His view, too, is strongly apocalyptic, and follows closely in the wake of Daniel.

The origin of sin is traced one stage further back than in 1-36. The first authors of sin were the Satans (107). The Watchers fell through becoming subject to these and leading mankind astray (51:2). Though the Watchers were forthwith confined in a deep abyss, sin still flourishes in the world and sinners deny the name of the Lord of Spirits (58:2) and of his Anointed (18:10). Suddenly there will appear the Head of Days, and with him the Son of Man (102:3-4-8-2), to execute judgment upon all alike. To this end there will be a resurrection of all Israel (51:6-15), and all judgment will be committed to the Son of Man (41:5-6-27), who will judge all according to their deeds (41:1). Sin and wrong-doing will be banished from the earth (41:2), and heaven and earth be transformed (15:1-4), and the righteous will have their mansions in Paradise (39:4-11). The Elect One will dwell among them (45:4); they will be clad in garments of life (62:15-16), become angels in heaven (51:4), and continue to grow in knowledge and righteousness (58:1).

It will be observed that the Messianic doctrine in this section is unique, not only as regards the other sections of Enoch but also in Jewish literature as a whole (see, further, *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 66).

The Messiah exists from the beginning (48:2); he sits on the throne of God (41:2-5-7-3), and possesses universal dominion (62:3); and all judgment is committed unto him (62:27). If we turn to the other sections we find that in 1-36 and 91-104 there is no Messiah at all; whilst in 83-90 the Messiah is evidently human, and has no real rôle to play in the doctrine of the last things.

If the reader will turn to the list of Noachic interpolations (see above, § 24) he will find that many of them are to be found in this section.

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They have as a rule been drawn from an already existing Apocalypse of Noah, and adapted by an editor to their present contexts in Enoch. This he does by borrowing from the Similitudes certain terms, such as 'Lord of Spies,' 'Head of Days,' 'Son of Man,' which, however, either through ignorance or of set intention, he generally gives a new connotation.

Chapter 71 does not belong to the Similitudes. It shows the same misuse of characteristic phrases as the interpolations just referred to (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 183 f.).

Part V, the Book of Celestial Physics, consists of 72-78, 82-79. This, like the preceding sections, is a work of independent authorship. There are no means of determining its date.

It has suffered from both rearrangements and interpolations at the hands of the editor of the whole work. In the first place, 81 f. is a manifest insertion written from a standpoint quite different from that of the rest. In the next place, 82 does not stand in its original position. The opening words of 79 in fact presuppose 82 as already read. We have found a similar dislocation of the text in Part III.

Part VI, the Nochiem and other interpolations. These have been enumerated above (§ 24).

The influence of Enoch on Jewish literature (to exclude for the moment the NT) is seen in *Jubilee* (written about the beginning of third Christian era), in the Slavonic *Enoch* (150 A.D.), *Test. xii. Patr.*, *Apoc. Bar.*, and in *1 Enoch*.

In Jewish apocalyptic before 70 A.D. Enoch is the chief figure next to Daniel; but his acceptance by the Christians as a Messianic prophet led to his rejection by the Jews. See note on § 10.

In patristic literature, Enoch is twice cited as Scripture in *Ep. Barn.* (13, 16). It is also quoted with approval, though not always by name, by Justin Martyr, Iren., and Athenag., Tert., Clem. Alex., Origen, Anatolius. Thenceforward it is mentioned with disapproval by Hilary, Iren., Jer., August., and finally condemned in explicit terms in the *Const. 17, 66*.

Far more important than its influence on Jewish literature, was its influence on NT doctrine (a) and doctrine (b).

(a) We shall here draw attention only to the indubitable instances. Enoch is quoted directly in Jude 14 f. Phrases, clauses, or thoughts derived from it, or of closest kin with it, are found in Jude 4, 14 f.; Rev. 2, 7, 3, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21; Rom. 8, 3, 24; 1 Pet. 1, 21; Heb. 11, 5; Acts 3, 14; Jn. 5, 22, 23; Lk. 9, 35, 10, 23, 35; Mt. 13, 24, 25, 41, 20, 42.

(b) The doctrines in Enoch that had a share in moulding the analogous NT doctrines, or formed a necessary link in the development of doctrine from the OT to the NT, are those concerning the Messianic kingdom and the Messiah, Sheol and the resurrection, and demonology, on which reference must be made to the separate articles on these heads and to Enoch's biography. We here content ourselves with remarking, as regards the doctrine of the Messiah, that four titles, afterwards reproduced in the New Testament, are first applied to the personal Messiah in the Similitudes. These titles are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One,' 'the Righteous One,' 'the Elect One,' and 'the Son of Man.' The first title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time (18, 10-52, 4) applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is here associated with supernatural attributes. The second and the third of these titles, found first in Enoch, have passed over into the NT: the former occurring in Acts 3, 17, 7, 52, 22, 14, the latter in Lk. 9, 35, 23, 15. The last title, that of 'the Son of Man,' is historically the source of the New Testament designation. To the latter it contributes some of its most characteristic contents (see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, 312-317).

III. THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH.—This book has, as far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience we shall call it 'the Slavonic Enoch,' in contradistinction to the older book, which for the same reason we shall designate 'the Ethiopic Enoch.'

33. Secrets of Enoch: its fortunes.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature has only recently come to light through certain MSS., some of which were found in Russia and some in Syria. Although the very knowledge of such a book was, after probably twelve hundred years, the book was much used by both Christians and heretics in the early centuries.

Quotations appear from it though without acknowledgment, in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, *Apoc. Moses and Aaron* (480-500 A.D.), *890*, and *Dei actus, the book of Enoch* (500-550 A.D.). It is quoted by name in the *Apoc. of Bar.* (500-550 A.D.), *Test. xii. Patr.* (600-700 A.D.). It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement Alex., and was used by Iren. Some passages of the NT may be derived from it.

There are five Slavonic MSS.; in two of them the complete text is found, while the remainder in three supply only a shortened and incomplete reduction. For the edition published by the present writer the two best of the above MSS. (A and B) were translated and put at the service of the editor by Mr. Monod.

The editor had at his disposal also Mr. M. Hill's translation of Prof. Sokolov's text, which is founded on these and other MSS. In 1890 Prof. Bonwetsch published his *Das Apokalyptische Enochbuch*, in which he gives a German translation of the MSS. A and B side by side, preceded by a short introduction.

35. Language. (a) The main part of the 'Slavonic Enoch' was written in Greek.

This is clear from such statements as (1) 30, 14, 'And I gave him a name (i.e., Adam) from the four substances: the East, the West, the North, and the South.' Adam's name is thus derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters: ἀνατολή, δυσίς, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This derivation was first elaborated in Greek; it is impossible in the Semitic languages. (2) The writer follows the chronology of Gen. 1; in 50, 4 he reproduces the 8 text of Gen. 32, 35 against the Hebrew. (3) He constantly uses Ecclesiastical, which was current chiefly in Egypt.

(b) Certain portions were based on Hebrew originals. Such a hypothesis is necessary to account for the quotations from it or references to it which appear in the *Test. xii. Patr.* The fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author drew upon Hebrew originals in quotations and references.

36. Place. The book was written in Egypt.

This is deducible from the following facts: (1) The variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and other Hellenistic writers: thus souls were created before the foundation of the world, 23 f. (cp. Philo, *De Somno*, 1, 2; *V. Sol.* 8, 19, 20). Again, man had seven natures, 30, 9 (cp. Philo, *De Mundi Op.* 1, 3). (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the OT does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenistic Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with most of its books. (3) Such monstrous creatures as appear in chap. 12 are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the creation narrative in 25 f. betrays Egyptian elements.

Materials originally derived from this book are discoverable in Joel and Cedrenus (1050-1200 A.D.), though in these authors the materials are assigned to other names. Two passages of the *Book of Adam and Eve* (see *Apocrypha*, § 10) in 16 and 18 are all but quotations from 29, 4 f. and 31, 2 of our book.

Again in the *Apoc. Moses*, 19 (ed. Tisch. 1866), we have a further development of 14-24 of our text, just as in *Apoc. Paul*, 14, οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ παπιδεναός, εἶπα . . . δεινός . . . τοῦ γεννημένου τοῦ νεκροῦ τοῦ ἀγίου, a Christian adaptation of 8, 3. And in the midst of Paradise (8) the tree of life, on which God rests when he comes into Paradise. The section on the derivation of Adam's name in the anonymous *De Montibus Sina et Zion*, 4, is to be traced ultimately to 50, 13, and Augustine's speculation, *De Civ. Dei*, xxi, 30, 5, on the eighth eternal day to 33, 2.

Still earlier we find almost a verbal reproduction of 50, 5, 13, 1 in the Sibylline Oracles, 2, 75. In Irenaeus, *Contra Haer.*, 2, 3, the Jewish speculation of 33, 1 f. is reproduced, and possibly in Origen (see Lammatsch, ed., vol. xxi, 59). However this may be, there is no doubt as to the direct reference to 24, 30, 33, 8 in the *De Pernip.* 1, 32: 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Irenaeus conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui esse fecit omnia . . . sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' There are good grounds for believing that in a still earlier period (50-100 A.D.) the writers of *Ab. Ev.*, 8, 10 and of *Apoc. Bar.*, 4, 2 were acquainted with 19, 1 and 31, 2 of this book respectively. In *1 p. Bar.*, 10, 8 and probably in 18, 4 the thought and diction are dependent on 32, 2-3 and 30, 15.

In the NT the similarity of matter and language is sufficiently great to establish a close connection if not a literary dependence.

With Mt. 5, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' cp. 52, 11, 'Blessed is he who establishes peace'; with Mt. 5, 34, 35, 47, 'Swear not at all,' etc., cp. 29, 1, 'I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God made. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word,

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yes, yes, or nay, nay.' Again, with Mt. 23 and 24, cp 42:4 and 43:1, with Jn. 14:2 cp 9:2, with Eph. 4:3 cp 42:2; with Rev. 9:1 and 10:5 cp 42:1 and 43:7. Still earlier we find this book not only used but quoted by name in the *Test. Benj.* 3, where the statement *et hoc apocalypsis est* appears. *Apocalypsis* is drawn from 18:1. These are the 'origins' (*origines*) who, with their prince Satanael reject the holy God. Finally, the references to Enoch in *Test. Naph.* 4, *Test. Sim.* 3, *Test. Benj.* 9, are adaptations of 34:3.

The question as to the date has, to a large extent, been determined already. The portions which have a Hebrew background are at latest pre-Christian.

The *Test. Benj.* as from the fact of their quotation in the *Test. Sil. Patri.* Turning to the rest of the book, we find that the *Test. Benj.* is determined by the fact that it frequently uses *Heb.* 6:13-17, 17:5-18:1, 21:1-3, see the writer's edition of the Slavonic Enoch. The Ethiopic Enoch, further, is continually presupposed to be in the background. Its phraseology and conceptions are reproduced (7:4 f., 34:4 f., 35:2, etc.). At times its views are put forward in a developed form (8:1 f., 40:1 f., 64:1), and occasionally divergent conceptions are circulated (16:7-18). Finally, explanations are claimed to have been given by this writer which, as a matter of fact, are to be found only in his writings but in the *Test. Benj.* (see 40:4 f., 87:1). It is possible that the Book of Wisdom also was used by our author (see 65:4).

Since, therefore, Enoch, the *11th Enoch*, and Wisdom (1) were used by this author, his work cannot have been earlier than 30 B.C.

The *terminus a quo* must be set down as earlier than 70 A.D. For (1) the temple is still standing (12). This book was known and used by the writers of *1 Pet.*, *Revel.* and *1 Jo.* 1:1, and probably by some of the writers of the N.T. We may with reasonable certainty, therefore, assign the composition of the book in Greek to the period 30 A.D. The author is thus a contemporary of Philo, with whom, accordingly, we find that he holds many speculations in common. Much of the book, however, goes back to a Hebrew background of an earlier date.

The author was thus an orthodox Hellenistic Jew who looked to Egypt. He believed in the value of sciences (42:5-59:66:1), though he is content to endorse enlightened views with regard to them (15:4 f., 61:1 f.)—in the law (52:3 f.), and in a broad humanity (50:2-65:5 f.), in which the righteous will wear 'the raiment of God's glory' (22:9). In questions affecting the origin of the earth, of sin, and of death, he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows from every quarter. This Platonism (30:14), Egyptian (25:2), and Zoroastrian (58:1-6) elements are incorporated in his system. The result is highly syncretistic.

The book opens with a short account of Enoch as 'a very wise man' whom 'God loved and received so that he should see the heavenly abodes, the kingdoms of the wise, great, and never-changing God.' In chap. 1 two angels appear to Enoch and bid him make ready to ascend with them into heaven. In chap. 2 he admonishes his sons and directs them not to seek for him till he is brought back to them. Thereupon (3:6) he is carried up through the air into the first heaven, where he beholds a great sea and the elders, the rulers of the orders of the stars, and the treasures of the snow and ice and clouds and dew, and the angels who guard them. Then the angels bear him to the second heaven (7), where he sees the angels who had rebelled against God, imprisoned and suffering torments. These angels ask Enoch to intercede for them. Next, he ascends to the third heaven (8), where is Paradise, with all manner of beautiful fruits and 'the tree of life on which God rests when he comes into the garden,' and the four streams of honey, milk, oil, and wine, that water the garden, and go down to the Paradise of Eden, between cornubility and immortality. The angels inform Enoch that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those who turn their eyes from unrighteousness, and accomplish a righteous judgment, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen . . . and walk without blame before the face of the Lord.' Enoch is then taken to the northern region of this heaven (10), and shown 'a very terrible place' of 'savage darkness and impenetrable gloom,' with 'fire on all sides, cold, and ice.' He is told that 'this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance for those who commit evil deeds on earth, robbery, witchcraft . . . who oppress the poor, who are guilty of stealing, lying, envy, evil thoughts, fornication, murder, who worship gods without life.'

Thence Enoch is conducted to the fourth heaven, where he is shown the courses of the sun and moon (11), and the planets,

and the *chaikain*? (12; cp 10:6-7-8-9), and the eastern and western gates of the sun (13-16), and 'an armed host serving the Lord with cymbals and organs' (17).

In 18 he is taken up to the fifth heaven, where he sees the Watch-towers who had rebelled; their brethren were already confined in torment in the second heaven. Then he passes to the sixth heaven (19), where the angels who regulate all the powers of nature and the courses of the stars, and write down the deeds of men. Finally, he is raised to the seventh heaven (20-21), where he sees God sitting on his throne, and the heavenly hosts in their ten orders on the steps of the throne, and the Seraphim singing the trisagion. He takes down and worships (22). At God's command, Michael takes from him his earthly robe, and puts him with the holy oil, and clothes him with the raiment of God's glory. Thus Enoch becomes like one of the glorious ones. Under the instruction of Uriel (chap. 23), he writes 365 books, in thirty days and thirty nights, about things in heaven and earth, and about the souls of men created from eternity, and their future dwelling places.

In 24-26 God makes known to Enoch how he created the invisible out of the visible; how he commanded Ahab (possibly a corruption of Uriel, regarded as light or truth), and Abdiash (possibly from *אבד* or *אבד*, *אבד*, *אבד*, earth), to come forth and first ascend; and so the light on high and the world below were produced. And God divided the light and the darkness (25), and made the seven heavens, and caused the waters under the heaven to be gathered into one place, and made the earth in the waters (26). Such was the creation of the first day. And on the second day God created the heavenly hosts (27-31). And one of the archangels (Satanai) rebelled, and God cast him down (29:4 f.) from the heavens. On the third day (30:1-2) God raised the earth to produce trees and herbs, and planted Paradise. On the fourth (30:3-5), he made 10,000 lights to be in the various circles of the heavens: Saturn, Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter, Mercury, the Moon. On the fifth (30:6-7), he created the fish of the sea, and the fowl of heaven, and every thing that moveth on the earth, and on the sixth he made man from seven substances, and called him Adam, and showed him the two ways. While Adam was in Paradise he could see the angels in heaven (31); but Satan envied him and deceived him. And God established the eighth day (31:2), at the beginning of which time should be a new world. The corruption of the earth and the deluge are then foretold, and the preservation of Noah (32). God bids Enoch return to the earth for thirty days and teach his sons during that time (36:18). Enoch admonishes and instructs his sons, tells them what he has seen, and gives utterance to nine beatitudes (39:1-42). He impresses on them the incomparable dignity of godliness: 'none is greater than he who fears God' (43). They are not to revile the person of man, but to present the offerings; yet they must not value these in fully, but consider the heart from which they spring (44-46). Enoch gives his books to his sons (47), instructs them not to swear (49), and bids them in meekness to accomplish the number of their days, and be obedient to the laws which they have received (50:1). Again he enumerates seven beatitudes and the ways with which they are contrasted (52). The departed saints, he says, do not intercede for the living (53). At the close of the appointed time (55:9) Enoch again addresses his sons. He declares that no soul shall perish till the final judgment, and that the souls of beasts will then bring charges against the men who ill-treated them. Further instruction follows, as to sacrifice and man's duty to the needy, and warning against contempt and lying (56-59). The people assemble in Ahuzan to take leave of Enoch, who addresses them on various topics and exhorts them to faithfulness. He is then carried up to the highest heaven. His sons build an altar in Ahuzan and hold high festival, rejoicing and praising God (64:18).

The value of the book, in elucidating contemporary and subsequent religious thought, may be exemplified by the fresh evidence it contributes on the following beliefs:

1. *The millennium.*—This Jewish conception is first found in 32:2-33:2. From this its origin is clear. The account in Genesis of the first week of creation came in pre-Christian times to be regarded not only as a history of the past, but also as a sketch of the future of the world. Thus, as the world was created in six days, its history was to last 6000 years; for 1000 years with God are as one day (Ps. 90:4; Job. 1:13; 2 Pet. 3:8), and as God rested on the seventh day, so at the close of 6000 years there should be a rest of 1000 years. *I.e.*, the millennium.

2. *The seven heavens.*—The detailed account of the seven heavens in this book has served to explain difficulties in the N.T. conceptions of the heavens, and has shown beyond the reach of controversy that the sevenfold division of the heavens was believed by Paul, by the author of Hebrews, and probably by the author of Revelation. On the Secrets of Enoch see also *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 75.

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IV. THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH. This apocryph has come down to us in its entirety only in the Ethiopic version. It is a composite work, as we

42. Accense. Isa. shall see, and two if not three of its constituents existed independently before their incorporation in the present work. Of these the oldest is undoubtedly 2:3-12 and 5:1-17, which contains an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (cp. ISMAEL 1:31, 1:41). From this section, which is of Jewish authorship, seem to have been derived such statements as: 'they were sawn asunder, they were tempted, . . . they went about in sheepskins . . . being destitute . . . wandering in deserts and mountains' (11:1-17), cp. 2:1-12 5:1-17.

The next probable reference is in Justin Martyr (*c. Tryph.* 129), where he says, 'ye sawed (I and) in two with a wooden saw. So we find it in *1 Enoch* (*ch. parv.* 14) the reference is unmistakable, while in *Targum* the book in its matter is discussed; it is there called *apocryphus* *Isaiah*, or simply *apocryphus* (*1 p. ad. Genesim*, 9, *ad Mal.* 13:7 23:7, *in Jeremias* 1:1, 1:4). The first reference to the second part (6:11) is in *1 Enoch* (*11:1-17*, 10 and 11), where we are told that certain heretics made use of this work, which he calls *apocryphus* *Isaiah*, to support their opinions. There are speaks of an *Isaiah* *Isaiah*, and in the list of the Canon edited by Montfaucon and others is called *Isaiah apocryphus*.

The various renderings of the book were written originally in Greek. Thus, in 1:1-17 5:1-17 is followed where it differs from the

43. Language. Hebrew. Of the Greek the greater part has come down to us in a MS found in the National Library in Paris, and edited by Gebhardt in *Hilgenfeld's Zeitschrift* (1878), though it is not the original work, but a free recast and rearrangement of it (see below).

Translations from the Greek were made into Latin, Ethiopic, and Slavonic. Of the Latin version 6:11

44. Versions. were extant in the sixteenth century and were printed at Venice in 1522, but had long been lost to view when Tischler re-edited them in 1832. Two other fragments, 2:1-17 and 7:1-19, were discovered and published in 1828 by Müll, though that editor was not aware that they belonged to this apocryph. Happily, as remarked above, the entire work has been preserved in Ethiopic, and on the whole faithfully, as we can infer from the Greek and the Latin fragments.

The source of its corruptions are often immediately recognisable by retranslation into Greek. Thus in 3:1-14 the Ethiopic is 'quise ad advenit', the Latin 'prophetaus'. The original of both is *emprophus*, as we find in the Greek, but the Ethiopic translator has followed an inappropriate meaning. That followed by the Latin translator is admissible; but the context requires the ordinary sense of *emprophus* 'permitting'.

The Ethiopic version was first edited by Laurence in 1819 from one MS, and afterwards in 1877 by Dillmann from three MSS. To the latter edition are appended the Latin fragments. Next year, as we have already noticed, Gebhardt edited the Greek text. Although a free recast of our apocryph, it is very valuable for critical purposes, and in many respects confirms the critical acumen of Dillmann. Still there is need of a work which will give a text emended and corrected with the help of this Greek MS as well as of the Slavonic version and will deal more exhaustively with the different elements from which the apocryph is composed. This need Charles has tried to meet in his forthcoming work, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

Ewald was the first to recognise the composite structure of this book, finding in it the works of three distinct authors. Subsequent criticisms, however, have only in part confirmed his analysis, and the best work as yet done in this direction is that of Dillmann. Dillmann's hypothesis is as follows: There were originally two independent works: one, an account of the martyrdom of Isaiah (2:3-12 5:1-17), of Jewish origin; the other, the vision of Isaiah (6:11 12:4), of Christian authorship. These two works were next combined into one volume by a Christian, who supplied them with a prologue and an epilogue (1:1-2 11:42 f.). Finally,

when the book had assumed this shape, another editor inserted 1:1-2 3:1-17 11:1-17 11:22-41. This will do as a provisional hypothesis, but it is not final, and Gebhardt, Schürer, and Deane are wrong in saying that it is borne out by external testimony, averring that in the Greek work there is no trace of the sections 3:1-17 11:1-17. By a minute examination of the Greek certain phrases which imply the author's acquaintance with 3:1-17 11:1-17 are discoverable (see Charles, *op. cit.*). Thus the final editing was completed before the composition of the Greek legend. Further, since 3:1-17 is found in one of the Latin fragments published by Müll, this section (1:1-17, 3:1-17) was already present before the Latin version was made. Too much stress must not be laid on the fact that 11:22-41 is represented in the Latin version by only a few lines, for it is characteristic of this version to abridge the text it is rendering.

The following is an outline of the contents of the book.

In the twenty-sixth year of his reign Hozekiah summoned Malinzech in order to entrust to him certain writings touching the future (1:1-2). Isaiah foretells to Hozekiah his martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh (1:1-17). On the death of Hozekiah, Manasseh abandons the service of God for that of Satan, and thus, owing to the evils perpetrated in Jerusalem, Isaiah and other prophets withdraw into the wilderness (2). Thereupon Bakuria, a Samaritan, accuses Isaiah and the prophets of prophesying evil things against the king and the people. As Bura has gained possession of the king's heart, the king sends and seizes Isaiah (3:1-17).

There is a sudden break in the narrative here (the conclusion of the martyrdom of Isaiah follows in 5:1-17), to explain the reason of Bura's anger, viz. Isaiah's vision and the revelation in which he had seen the future, rule and destruction of Samaria, as well as the coming redemption by Christ. In fact, we have the history of the Christian Church summarised briefly from the coming of Christ to the Second advent, and the last judgment (3:1-17). In this short apocryph we have the account of an eye-witness of the foundation of the early Church, 30-50 A.D. Church organisation is still in its infancy; the rulers are called presbyters and pastors; bishops are nowhere mentioned. There are disputes about the second advent, no plenary has as yet disappeared; the vice and greed of the Christian teachers are unparaphrasedly dealt with. The writer feels that the end is at hand. On 1:2-14, see above.

With 6:1 begins the vision which Isaiah saw in the twentieth year of the reign of Hozekiah; he discloses it to the king and to Josiah his son. In this vision Isaiah is conducted by an angel through the firmament and the six lower heavens, and is shown the chief wonders in each (7-12). Next he is raised to the seventh heaven, where he sees and the righteous from Adam downwards. He is then told of the coming advent of the Beloved into the world, and of his eternal dominion and resurrection. Finally, he sees the Beloved in the form of an angel, and likewise the Holy Spirit in the same form, and 'the Great Glory'—i.e., God, worshipped by the Beloved and the Spirit (9). In 10, Isaiah hears God commissioning his Son to descend into the world, and thereupon follows an account of this descent. In the concluding chapter are revealed the birth of Jesus and the history of his life on earth down to his crucifixion and resurrection, and ascension through the seven heavens to his seat at the right hand of God.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah proper (2:3-12 5:1-17), which is of Jewish authorship, was written some time in the

47. Date. first century of our era; the Vision (6:11) probably about its close; and the apocryphic section (3:1-17) *circa* 50-80 A.D.

For additional bibliography on this book, see Schürer, *Hist.* 5:145-146; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*.

V. THE BOOK OF JUBILEES. The Book of Jubilees, which is really a haggadic commentary on Genesis, is

48. Book of Jubilees, its value. important as being the chief monument (practically the sole monument) of legal-istic Pharisaism belonging to the century immediately preceding the Christian era.

Just as we have the other side of Pharisaism, its apocalyptic and mystical side, represented in the Book of Enoch, so here we have its natural complement in the hard and inexorable legalism to whose yoke, according to the author, creation was subject from the beginning and must be subject for evermore.

Jubilees is not only indispensable to students of the NT and of the history of the Pharisaic movement; it is likewise of fundamental importance as a witness to the readings of the Hebrew text of Genesis about the

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beginning of the Christian era. In this respect it comes next in worth to **S** and the Samaritan text, and presents us with much earlier readings than are to be found in the Syr. or Lat. versions, or in Targ. Onk. In the matter of determining the respective values of the Samaritan, **S**, and Massoretic chronologies its evidence will be practically of decisive weight.

This book has been variously named at different stages of its career. Its original name seems to have been 'Jubilees,' and not the 'Book of 49. Name.' So we find it in the Syriac fragment, and likewise in Epiphanius, where it is designated *ra' IwbyNai'a* or *o' IwbyNai'a*.

It is also called *h' Aeterni Perseae* in Epiphanius, Syncellus, and others. A title pointing back to *נִסְחָא דְּגֵנְזִי*. This name was given to it not because of its smaller bulk, for it is greater than that of the canonical Genesis, but on the ground of its inferior authority. Other variations of this title are *Μικρογενεσις* and *τα Αιωνια Ποσειδος*. In the Abyssinian Church it is named the 'Book of the Division,' from the first words of the inscription at the beginning; and we find still other designations. Thus, in the decree of Theodosius, according to Ronsch's emendation, we find 'Liber de Iulianis, Ade, hoc est Iepigenesis.' This name, as Ceriani observed, was given to the book because it contains the names of all the Patriarchs' wives and assigns them a prominent role in the course of events: a view that is confirmed by the Syriac fragment. Again, it seems to be identified by Syncellus with 'the so-called Life of Adam' *h' Aeternae Perseae* *h' Aeternae Perseae*, for he cites as from that book three passages that occur in Jubilees. This *Life of Adam* may have been identical with a part of Jubilees, or a later enlargement of a portion of it. Jubilees is once described as the 'Testament of Moses,' and once as the 'Apocalypse of Moses,' but only by very late writers.

Such being the origin of Jubilees and the conditions under which it was produced, it was naturally written in the sacred language of Palestine. **50. Language.** Of this we have direct testimony in Jer. 1 p. 78, *ad Ethiolim, mansione 18*, where he discusses a Hebrew word for which he could cite no authority save that of this book. The entire cast and the idiom of the book confirm the statement of Jerome.

We have further testimony to the same effect in the title of the Syriac fragment, in which the present book is designated 'The Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It is further, impossible to deal with the textual corruptions unless we deal with them on this presupposition. In the case of many of these it is only necessary to retranslate them into Hebrew in order to discover the original misapprehension or misreading of the Greek translator. Some interesting translations of Hebrew words, moreover, still survive in the text.

Finally, fragments of the Hebrew original have come down to us embedded in the Midrashim. In these at times an entire sentence survives, preserving not only the words, but even their original order, as we can infer from the evidence of the versions.

There were probably four versions of Jubilees—Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Latin. The first two were made from the original Hebrew. Of the Greek only some fragments have come down to us in Epiphanius and through such annalists as Syncellus and Cedrenus. Of the Syriac only a small fragment, containing the names of the Patriarchs' wives and a few other facts, survives.

The Ethiopic and the Latin versions were made from the Greek version, not from the original text. The former survives almost in its entirety, and from an exhaustive comparison of the best attainable text with all existing materials we find that it is most accurate and trustworthy. It is, indeed, as a rule, servilely literal.

It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS; but it is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis must have been great. Only in about a dozen places did the temptation prove too great, with the result that changes were introduced into the text in subservience to that version.

Of the Latin version (made, as we have seen, from the Greek) more than a fourth has been preserved.

53. Latin. First published in 1571 by Ceriani (*Mon. sacra et prof. tom. i. fasc. i. pp. 130-2*), it was next edited with great learning by Ronsch in 1771 (*Das Buch der Jub. mit. Bistag. d. christlichen Kirche des 1. lat. Fragments*). Ronsch

emended the text in many passages; but as he was not aware that it had been corrected in conformity with **S** and with the A.g., and as, further, he had only a late representative of the Ethiopic version before him, his work is defective and far from final. A critically revised text of these fragments is given in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text.

The Ethiopic MSS, of which there are four, belong respectively to the National Library in Paris (A), the British Museum (B), the University Library in Tübingen (C), and to M. d'Aldade (D). B is by far the

54. Text of most valuable; next in value comes A; C and D are late and very corrupt. In addition to these MSS, however, there is a vast wealth of materials for the criticism and reconstruction of the text in the Mass. and Sam. Texts, and in the Gr., Syr., Arm., and Lat. versions of Genesis; in the fragments of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions of Jubilees mentioned above; and in abundant other documents of a less directly serviceable nature.

(a) *The Ethiopic Text* has been edited twice: first by Di. in 1850 from two MSS (B, D), and next, by the present writer from A, B, C, D. Though Di. made no use of the critical materials just enumerated in the formation of his text, and it was, accordingly, in no sense a critical edition, it was a great boon to scholars at the time.

(b) Three translations have appeared: the first by Di. in 1850 from one MS (B, C); the second by Schade (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1855) from Di.'s edition of the text; and the third by the present writer (*JQH*, 1894, 1895) from the text published in 1895 referred to above.

Jubilees cannot have been written later than 70 A.D.; for the temple is throughout supposed to be standing.

As the book repeatedly uses Enoch (1-36) before 60 B.C. Though there is some evidence that would place it nearer the earlier than the later date, we shall leave the date undecided for the present.

56. Author. The author was a Palestinian Jew and a Pharisee.

Frankel's view (*Mon. 1856*, pp. 31-36, 320-40) that it was written by a Hellenistic Jew belonging to Egypt is rendered untenable by the fact that it was written originally in Hebrew. Nor can the writer have been a Samaritan, as Beer supposes (*Das Buch der Jub.*, 1857, *Nach ein Wort u. d. Buch der Jub.*, 1857); for, whereas the text agrees in turn with MT, **S**, Syr. A.g., with Onkelos, and even with the Ar. against all the rest, it never, strange to say, agrees with the Samaritan. This evidence is conclusive in its force; but we might further observe that, in speaking of the four places most favoured of God in all the earth, the author enumerates Eden, Sinai, Zion, and the mountain in the East, but not Gerizim. Again, that he is not a Sadducee is proved by the fact that he believes in angels and in the immortality of the soul. Nor, finally, was he an Essene; for, though some characteristics (a highly developed angelology, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul without the resurrection of the body, the exaggerated reverence for the Sabbath and the number seven) would seem to agree an Essene origin, such an origin is absolutely precluded by the enforcement of animal sacrifice and the absolute silence as to the washings and purifications that were of such importance among the Essenes. Thus, though in some legal questions of less moment (Beer, *Das Buch der Jub.*) the author's views are at variance with traditional Pharisaism, in all essentials he is emphatically a Pharisee of the Pharisees.

That Palestine was the home of the author is deducible in the first instance from the language in which he wrote. A Hellenistic Jew would not have written in Hebrew. Again (not to press other details), the duty of absolute separation from the heathen, which is repeatedly enforced, would have been impossible of fulfilment for any Jew outside Palestine.

There are several lacunae in the book; but as far as evidence is forthcoming, these seem to be slight. It appears, on the other hand, to be free from interpolations.

A curious phenomenon, however, presents itself in chap. 7. Verses 22-23 seem to be an extract from the Book of Apoc. of Noah, beginning in an indirect form with 22, 23 and changing into the direct with 24, 25, whence to the end Noah admonishes his sons in the first person. These verses are similar to the Non-lit. interpolations in the Book of Enoch (see above, § 4).

The contents of Jubilees may be briefly described as a haggadic commentary on the biblical text, from the creation of the world to the institution of the Passover, in the spirit, and from the point of view, of later Judaism. Its aim is to prove the everlasting validity of the law. The work assumes the form of a revelation to Moses, made on Mt. Sinai by the 'angel of the presence' in the first year

1. *The 14th Vers. of the Heb. Book of Jubilees*, ed. from four MSS. R. H. Charles, M.A., 1895. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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of the Exodus. The author thereby seeks to secure a divine sanction for the additions he makes to the biblical narrative. Among these the most important novelty is his chronological system.

In this system the basis of reckoning is the jubilee period of forty-nine years. This jubilee period is subdivided into seven year-weeks of seven years each. Hence, in order to date any event exactly, the author determines it as occurring on a certain day of a certain month of a certain year in a certain year-week of a certain jubilee period. Fifty of these jubilee periods are assumed as the interval between the creation and the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan. The year strangely consists of fifty-two weeks (*i.e.*, 34 days), and, in opposition to the Pharisaism of his time, he claims that the year should be regulated by the movements of the sun without reference to those of the moon. The dates assigned to the various events, though presenting many difficulties, favour in the main the Samaritan chronology.

Another object of the author is to carry the Jewish edicts back into the patriarchal or even pre-Adamite period.

Thus we are given to understand that the angels observed the rite of circumcision; while, as regards the great annual festivals, the Feast of Weeks was observed by Noah and Abraham, the Feast of Tabernacles was first celebrated by Adam about the time of the birth of Isaac, and the Day of Atonement was established by Jacob in memory of the loss of Joseph. Again, the law regarding the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. 12) is traced to the fact that Adam was created in the first week and Eve in the second; to this is due the command 'Seven days for a woman-child and two weeks for a middle-child.'

Certain variations from the prescribed ritual are observable in relation to the festivals. Thus, the mourning of fasting on the Day of Atonement and the exclusion of the manumitted from the Passover are omitted; while in the case of the Feast of Tabernacles there is no reference to the custom of drawing water from the pool of Silvan and pouring it out upon the altar. Though in the last instance the author agrees with the Sadducees, it must be admitted that the practice was a Pharisaic innovation and that the Sadducees had the law on their side.

Another notable characteristic of the work is the increased rigour of many of the Levitical ordinances.

Thus, the man who eats blood is to be utterly destroyed, and the father who gives his daughter, or the brother who gives his sister, in marriage to a heathen, is to be stoned to death, and the woman to be burned. Death is to be the universal penalty for breaking the Sabbath; and the Sabbath is broken by buying or selling, by lighting a fire, by drawing water, by talking of an intended journey, or by lying with one's wife.

Another no less interesting characteristic is the care either to leave unrecorded or to palliate the faults of the Patriarchs as well as to multiply their virtues.

Thus, from the first they were scrupulous observers of the ritual and ceremonial law before its authoritative promulgation on Sinai. There is no mention made of Abraham's deceit at the court of Pharaoh; Jacob's answer to Isaac's question 'Art thou my very son Esau?' is cleared from verbal falsehood by representing him as answering 'I am thy son.' This quibble is found likewise in the Talmud, and may therefore have been a stock interpretation of Jewish exegesis. Again, whereas in Genesis Levi is cursed for his share in the destruction of Shechem, in Jubilees he is highly honoured for the same action and his posterity elected to an everlasting priesthood. We find the same view taken by Philo (*De Fecunditate*, 20).

Akin to the aim just described is the attempt to justify from the standpoint of a later age the severities practised by Israel in their conquest of Canaan.

It is a Jewish prototype of Rousseau's Social Contract. Thus it is represented that, in the presence of an angel, Noah divided the earth by lot amongst his three sons, and bound them and their successors by the most sacred oaths to observe the arrangement. Destruction was involved on the head of him who transgressed it. According to the sequel, Canaan seized upon Shem's inheritance; and thus our author justifies the extermination of his descendants by Israel.

As has already been pointed out, though the immortality of the soul is taught, there is no resurrection of the body. In the restored theocracy that is foreshadowed there may be a Messiah. See, further, ESTERHARTZ, § 72.

For the literature of this book see Roush, *Das Buch der Jub.* 422-432; Schurer *op. cit.*; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*.

VI. THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES. Of this book, which from the twelfth century was regarded as lost, a

large fragment was rediscovered by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library in Milan and published by him in 1861 (*Mon. tom. i. fasc. 6. pp. 55-64*). This fragment was part of an old Latin version, and is written on a palimpsest of the sixth century—the same

MS. that contains the Latin version of Jubilees—which originally belonged to the monastery of Bobbio.

Before this discovery, however, we were, from various sources, in some degree acquainted with the contents of the book.

Thus, the account of the strife between the archangel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses was drawn, as we know (Origen, *De Principiis*, 3.21), from the apocryphal book entitled the *Assumptio Moysi* (i.e., ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως). Many other writers testify to the existence of this apocryph. Besides the reference already noticed in Origen, there are other references in citations in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 1.21.153.615.119); in Origen (*In Joannem homil.* 21); Diodorus Alex. (*In ep. Jud. canon. at.* in Galland, *Biblioth. Patr.* 6.207), in Eusebius, Apollinarius, the Stichometrists, and in the *Acta Synodi Nicaenae*, 218. This last reference must be given in full as the passage quoted is found in Ceriani's fragment, — Μελλοεισιν ἀποσταλῆναι Μωϋσῆν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μωϋσέως, πρὸς καθάρτην τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ Ναου καὶ διαδοχῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶρη· καὶ πρὸς καταστάσιν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ αἵματος. The words quoted are thus rendered in the Latin fragment (114): *Itaque exspectavit ei mittent moysi, ut dimitteret orationem pro peccatis suis, ut simul ad iter testamenti illius.* The text of the quotations are in the main from the part of this book which is lost.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question. This Greek work is trans-

lated; as *chēdōn* from *κεδῶν* 117, *herēnā* from *ἐρήνω* 31, *libēn* from *θαλίης* 37, and *acrobēstia* from *ἀκροβήστρια* 84.

Again, we are not infrequently obliged to adopt not the Latin text but the Greek it presupposes, which has been misunderstood by the translator. Thus 'ab oriente usque ad occidentem,' which means 'from the east to the west,' is derived from *ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς μέχρι διαμεριού*, which means also 'from sunrise to sunset' the meaning required by our context. For similar instances see 11 and 18. Finally, retranslation into Greek makes it evident that in the case of some corruptions in the Latin the error arose through the confusion of different though similar forms of words: *ep* 27 34 56 114. In 11 we have the Greek article rendered by *hic*.

The derivation of our text from a Semitic original was stoutly denied by Volkmar, Hilgenfeldt, and others.

This position, however, can no longer be persevered in. A Semitic original must now be conceded. It remains a matter of debate whether the balance of evidence is in favour of an Aramaic or of a Hebrew source. Rosenthal decides for the latter; Schmidt-Mey, Colan, and Carrière for the former. Notwithstanding all that has been advanced by these three scholars, however, in support of their contention, the evidence points decidedly in the direction of a Hebrew original.

Rosenthal restores three or four passages by means of retranslation into Hebrew. In Charles's *Assumption of Moses* (1897) the necessity of such an hypothesis is shown alike in the Hebrew character of the Latin version and in the possibility of removing most of its corruptions by means of retranslation into Hebrew. Thus in 616 we must follow the Hebrew presupposed by the Latin; next, in 64 there is a play upon words possible only in the Hebrew; again, there are Hebrew phrases and constructions reproduced in 115 247 311 316 101. Finally, it is only through retranslation into Hebrew that we can understand the text or get rid of its corruptions in 14 53 109 116 127.

Schurer has already pointed out (*Hist.* 3.21) that the Latin version we possess is in reality a 'Testament of

Moses,' although quoted in the Acts of the Council of Nicaea as the *Assumptio Test. Moses*. Moreover, and has concluded that 'these designations were the titles of two separate divisions of one and the same work, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second.' The present writer's studies tend in some degree to support this conclusion.

Thus in the Latin version (114 and 1014) Moses speaks of his death as an ordinary one, and the same fact undoubtedly was stated in 1012 before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. Thus in 1012 the text is: 'erunt enim a mortis receptione usque ad adventum illius tempore CCI.' Schmidt-Mey and Hilgenfeldt, and Hilgenfeldt, in their editions, are failing to see that 'receptione' was introduced by the final

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editor into the text of the 'Testament' which recounted nothing of Moses' Assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, the 'Assumption of Moses'.

Schürer apparently assumes that both the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption' were from one and the same author; but the facts stated above are against this supposition. The Latin fragment is the *Διαθήκη Μωσέως* mentioned in the Stichometry of Nicephorus. It is there said to consist of 1100 lines. Of these about half have survived. Some writers have sought to identify this 'Testament' with the Book of Jubilees. This is impossible. Since 4300 lines are assigned to Genesis in Nicephorus' Stichometry, this 'Testament of Moses' would have above 5000 or 6000 if it were the Book of Jubilees, for the latter is much longer than Genesis.

About one-half of the original Testament has been preserved by our Latin Version.¹ It is possible that the latter half dealt with certain revelations about creation made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight.

We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. l. 7. f. ii. 121-122*). "Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nulum in sciam, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulchri complexum oculis circumstantium perscrutasse ita, ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre posuerit, nisi cadaver conderetur." On the 'bright cloud' see also Jos. *Ant. iv. 849*.

On the question of the date of the Assumption of Moses the opinions of critics oscillate between the death of Herod the Great and the death of

64. Date. Bar-Cochba. The later date is impossible. Ewald, Wieseler, Drummond, Dillmann, and Schürer assign it to the first decade after Herod's death; Hilgenfeld assigns it to 44-45 A.D.; Merx to 54-64 A.D., and so also Fritzsche; Baldensperger to 50-70 A.D. On various grounds all these determinations are unsatisfactory. The real date appears to lie between 4 B.C. and 30 A.D. It cannot be later than 30 A.D. Towards the close of chap. 6 it is stated that the sons of Herod should reign for a shorter period (*breuiora tempora*) than their father—a statement that could have been made only while they were still living, since it is true of Archelaus alone; for Antipas reigned forty-three years, Philip thirty-seven, and Herod himself only thirty-four. The book must, therefore, have been written at the latest less than thirty-four years after Herod's death (4 B.C.)—i.e., earlier, at all events, than 30 A.D. The limits may, however, be defined more closely; for the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father, may owe its origin to the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority, but still more to the actual deposition of Archelaus in 6 A.D.—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgment and suggest to him the prediction that appears in the text as to the impending fate of Philip and Antipas. Hence the earliest limit of composition is 7 A.D.

As for the author, he was not a Sadducee; for according to chap. 10 he looks forward to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom by God in person. Nor is it possible, with Wieseler

and Schürer, to regard him as a Zealot; for (1) there is not a single incentive held forth to encourage men to take arms in behalf of the theocracy; (2) the actual advent of the kingdom is brought about, not by any action of the righteous in Israel, but

¹ It is to be remarked that we have in this Latin Fragment a clear instance of dislocation of the text. The perception of this fact removes some of the main difficulties in the way of interpretation. In order to recover the original order, we have to restore 8 f. to their original position, before 6. For the grounds of this restoration of the text, see the present writer's edition of the book.

by the archangel Michael (10:2) and God himself (10:7); (3) the author's ideal of duty as regards preparation for the Messianic kingdom is that depicted in 9—i.e., absolute obedience to the law and non-resistance. The faithful Israelite was quietly to do his duty and await God's will. The writer, accordingly, glorifies the old ideals cherished and pursued by the Hasid and Early Pharisaic party, which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. See § 81. God would in his own good time interpose in person (10); at all events, he would avenge the death of his servants (97). Our author pours the most scathing invective on his religious and political opponents, the Sadducees, whom in 7 he describes in terms that frequently recall the anti-Sadducean Ps. of Solomon. (Through some inexplicable misapprehension, Schürer and others have regarded this chapter as a description of the Pharisees.) The author, therefore, was a Pharisee, and a Pharisee who was the antithesis of the Zealot exactly in those respects in which Pharisaism differed from Zealotism. His book was designed as a protection against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its adoption of political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. To guard against the possible suggestion of an Essene author, we may remark that such a derivation is absolutely precluded by the recognition of animal sacrifices, by the declaration of the speedy coming of the Messianic or Theocratic kingdom, and by the strong sense of national life, unity, and triumph. See Charles's *The Assumption of Moses*, pp. 51-54; and cp ESCRATOLOGY, § 73.

The following is an outline of the contents of Ass. Moses 11-19: Introduction. 10-17 Moses tells Joshua that he is about to die, and commits certain books of prophecies to his safe-keeping. In 2 f. the subsequent history of Israel down to the captivity is briefly but

66. Contents. clearly outlined. In their captivity the tribes remember that all that had befallen them had already been foretold by Moses. In 4, owing to the prayers of one who is over them (Daniel), God will take pity on them and raise up a king (Cyrus) who will restore some fragments of their tribes to their own land. These will mourn because of their inability to sacrifice to the God of their fathers. Judgment (5-7) will overtake their oppressors (the Seleucid kings). Yet they themselves (the Sadducees and the Hasids) will be divided as to what is true, and the altar and temple will be defiled by men who are not priests (as Menelaus, who was a Benjamite), but slaves born of slaves (5:2-4) (the paganising high-priests who were nominees of the Seleucids), and many of them (the Sadducean priesthood and aristocracy), moreover, will be respecters of persons and unjust, and their country will be filled with unrighteousness (5:5). Then (8:1-5) a fresh vengeance will alight upon them, in which the king of kings (Antiochus) will crucify those who confess to their circumcision, and force them to bear on their shoulders impure idols, and to blaspheme the word. A man of the tribe of Levi (9:1-7), whose name is Taxo (i.e., Eleazar (2 Mac. 6:19); for, as Burkitt has discovered, Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = ταξω = תאצו which by gematria = תאצו), will say to his seven sons: 'Let us fast three days, and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in the field and die, rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers.' In 9:1-7 we are told of the assumption of royal power by the Maccabees, and of Herod as their successor who is to reign for thirty-four years. He will beget sons, who will reign as his successors, but for shorter periods. Then follows (9:8-9) the capture of Jerusalem by a king of the west (Varns). Soon after, Judea becomes a Roman province. The author next launches out into a scathing denunciation of the Sadducees, of whose injustice, greed, and gluttony we have an account in 7. Thereupon (10:1-10) the times are fulfilled, and God appears to judge the enemies of Israel (10). Moses is then represented as exhorting Joshua to guard these words and this book (10:11). When Joshua deprecates his inability to lead Israel (11), Moses bids him not to depreciate himself and not to despair of the future of his people (12). Here the fragment ends.

Cerami, *Mon. Sacr.* vol. i. fasc. 1 (1864); Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judaeorum* (1869), 435-468, cp *Prot.* 7:76, and *Clem. Rom. Epist.* 2 (1376), 102-103; Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt* (1867); Schmidt and Merx, *Uebh. f. bibl. Exegese* hang. des *ATs.* I. ii. 111-152, 1863; Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. l. 7* (1871), 70-730; cp *Prot.* 32-36; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah* (1877), 74-84; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu* (1883), 23-31, 114-118; Deane, *Pseudopigraphen*, (1891), 95-130; Schürer, *Hist.* 5:73-81; Charles, *The 1st of the*, (1897). For complete bibliography, see the two works last mentioned.

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VII. THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII. PATRIARCHS.— The earliest reference to this book by name is in Origen in his *Hom. in Joannem*, 156 (Ed. Lommatsch 1144): 'in aliquo quodam libello qui appellatur testamentum duodecim patriarcharum, quamvis non habetur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus, quod per singulos peccantes singuli satanae intelligi debent' (cp Reuben 3). It is possible, indeed, that in the preceding century the ideas of *Fragment 17* in Stieren's edition of Irenaeus (136-337) are derived from this book: *ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προετιπώθη καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη καὶ ἐγεννήθη ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἰωσήφ προετιπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λεὼ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐγεννήθη· διὰ δὲ τοῦ Σιμεὼν ἐν τῷ ναφ̄ ἐπεγνώσθη. . . διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμὴν τοῦ Ἰακώβ, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρύχθεις ἰδοῦσασθαι*. This conjunction of Simeon and Levi is found in *Sim. 7*; *Lev. 28*; *Dan 5*; *Gad 8*; *Jos. 19*; *Benj. 11*. Since, however, it is now demonstrable that the Christian elements in the Testaments are due to interpolation, it is not possible at the present stage of criticism to determine the relative chronology of these elements and the writings of Irenaeus.

The passages in Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 51, *Scorpiae* 13, which most critics from Grabe onwards have regarded as based on *Benj. 11*, are due, as Schürer has already recognised, simply to the patristic interpretation of *Gen. 19:27*. This eleventh chap. of *Benj.*, which contains the striking account of Paul, is not found in the Armenian version, and is for the most part wanting in the Greek MS R. On these and on other grounds we may safely regard it as one of the latest of the Christian interpolations.

There is possibly an allusion to this book in the contemptuous words of Jerome, *Adv. Vigilant.* 6. The Testaments are next mentioned in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus*, in the *Synopsis Athanasii* as well as in the anonymous list of books cur- by Montefaucon, Petra, and others. In these lists the book is simply called *Ἡραπάρχαι*. After this date the Testaments are lost to knowledge till their reappearance in the thirteenth century, when Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, translated them from Greek into Latin. The MS from which the translation was made is the tenth century Cambridge MS of this book (Sinker). This Latin version was the parent of almost all the European versions.

The work consists, as its present title indicates, of the dying commands of the twelve sons of Jacob to their children. Each Testament deals with a fresh virtue or vice which finds apt illustration in the life of the particular patriarch. Thus, according to the titles in Sinker's text, Simeon deals with the vice of envy, Zebulun with compassion and mercy, Dan with anger and lying, Gad with hatred, Joseph with chastity, and Benjamin with a pure mind. These titles are appropriate; but in manuscripts O and R all mention of the virtues and vices is omitted; in P they are generally wanting, and when they are given they differ in all but two instances from Sinker's text, while in the Armenian version they are wanting in Simeon, Issachar, Zebulun, and Benjamin; for 'concerning chastity' in the title of the Test. Joseph we have 'concerning envy'; they differ in the case of Levi, Gad, and Asher; only in the case of Judah do they give a divided support to the Cambridge MS, which Sinker follows. We may, therefore, regard the title of each Testament as originally consisting of the word *Δαθήκη*, followed by the name of the patriarch to whom it was attributed. It is possible, moreover, that the title was originally still shorter—i.e., as we find it in the Oxford MS, merely the name of the patriarch. The fact that in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus* and in the *Synopsis Athanasii*, as well as in the anonymous list of books edited by Montefaucon, Petra, and others, the book as a whole is designated simply *Ἡραπάρχαι* points in the same direction; and this evidence is the more weighty since

the adjoining books in these lists have their full titles given. This supposition receives further support from the initial words of the Testaments themselves. In the case of seven of the Testaments the contents are simply described as the *λογος* of the Patriarch, which they spake or ordained (*ἔλαλεν*, *εἶπεν*, or *διατίθησθαι*) before they died. It is only in the case of the remaining five that each is described as a *δαθήκη* which the patriarch spake, enjoined, or ordained (*ἔλαλεν*, *εἶπεν*, *ἐντέλλεσθαι*, *διατίθησθαι*). It is probable, therefore, that the original title of the entire book was 'The Twelve Patriarchs.'

In the next place, it is noteworthy that in each of the Testaments three elements are distinguishable. (1) In

each instance the patriarch gives a brief or detailed account of his life, in which his particular virtues or vices are vigorously emphasised. The biblical notices of his life are expanded and enriched after the manner of haggadic Midrash. In a few instances their place is taken by materials that conflict directly with the biblical narrative. (2) The patriarch next proceeds to press upon his children a series of exhortations based upon and naturally suggested by the virtues or the vices conspicuous in his own career; they are to imitate the one and to shun the other. (3) Finally, the patriarch gives utterance to certain predictions which bear upon the future of his descendants, and the evils of overthrow and captivity which they will entail upon themselves by their sins and apostasies, and their breach with the tribes of Levi and Judah. These predictions are generally (a) of purely Jewish authorship; but many are (b) distinctively Christian.

To account for the difficulties which confront us in this work, Grabe (*Spicileg. Patrum*²⁹ [1714], 1430-1443-574) was the first to suggest that

the book was written by a Jew and subsequently interpolated by a Christian. This hypothesis was for the time so successfully combated by Corrodi (*Krit. Gesch. des Chiliasmus*, 210-115) that most subsequent writers, such as Nitzsch, Lücke, Ritschl, Vorstmann, Hilgenfeld, Dilmann, and Sinker, have practically ignored the question of the integrity of the book and confined themselves mainly to the discussion of the religious and national affinities of the author.

Nitzsch (*De Test. xii. Patriarcharum libro P^o psudo.*, Wittenberg, 1810) describes the author as a Jewish Christian of Alexandria who had imbibed many of the Essene doctrines that were then current. Ritschl (*Entsteh. der altkathol. Kirche*, 1. Aufl. 322 ff.) assigns the book to a Gentile Christian, appealing principally to *Benj. 11* (a chapter really due to Christian interpolation; see § 68). Ritschl's view was vigorously assailed by Kayser (*Die Test. d. Zwölf Patr.* in Reuss and Cunitz's *Beitr. zu den theol. Wissenschaften* [1751], 107-140), who on several grounds derives the book from Ebionite circles, reviving on a large scale Grabe's theory of interpolation in order to arrive at this result. Kayser's treatise was in turn examined by Vorstmann (*De Test. xii. Patriarcharum origine et pretio*, 1857), who, after a detailed criticism of Kayser's arguments, concluded that the Testaments present no trace of Ebionism, but were the work of a Gentile Christian. Hardly had Vorstmann thus vindicated the view of Ritschl when a second edition of this scholar's work (see above) appeared, in which his former contention (pp. 172-177) was abandoned as impossible, and the theory of a Nazarene authorship was advocated. Ritschl's first view, however, has received the continued support of Hilgenfeld (*Zit. T.* [1853], 395 ff. [1871] 302 ff.), whilst Lange (*Des Judenthums in Pal. zur Zeit Christi*, 140-157) and Sinker (*Die Test. xii. Patr.* [1860], 16-24; art. 'Test. xii. Patr.' in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 485-487) hold fast to the theory of a Jewish Christian authorship.

If there were no other methods of determining the questions of authorship and date than those pursued by Nitzsch and his successors, finality or even progress in such matters would be a sheer impossibility. To Schnapp (*Die Test. der xii. Patr. untersucht*, Halle, 1884), however, is due the credit of lifting the criticism of this book out of the arena of fruitless logomachies by returning to Grabe's hypothesis of Christian interpolation of an originally Jewish work. Schnapp's theory is that in its original form the book consisted of biographical details respecting each of the patriarchs and of exhortations suggested by these details. Thus the work com-

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prised only two of the three elements mentioned in the preceding section (§ 70). Subsequently, however, the book was worked over by a Jewish writer, who inserted, generally towards the end of each Testament, sections dealing with the future fortunes of the tribes and other matter of an apocalyptic nature. Finally, at a later period still, the book thus enlarged was revised by a Christian, who in some passages merely modified the text by slight changes, but in others made large interpolations. Thus we have three writers concerned in the Testaments: the original Jewish author, the Jewish interpolator, and the Christian interpolator. It is not difficult to prove that in the main this theory is true.

claim to prove that in the main this theory is true, this in the Testament of the Messiah we have two partially collating accounts derived from different authors: *Lev.*, 1-10a, and 10b-18. As early as 1830, indeed, Sinkov suggested a post-terrestrial authorship as the solution of certain difficulties in the narrative,¹ but he made no attempt to verify this hypothesis, and it was reserved for Schnegge to establish beyond question the dual origin of this Testament and the other Testaments. The same co-mingledness is observable on a smaller scale in *Benj.* 2, where 25 conflicts with 27 and with every other reference to the same subject in the rest of the Testament. Again, in *Levi* 2 *ὁ δὲ ἀποστασίου* (27) *ἢ ἐν τῇ καπνῷ μου* we have a large addition which conflicts with the words before and after, *Levi* 3, *ἀποποιεῖς ἐξ Βεθλὴν* is open to the same criticism. Again, in *Dan.* 5, in adjoining sentences *Levi* is commended as the guide and stay of Israel and denigrated as the leader in Israel's apostasy. It is needless to multiply such instances further. The presence of additions to the list from a Jewish interpolator is unquestionable.

It is, however, no less certain that all the Christian passages have been inserted in the text not, as Schnapp supposed, by a single Christian interpolator, but by a succession of such interpolators.

The grounds for this conclusion will be found in Conybeare's valuable article (*On the Jewish authorship of the Twelve Patriarchs*) (*JQR* [1904] 375-398). By collating the Armenian version with the Greek text of Simke, this scholar has shown that most of the Christian passages in the latter are not to be found in the former. Thus when the Greek MS used in making the Armenian version was written, the process of Christian interpolation had advanced only a short way in the direction in which later it progressed so far. In the Armenian version we have thus a striking confirmation of the critical sagacity of the scholars who saw in the Testaments a Jewish work interpolated later from Christian sources. With the fresh materials at our disposal, there is a splendid opportunity for a critical edition of the text, and a scientific edition of the work in which the various elements will be duly discriminated, their dates as far as possible determined, and their bearing on history elucidated.

We have now arrived at a stage when we are in a position to consider the question of the original language of the Bible.

72. Language. of the Testaments. Apart from Grabe, no notable critic has advocated a Hebrew or Aramaic original. This is only what might be expected, since nearly all the students of this book believed in its integrity and Christian authorship. However, now that by means of external and internal evidence we have come to see that the book was originally Jewish, the question as to its original language can no longer be evaded. On two grounds the present writer is inclined to advocate a Hebrew original. Space does not suffice for dealing with the first here. Let it merely be observed that fragments have been found in the Testaments which are not explicable on the assumption of a date later than 100 B.C. This and other kindred questions will be dealt with at length in the present writer's forthcoming edition of the Testaments. The second reason for supposing a Semitic origin is to be found in the language. Dr. Gaster ('The Hebrew text of one of the Test. xii Patr.' *PSRL*, Dec. 1893, Feb. 1894) gives some evidence which points in this direction.

In the article just referred to, indeed, he publishes what he claims to be the "actual Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphthi" entitled *SEPHARVA*. "In this text," he writes, "we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation." He adds: "The Greek counterpart of the Hebrew makes no sense and has no meaning at all; while the Hebrew is rounded off and complete, and perfectly clear." It is not necessary to traverse the statements at any length.

¹ Most of Schnapp's conclusions have been accepted by Schurer (1935, p. 114-124).

First of all, the style of the Hebrew is not earlier, as Dr. Neulohr informs us, than the 7th or the 8th century A.D. In the next place, even if it were early, it can lay no claim to being the original of the Greek 'Testament.' All that could be urged is that the two texts possess some material in common. Their aim and their spirit are as antagonistic as possible. This Hebrew Naphthali, in fact, is a strong polemic against Joseph, whereas in the Greek Text, xii. Patr. as well as in Jubilees, Joseph is universally extolled for his goodness and virtue, and the various patriarchs are punished in proportion as they are hostile to Joseph. By the name of Joseph in this polemical treatise we are probably to understand the ten tribes and their successors the Samaritans. Though this treatise was undoubtedly

[illegible]

Subjoined are some of the arguments for a Hebrew original.

[illegible]

Before leaving the question of a Hebrew original it will be well to notice some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Sinker in favour of the original being Greek.

(1) He urges that the very title αἰ διαφάσι κ. τ. λ. is against the hypothesis of a Hebrew original. But it is probable that the title was merely of ἡ παρὰ τὴν ἑβραϊκήν; see § 69, end. (2) He argues that such periphrastics as ἀσβερί, ροδεντρί (Benj. 4); ἀσάβρις, ἀσάβρις (Judah 23); ἐν τὰς, ἀκρότι; and τὰς, ἀτὰς (Nab. 23) imply a Greek original. As regards the first pair, they are late interpolations, since the passage in which they occur is wanting in the Armenian version and in O. R. As regards the second pair, P reads ἀσάβρις in both cases. R omits ἀσάβρις, and the Armenian version omits ἀσάβρις. It is probable, therefore, that there was no periphrasis in the early Greek version. There is no weight attaching to the other periphrastics cited. (3) Again, Mr. Sinker speaks of the use of certain philosophical terms as favouring a Greek original. But these are found also in G. (4) Again, the use of Θ in Judah 24, which he presses in favour of a Greek original, is to longer a valid argument, since we find from the Armenian version that the passage in which it occurs is a Christian interpolation.

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the groundwork of the Testaments was originally written

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in Hebrew. The additions of the Jewish interpolator were, as far as I have examined them, in the same language. Christian interpolations were introduced at the close of the first century of the Christian era, and some probably as late as the third or the fourth.

The earliest versions were the Greek, the Syriac, and the Armenian. Of the Syriac version only a fragment survives, preserved in the British Museum (*Cat. of Syria MSS* Cod. 94. 1). Of the Armenian version six MSS, varying in date from 1220 to 1656, are in Venice (in the Library of the Mechitarists of San Lazzaro); one, of 1382, in Vienna; another, of the fourteenth century, in the library of Lord de la Zouch; and a ninth, in the possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society. An edition of the Armenian version by the Mechitarist Fathers is soon to issue from the press. No trace has as yet been discovered of a Latin version anterior to that of Grossesetio in the thirteenth century. This version and the later European versions are of no critical worth. There is also an old Slavonic version published by Tichonravov in the *Denkm. der altross. Apocri. Lit.*, St. Petersburg, 1876.

Four of these MSS have already been made known to the public: the Cambridge MS of the tenth century, and the Oxford MS of the fourteenth, through Sinker's edition of the Greek text; the Vatican MS of the thirteenth and the Farnes MS of the sixteenth, through the Appendix he published in 1870. These four MSS are designated by their editor respectively as C O R P, and this notation has been followed in the present article.

It has already been observed that the process of Christian interpolation probably extended from the close of the first century A.D. to the fourth.

74. The Greek MSS. As regards the apocalyptic sections (see *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 61), which are due to a Jewish interpolator, we have no means at present of determining their date with any exactness. Some of them are the oldest portions in the book, and were probably written in the second century B.C.; but some of them are very much later, since they contain citations from the Ethiopic and the Slavonic Enoch. As far as the present writer has examined them, he is inclined to regard them as all springing from a Hebrew original. The date, therefore, of these interpolations may possibly extend from the second century B.C. to 300 A.D. It may be added, partly on the evidence of the Armenian version and partly from the context, that it is clear that in Levi 15, Judith 23, and Dan 5, there are no references to the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 A.D. The groundwork may have been written about the beginning of the Christian era. We can hardly suppose it to be based upon Jubilees, for it never mentions it; yet, since it possesses in common with it a vast mass of biographical details as well as the same chronological system, it is natural to regard both works as almost contemporary and as emanating from the same school of thought.

No attempt has been made to give a systematic statement of the Christology, since the passages relating to this subject are derived not from one writer or period, but from a variety of scribles and times. The value, therefore, of the Christological portions in this book is slight.

VIII. THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—Very little is known of the early history of these psalms. Only six direct and undoubted references to them are found in early literature.

Four of these occur in catalogues of canonical and uncanonical books, viz., in the *Synopsis Libanensis*, the Sticherometry of Nicophorus, the 'Sixty Books,' and the table of contents in the Alexandrian MS. The fifth reference is found in the fifty-ninth canon of the Council of Laodicea, which ordains *οτι ου δευ ιδιοτεκνους ψαλμους λεγασθαι εν τη εκκλησια, ουδε ακανωνικα βιβλια, αλλα μονα τα κανονικα της παλαιας και καινης διαθενης*. The sixth belongs to the twelfth century, and consists merely of a note on this canon. With doubtful references we have here no concern.

Mr. Sinker has since discovered two other Greek MSS; and these six MSS, with the other versions, he is using as the foundation of a new Greek Text which, we hope, will see the light soon.

16

It is obvious, therefore, that the book never attained a large circulation. On the other hand, as Ryle and James point out, 'where it was read' it was 'read with respect'; for 'it is the solitary instance of an OT book which, from being merely *ἀντιλεγόμενον*, became *ἀκριβήρον*.' As belonging to the former it appears in the first two lists above mentioned; as an *ἀπόκριφον* it is enrolled in the 'Sixty Books.'

It is notable in the next place that, whereas these psalms are designated in the first two lists as *ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ* (Fabricius *ᾠδαὶ Σολομώντος* and *ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ (varia lectio-n) Σολομῶντος*), in the next two they are described simply as *ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος*, with the addition of *οἱ* in the case of A.

78. Extent. The book, therefore, circulated as early as the fifth century in two forms: one consisting simply of the eighteen 'Psalms of Solomon,' the other of these together with certain Odes. The first form is the older. The second probably originated in an attempt to supplement a defective edition of the first by certain odes or songs, partly of Jewish, partly of Christian, authorship, that were current under Solomon's name. For if we accept the number of *στίχοι* assigned to the psalms in the MSS (*i.e.*, 1000), we must regard the present psalms as deficient to the extent of 300. On the other hand, as the Sticherometry of Nicophorus assigns 2100 *στίχοι* to the psalms and the odes combined, the odes themselves must have been about the same length as the psalms. Of the only two have been preserved. These are edited in an appendix to the edition of Ryle and James.

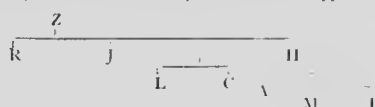
Up to the present, five MSS of this book have been found; but of these the Augsburg MS has long been lost, though we possess a record of its readings in de la Cerda's edition, which was based upon it. The second codex is that of Vienna (V). This MS was collated by Haupt for Hilgenfeld's two editions (*ZW* *Th.* 1870-1, 133-163, and *Messias Juuacorum*, 1869, pp. xlviii-133); but the collation has been recently shown to be most inaccurate. The next edition is that of Geiger, *Der Psalt. Salomons herabg. u. eckl.* (1871), based on the same critical materials as Hilgenfeld's. Though agreeing with Hilgenfeld as to the date and situation, Geiger maintains, in opposition to him, the Hebrew original. Fritzsch's edition was published in the same year (*Lebr. apoc. 177*, pp. 560-89); and that of Pick in 1883 (*Presb. Rev.* 773-813). The third codex is the Copenhagen one (H), to which attention was first called by Graux in the *Rev. Crit.* (1877), 201-203. The Moscow (M) and Paris (P) MSS were discovered and collated by Gelhardt. All these authorities have been used in the edition of Ryle and James (*Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος, the Psalms of the Pious, 1891*). In this edition, emended for its learning and for its critical insight, the reader will find everything worth knowing on the subject.

For the remaining literature on these psalms we must refer the student to this work (*Introd.* 13-23), and to Sinker (*on loc.*); but we must not forget two of the most fruitful studies that have yet been made—namely, an article by Mörs in Herder's *Kirchen-Lexikon* (1847), and an Appendix to Weis's *Die Phil. u. Sadd.* (1874), which contains the translation with notes.

The date must be determined by the references to

1 Ryle and James make it clear that in both cases 'we should read the plural, against the best MSS.'

2 Since the above account was written two new editions of the text have appeared. The first is that of Swete (*The OT in Greek*, 375-387). This edition has made a valuable contribution to the criticism of the text by means of a hitherto uncollated MS (which Gelhardt designates R) belonging to the Vatican. According to Gelhardt, however, his collation of this MS is deficient in point of accuracy. The second edition is that of O. von Gebhardt (*Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος—Die Psalmen Salomons*, 2100 ersten Male mit Benutzung d. Athoshandschriften und d. C. d. Casanatensis, Leipzig, 1893). In the formation of his text Gebhardt has used the MSS C H J L R. Of these only H (the Copenhagen MS) was used by Ryle and James, and H R by Swete. Hence C J L are here used for the first time. These are respectively the Codl. Bezae Cantabrigiae, and Casanatensis. The remaining MSS, M P V, Gebhardt regards as not deserving consideration. He gives the following genealogy of all the MSS. Z represents the archetype:—



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contemporary events; and, as these are many and varied, there will be little difficulty in assigning a definite period to the activities of the authors.

The book opens with the alarms of war (1.2, 8.1) in the midst of a period of great material prosperity (1.12, 8.7); but the prosperity is only seeming; from their ruler to the vilest of the people they are altogether sinful (17.21, 7.6). The king, too, belongs to the family that has usurped the throne of David (17.6-9). A righteous judgment, however, speedily comes upon them. A hostile army advances against them, led by a 'mighty striker,' who came from the ends of the earth (8.16). The princes of the land go forth to meet him with joy, and greet him with the words, 'Blessed is thy path; come ye, enter in with peace' (8.16). When he has established himself within the city he seizes its strongholds (8.21); he casts down its fenced walls with the battering ram (21). Then the Gentiles tread Jerusalem under foot (2.6), yea, they pollute even the altar with their presence (2.3). Its princes and wise counsellors are put to the sword, and the blood of its inhabitants flows like water (8.24); its sons and daughters are carried away captive to the West (8.24, 17.14) to serve in bondage (2.4), and its princes to grace the triumph of their conqueror (17.14). But the dragon who has conquered Jerusalem (2.2), armed at birdship of land and sea, and thought himself to be more than man, at last meets with shameful death on the shores of Egypt, and there is none to bury him (2.30, 7.1).

There can be little doubt now as to the interpretation of these facts. The family that had usurped the throne of David are the Asmonean, who, since 105 B.C., had assumed the royal name. The 'mighty striker' who comes 'from the ends of the earth' is Pompey. The princes who welcomed his approach are Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II. When the followers of the latter opened the gates to Pompey, the party of Aristobulus shut themselves up within the temple, where they were besieged by Pompey and their defences battered down with battering-rams. The massacre that follows, and the carrying away captive to the West of princes and people, agree only with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Finally, the circumstances attending the death of the conqueror on the shores of Egypt recall the death of Pompey in a manner that cannot be misconceived.

We conclude, therefore, that the second psalm was written very soon after the death of Pompey in 48 B.C., and that 1, 8, 17 were composed between 63 and 48, as they presuppose Pompey's capture of Jerusalem but show no knowledge of his death. Psalms 5, 7, 9, 13, and 15 seem to allude to the same sequence of events as 1, 3, and 17, and therefore to belong to the same period. In 4 and 12, on the other hand, 'the sinners' are denounced; but as yet no visitation by the Gentiles is spoken of, nor any interposition of the Gentiles in Jewish affairs foretold. Hence these psalms are probably anterior to 64 B.C. Psalms 3, 4, 11, 14, and 16 betray no distinctly historical colouring; but there is nothing in them which requires us to assume different authorship and date from those of the other psalms. We may, therefore, with Kyle and James, safely assign 70-40 B.C. as the limits within which the psalms were written.

It may be added that Movers, Del. and Keim have identified the invader of Palestine with Herod; but this is impossible on many grounds; and just as many difficulties are against Ew's identification of this personage with Antiochus Epiphanes. In fact, all modern critics support the view advocated above.

The authors were clearly Pharisees. Thus they divide their countrymen into 'righteous' (δικαιοι; 2.3, 3.3, 5.7, 14.4, etc.) and 'sinners' (ἀμαρτωλοί; 2.3, 3.13, 4.9, 13.6, 7.10), 'saints' (ἅγιοι; 3.10, 4.7, 8.40, etc.) and 'transgressors' (παράνομοι; 4.11, 13.27, 14.14, 17.27), of whom the former were the Pharisees and the latter the Sadducees. They assail the 'sinners' for having usurped the throne of David (17.35) and laid violent hands on the high-priesthood (17.6). This assault on the Asmonean house evidently emanates from a Pharisee.

The authors further denounce the priests for polluting the holy things by their uncleanness and their neglect of the true observances (2.3, 5.13, 26), and likewise for offending the heathen in their abominations (1.8, 5.6). Their attitude, moreover, to the law, their conception of the theocracy, their idea of the bearing of a righteous man in the case of Gentile oppression, all alike mark them out as belonging to the Pharisaic school. To the

same school appertains the doctrine taught regarding future retribution and the Messiah. In regard to the last, Kyle and James observe with justice that the Messianic conception in these psalms 'marks the revolution which had passed over Pharisaic thought since the time, not a century before, when Israel's mission in the world was identified only with the fulfilment and dissemination of the law. . . . The heroic deeds of Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers had rekindled the ardour of the people for a Jewish dynasty and a Jewish kingdom; and the Pharisaic supporters of a theocracy were powerless so long as their teaching showed no sympathy with this patriotic enthusiasm. But as it was hopeless to look for Israel's redemption to the helpless and hated later Asmoneans, so it is just at this crisis that the author of these psalms combines the recognition of the failure of the Asmonean house with the popular enthusiasm for a Jewish monarchy' (p. 57). Thus the Pharisees 'appealed to the patriotic feelings of those who had no power to appreciate the abstract beauty of the old legalism. By its hope for a "son of David" it proclaimed the downfall of the Levitical Asmonean house. By its ideal reign of "wisdom and righteousness," it asserted the fundamental Pharisaic position that the law was supreme. Thus the Messianic representation of our seventeenth psalm marks the stage at which Pharisaic thought passed beyond the narrow limits of its earlier teaching, and availed itself of the popular aspiration for an earthly kingdom. This step, however, entailed upon the theocratic party no policy beyond the exercise of patience till God should raise up the king, and until then the minute observance of this law' (p. 58). Against the attitude adopted by the writers of this book the *Assumption of Moses* is a protest from beginning to end (see above, § 65).

We give below (§ 85) some grounds for assuming that ps. 1-16 and 17-18 are due to different writers.

As the main interests of the psalms centre in Jerusalem, the writer probably lived in that city.

It is 'the City of the Sanctuary' (8.4); in it shall the song of triumph be sung when God brings back its children from the east and from the west (11.1-3). Though Jerusalem has now been trodden under foot by the Gentiles (2.2), the Messiah will cleanse it from all such pollution (17.25, 33), and thither all the nations of the earth will go up to see the Messiah's glory (17.34). The psalmist's indictment of the Sadducean members of the Sanhedrin (1.1), and his account of their vices and abominations, are best understood as coming from a contemporary inhabitant of Jerusalem. To the writer of psalms 2, 8, and 17 that city is the centre of all the world, and the history of other nations or world-empires is of moment only in as far as it connects itself with 'the Holy City.'

The circumstances connected with these psalms point undoubtedly to a Hebrew original—i.e., their composition, circa 70-40 B.C., by a Pharisee

83. Language. residing in Jerusalem;—and, notwithstanding Hilgenfeld's strong advocacy of a Greek original, all modern scholars admit that the psalms were composed in Hebrew.

This fact was first established by Geiger in opposition to Hilgenfeld's view. It has further been substantiated by Kyle and James with a fulness and insight that cannot fail to win conviction (*Introd.* pp. 77-87). As for the Greek translation, we may provisionally accept the date assigned by the editors just named, who, by a hypothetical train of reasoning, show that it 'is not later than the middle of the first century A.D.'

We will now sketch in a few words some of the teaching of these psalms regarding the Messiah and the resurrection.

85. Eschatology. First, in regard to the Messiah, the writer of psalm 17 returns to the conception of the prophets and describes him as 'the son of David' (17.23). He calls him also 'the Anointed One' (17.36, cp 1.8, 6.8)—a title that had been applied a few years before to the ideal Messianic king in association with supernatural attributes (Enoch 48 to 52). Here, however, the Messiah is a man and nothing more.

He is to be raised up by God himself (17.23, cp 1.8). He is to destroy the supremacy of the Gentiles (the Romans) and drive them forth from the borders of Israel (17.25, 27, 31). The 'proud sinners' (the Sadducees) will be expelled from the heritage of God which they had unlawfully seized (17.26, 41, 51). The Messiah will purge Jerusalem from all impurity and make it his capital (17.33, 35); he will bring back to Palestine the dispersed tribes (17.28, 34, 50); the Gentiles will become tributary and be converted to the faith of Israel (17.31, 33, 34). He shall himself be free from sin (17.41), and all his people will be holy (17.30). Further, he will not conquer by force of arms (17.37), but will smite the earth with the word of his mouth (17.30). Finally, his rule is temporary (17.42): 'He shall not faint all his days.' Only the surviving righteous share in his kingdom (17.50); the departed righteous are not raised to participate in it.

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As these hopes of the Messiah are confined to pss. 17 f., and as not even the remotest hint of such hopes can be discovered in the preceding sixteen psalms, it appears necessary to assume for them a difference of authorship.

In these, we should observe, there is not a hint that redress for present evils is to be looked for from the Messiah. In every instance the Psalmist expresses his faith that wrong will be set right, either by God's present judgments, by which his righteousness is or shall be justified (2. 6, 19, 87, 93), or by his final judgment of the world, when the righteous shall rise to eternal life (3. 16-17), and hell and destruction and darkness shall be the heritage of transgressors (11. 10-14). This final judgment is spoken of as a 'visitation' of God upon the righteous and the wicked (3. 14, 16, 17, 19); it is likewise called in respect of the righteous 'the day of mercy for the righteous' (14. 13-16), when in respect of the wicked it is named 'the day of the judgment of the Lord' (16. 1).

Since there is in pss. 1-16 only a resurrection of the righteous, Sheol was conceived as the perpetual abode of the wicked, 16. 1. Into Sheol, thus conceived as hell, the wicked enter immediately on death (16. 2 compared with 14. 15-16). The intermediate abode of the righteous is probably to be regarded as the 'treasures' to which we find the first reference in Eth. Eub. 100. 5. See also Eschylology, § 97.

IX. THE SIBYLIC ORACLES. — The Sibylline literature belongs to a class of productions highly characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism.

86. Propagandist Literature.

'These,' as Schürer justly remarks, 'were Jewish works under a heathen mask.' However divergent the outward form assumed, they all exhibited one characteristic in common: they addressed themselves to heathen readers, under cloak of some name that was influential in the heathen world, and in the form most natural to their alleged origin. Indirectly or directly, their aim was the propagation of Judaism among the Gentiles. Whilst the works ascribed to Heceatus and Aristas belong to the former category (indirect propaganda), the Sibyllines are distinctly of the latter.

The Sibyl was regarded in the ancient world as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic order or priestly caste, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a supernaturally gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods.

The number of such Sibyls is variously stated at different times. Heraclitus in Plutarch (*De Pythie orac.* 6), Aristophanes (*Par.* 1045), and Plato (*Phædr.* 22), speak of only one. Tacitus (*Ann.* 6. 12) is doubtful whether there were more than one. Pausanias (*Descr. Græc.* 10. 12) mentions four, while Varro (in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* 1) specifies ten. For further information on this subject the reader should consult Alexandre, *Orac. Sibyl.* (1st ed.), 1856, 241-4; Maass, *de Sibyllarum Indivisiis* (1879), and the arts. on the subject in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Lit.*, and the *Ency. Brit.* 10.

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a private circulation. Still though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not under-

88. Sibylline Oracles.

rate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquin, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted by the state before their destruction in the fire that consumed the Capitol in B.C. 83. (Alexandre [2192] has traced sixty such occasions.) Their place was soon afterwards taken (75 B.C.) by a collection, amounting in all to about 1000 verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate. (After being revised under Augustus, it seems finally to have been burnt by the order of Stilicho in 404 A.D.)

Inasmuch as such oracles enjoyed high authority and a wide circulation in the East,—inasmuch, likewise, as they were anonymous in origin, free from authoritative revision, and capable of modification or enlargement at pleasure by those in whose hands they were for the

time being,—they offered to the missionary spirit of Hellenistic Judaism a form of literature which would readily admit the disguised expression of its highest beliefs, and at the same time procure for them a hearing in Gentile circles. It is not unlikely, too, that the prolonged search of Roman officials for Sibylline oracles in the East may have further stimulated the inventive faculties of the Alexandrian Jews and led to the composition of many of the verses in our present collection. In this method of propaganda the Christians proved themselves later to be apt pupils of the Jews. So rampant, indeed, had become in early Christian times the invention of such oracles that Celsus (*Orig. contr. Cels.* 5. c.) terms Christians *Σιβυλλιστæ*, believers in sibyls, or sibyl mongers.

This charge of Celsus was not unheeded; for with the exception of a citation about the tower of Babel made by Alexander Polyhistor, 80-40 B.C. (see Luc. *Chron.* 1. 21), and found likewise in Josephus (*Ant.* 1. 43), it is to Christian writers that we are indebted, not only for all other references, but also for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

Hermas (*Vis.* 2. 4) mentions the Sibyl, but not her verses; but quotations are frequent in Clement Alex. and Lactantius. A collection of the Patristic quotations from the Sibyllines will be found in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinarum quæ apud Lactantium referuntur*: 1817), in Vercorst (*De Carmine Sibyllino abud sanctis Patribus descriptio*, Paris, 1844), in Hesugon (*De l'empire que les Pères de l'Église ont fait des oracles sibyllins*: Montauban, 1850), and in Alexandre (2. 234-311).

The Sibylline Oracles, as we now have them, are a chaotic medley. They consist of twelve books—there were originally fourteen—of various authorship, date, and religious conception. This arrangement, which is due to an unknown editor of the sixth century (Alexandre), does not in itself determine identity of authorship, or of time, or of religious belief; for many of the books are merely arbitrary groupings of unrelated fragments. As the editor, moreover, was guided by caprice as often as by any discernible principle of editing, it is not strange that the same passage frequently recurs in different contexts.

The first printed edition of these Oracles was published at Basel, in 1545, from an Augsburg (now a Munich) MS, and consisted of eight books. A metrical Latin translation of these books by Sebastian Castalio appeared in the following year, and an emended Greek text from the same scholar in 1555.

The most valuable of the early editions is that of Opsoporus (i.e., Koch), Paris, 1569, in which fresh MS evidence is brought to bear upon the text. These were followed by that of Galeus, Amsterdam, 1680; but his work is of no critical worth. These eight Sibylline books were likewise reprinted in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Vett. Pat.* (Venice, 1785). Book 14 was first edited by Mai in 1817 from a Milan MS and Books 11-14 from two Vatican MSS in 1828 by the same scholar. Books 9 and 10 have not been recovered. All these editions have been superseded by the first edition of Alexandre's *Oracula Sibyllina* (2 vols. Paris, 1841-1866), and his second edition of 1876, in which the valuable excursuses of the first are omitted; and by the edition of Friedlieb (Leipzig, 1883). The latter has a useful introduction, and is accompanied by a translation into German hexameters; but the text is untrustworthy.

By far the best text that has yet appeared is that of Raich, *Oracula Sibyllina* (Vienna, 1861). For the formation of this text fourteen MSS have been used; the text has been further emended by an exhaustive collation of quotations in the Fathers. Our citations will be made from this text.

For further literature on the subject, see Alexandre's work (1st ed. 271-321; 2nd ed. 410-410); Schürer (*Hist.* 5. 238-242). English readers will find the subject well treated in the work of Schürer just mentioned; *Edinb. Rev.* (July 1877, pp. 31-47); and Deane (*Pseudepigr.* 1891, pp. 276-344).

The relation of the Jewish and the Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones it is practically impossible to determine. 1. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older hexameter verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. Short syllables are lengthened through the in-

91. Rel. to heathen Sibyl.

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fluence of the accent, or even without it, owing to the exigencies of the verse; and long syllables are likewise shortened.

For peculiarities of metre and syntax, see *Alexandre, Z. i. c. 7*. It must be acknowledged, however, that many of these disappear in the better text of Rzach. Of acrostic verses, which, according to Dionys. Hal. (463) and Cicero (*De Div.* 2.51), was the form of the most ancient Sibyllines, only one specimen is still preserved, viz., in 217-220, the initials of which are **ΗΘΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΟΥΗ ΣΥΛΛΗΟΣ**. It should be observed, further, that without the last word the initials of the title compose the word **ΙΧΘΥΣ** 'a fish'—a frequent symbol of the Christian faith on early monuments.

2. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibylls used much of the older material lying ready to hand.

Thus, in 311-113 (the passage about Helen), 'the Erinyes from Sicily', is from a heathen source; so likewise the punning couplet in 404-10, which frequently recurs:

καὶ Σάρον ἄμμος ἄπασαν ὅτ' ἵππεσσι καλύψαι
ἀλλος δ' οὐκ ἐτι ὁρῶς, ἀδρῆα δὲ πάντα τὰ ἄλκον.

Another notable instance is 810, where a line from an ancient Delphic oracle is given verbatim. See II. c. 147.

We must turn from such questions to discuss the various elements of which the work is composed.

These, as we have already observed, are both Jewish and Christian, and the latter largely preponderate. Owing,

however, to the character of the work, it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. It is therefore only on some of the smaller portions that we can arrive at any certainty. Much is of a neutral character, and, as far therefore as internal evidence goes, may equally well have proceeded from either class of writers. There is a great lack of external evidence. We shall now deal with the various elements of the work in their chronological order as far as that is possible. Our space does not admit of an analysis of all the books; we shall, however, give a short survey of the more important.

The first and oldest part is 307-329² and probably the Prohemium. The latter is not found in our MSS; it is

93. **Prohemium.** istaken from the *1.7 Apocalypse of Theophilus* (180 A.D.). It consists of two fragments, of thirty-five and forty-nine lines respectively.

Rzach (pp. 232-238) and Alexandre link them together by another short fragment of three lines. On very inadequate grounds the latter editor assigns them to Christian authorship; but they contain nothing of an essentially Christian cast (on their contents, see *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 58).

94. 307-329. With regard to 307-329 opinions are conflicting. Bleek regards verses 97-207—with the exception of 330-350, a later Christian interpolation—as the work of an Alexandrian Jew 170-100 B.C.; Hilgenfeld thinks that the whole of 97-217 was written about 140 B.C.; Ewald brings down the date to 124 B.C. Alexandre assigns 307-204, 430-223, to 168, but 295-488 to the age of the Antonines. The strongest evidence in favour of Alexandre's view is to be found in the difficulty of interpreting adequately such passages as 346-473 as applying to the civil war and the dissensions of Marius and Sulla (Friedrich, p. 33).

307-813 falls naturally into three groups: (a) 37-214; (b) 295-488; (c) 430-512.³ The first (a) opens abruptly with the building and the destruction of Babel (37-104). Then the earth is peopled and its rule is divided between Cronos, Titan, and Jupiter (105-110). In the strife that subsequently arose between the Cronides and the Titans these races were destroyed, and in their place in succession the great kingdoms of the earth—those of Egypt, Persia, Media, Ethiopia, Assyria, Macedonia, again of Egypt, and of Rome (111-197). This closes the retrospect of the Sibyl; now begins her prophecy (198-166). First, she predicts the rise of the Jewish (under Solomon), the Macedonian, and the Roman kingdoms; during the reign of the seventh king of Egypt, of Hellenic race, the people of God will again become powerful (197-194). Then are recounted the judgments of God

¹ A Latin rendering with the last seven verses omitted is given in Augustine's *De Civ.* 18.24.

² Where Friedrich and Alexandre give 828, Rzach gives 829 verses.

³ In the detailed analysis that follows, certain verses, unimportant for the present purpose, are (for the sake of brevity) left unaccounted for.

on the kingdoms of the world and on the Jews (196-212). Next, the Sibyl takes as her theme the praise of the Jewish nation, their virtues, and the salient points in their history from their departure from Egypt down to Cyrus (218-224).

The second group (b) is mainly concerned with judgments against Babylon, Egypt, Gog and Magog, Libya (295-313), and likewise against individual cities (401-466). Then follows the promise of Messianic prosperity and peace (367-480), and this group closes with oracles regarding Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors, and various countries, towns, and islands (481-488). In 412-412 we have the celebrated diatribe against Homer.

The third group (c) opens with oracles against Phoenicia, Crete, Thracæ, Gog and Magog, and the Hellenes (489-572). Then Israel is praised for its worship of the true God (573-600). Thereupon ensues a second prophecy of judgment and a call to conversion, and an account of the evils that were to befall the ungodly (601-651). Then the Sibyl foretells the coming of the Messianic king, who would take vengeance on his adversaries; next comes a detailed account of the period of Messianic prosperity (652-731), and, finally, the signs that are to herald the end of all things (736-808). The Sibyl declares that she is neither the Erythraean Sibyl nor yet the Cumæan (809-813).

3. Though it is obvious from the above epitome that 307-813 is not a single and homogeneous composition but rather an aggregate of separate oracles, we are safe (with Schürer) in regarding the three groups as derived in the main from one author, and as dating from the same period, the reign of the seventh Ptolemy, which is referred to in all three groups (192-193, 316-318, 602-610).

Ptolemy VII. Philometor (170-164 B.C.) He was then banished, but recovered the throne in 145 and reigned as sole king till 117 B.C. That the composition dates from the latter period is clear (220-572) from the prophecy of the complete subjugation of all Hellas. As Hilgenfeld, Schürer, and Drummond point out, this cannot have been written before the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.). The doom of Corinth is actually referred to (422), and possibly that of Carthage (492-504). Verses 388-400, which deal with the Seleucid kings, were written (according to Hilgenfeld's interpretation) about 140 B.C. Therefore, since the author represents the Messianic kingdom as beginning during the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, we may safely take 97-813 to have been written in the second half of the second century B.C. The Prohemium, with which we have already dealt (see above § 93), most probably formed the introduction to these verses, and Schürer adduces external evidence from Iacintus (iv. 65) to that effect.

Before proceeding to discuss 31-96, we should add that Friedrich and others reject 810-828 as a later addition, as these verses are at variance with 809-811.

With regard, however, to 31-92 all previous critics seem to have gone wrong in connecting 63-92 with the preceding verses. In 63-92 the end of all

95. 31-92. things is to come during the sway of Rome over the world (75-80). In 1-92, on the other hand, only the partial judgments that are to take effect on the coming of the Messianic king in 497 are recounted. The Sibyl then promises in 617 to enumerate the cities that are to suffer; but here the account breaks off, and not a word more is said in 103-92 in fulfilment of her promise. Hence these two sections are of different authorship. 63-92 is certainly late and Christian. On 31-62, see also *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 68.

In 63-74 we have a reproduction of the myth concerning Nero, according to which Beliar was to return in the form of that emperor and work many mighty signs. This idea recurs in 2167-171 (a distinctly Christian product), and in the *Asc. Isa.* 313-51 (cp. *ANTICHRIST*, § 15).

As regards 31-92, it may be derived from one author, and 71-92 may refer to the triumvirate of Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus. In that case this section was written before 31 B.C.

Book 4 is, with Friedrich, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Alexandre, and Schürer, to be regarded as of Jewish authorship, and was written about 70 A.D. or somewhat later. This

96. **Book 4.** date is determined by two allusions: the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) in 133-137, and the eruption of Vesuvius (79 A.D.) in 140-145. The latter was to be the immediate precursor of the vengeance that was to be wreaked on Rome by Nero, returning with many myriads from the East (133-134). There are no grounds for assigning this book, with Ew. and Hilgenfeld, to Essene authorship; for, with the exception of the reference to additions in 163-165, there is no mention of anything characteristic of the Essenes, and the words in question are most naturally taken as referring to proselyte baptism (Schürer). The teaching enforced in 170-192 shows that the author cannot have been a Jew of Alexandria, but probably belonged to Palestine; for the eschatology is very naive. From the bones and ashes of men's bodies God

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will fashion anew the bodies in which they will rise to judgment. The judgment will then proceed according to their deeds. The wicked will again die, but the righteous live again on earth. The recalls Enoch 1:9.

Book 5 professes to be the work of an Egyptian Sibyl, the sister of Isis (7: 52). It is mainly Jewish; but there may be Christian elements. There is a marked absence

97. Book 5. of ideas characteristic of Judaism or Christianity, and also of internal connection. Friedrich attributes the book to an Egyptian Jew in the time of Hadrian; Alexandre to a Christian Jew of Alexandria in the age of the Antonines. The first fifty-one lines are in effect a chronological oracle ending with Hadrian. As the rest of the book deals with Egyptian affairs, it is probably of different authorship and date, and we may, with Ewald, Hilgenfeld, and Schurer, accept 80 A.D. as an approximate date for 52-53. Some passages are decidedly Jewish; but of blessing on Israel, 27: 307-313 (the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem), 27: 414-416, 422-311 (the building of a new Temple in Egypt which is to take the place of that already destroyed at Leontopolis), there are others also. The one passage that seems to be certainly Christian is 256-259:

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εἰς δὲ τις εἴρωι αὐτὴν ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἔξωκτος ἀνθρ.
ὁ παλαιὸς ἠπλωσεν ἐπὶ ζήλου ἀγαλλομαρπύ
Ἰβραίων καὶ ἀριστὸς, οὐ γένοιτο ποτὲ στήθεον
ἰσχυρὰς μῆσει τε καλῇ καὶ χελεσιν ἀγίοις

Book 6 is the work of a Gnostic (?) Christian. Jesus, the natural son of Joseph, is united with Christ at baptism. The book describes certain incidents at the baptism

98. Books 6 & 7. somewhat after the manner of the apocryphal gospels. Book 7 is of like authorship and is not earlier than the third (see above).

Book 8, in which the famous apocryphal story, is of Christian origin but of divided authorship. It belongs to the second century; 436-437 to the third. As to Books 1-5, and 11-14, there is a great variety of opinion. Alexandre assigns the former to a Christian author of the third century, and the latter to an Alexandrian Jew of about the year 267. Friedrich places 1-5 at the close of the second century; 11-14 he ascribes to Jewish writers of the second and the third centuries A.D. respectively, 12-14 to Christian writers of the third century.

Some of these judgments are simply hypotheses; there is still room for indistinct study on these questions. K. H. C.

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 - V. Didactic (§ 31).

Bibliography (§ 32).

It is proposed in the present article to give, in the first place, a general survey of the very miscellaneous collection of books known as 'the Apocrypha' (details being reserved for special articles), and then to proceed to an enumeration and classification of the larger literature which lies beyond the limits of that collection. Fuller treatment of the subdivision 'Apocalyptic,' however, will be reserved for a special article (see above, APOCALYPTIC), where will be found an account of the following nine works:—Apoc. of Baruch, Ethiopic Book of Enoch, Slavonic Book of Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, Jubilees, Assumption of Moses, Test. xii. Patr., Psalms of Solomon, Sibylline Oracles. The later Christian literature will be excluded, only those writings being considered which contain portions assignable, at latest, to the early years of the second century.

The name Apocrypha (nom. pl. neut. of Gk. adj. *ἀπόκρυφος*, *hidden*) is used to denote a large body of

2. Name. Jewish and Christian literature, consisting of writings which either their authors or their admirers have sought to include among canonical scriptures, but which have ultimately failed to secure such a position in the estimation of the Church at large.

This special usage of the word is derived from the practice common among sects, religions or philosophic, of embodying their special tenets or formulae in books withheld from public use, and communicated to an inner circle of believers. Such books, generally bearing the name of some patriarch, prophet, or apostle, were called by their possessors apocryphal, the designation implying that they were hidden from the outer world, and even from the ordinary members of the sect itself; in such cases the epithet apocryphal was used in a laudatory sense. Since, however, the books were forgeries, the epithet gradually came to take colour from that fact, and in process of time it was employed to indicate other writings that had been forged. In the common parlance of to-day, it denotes any story or document which is false or spurious.

One of the earliest instances—and certainly a typical instance—of the use of the word *apocryphal* in its laudatory sense, occurs

in a magical book of Moses edited from a Leyden papyrus of the third or fourth century by Leeman and by Dieterich (*Urb. v. 1893*). The book may be as old as the first century A.D. Its title is *Μωϋσῆος ἐπὶ βιβλὸς ἀποκρυφὸς ἐπικαταμνητὴ ὁρῶν ἡ ἁγία*, 'A Holy and Secret Book of Moses, called the Eighth, or the Holy.' For the earliest use of the word *in uoluntate paratum*, on the other hand, we have to turn probably to Cyril of Alexandria (348 A.D.); and for a more frequent and clear employment of the adjective in a disparaging sense, to Jerome, whose constant use of it is probably responsible for our employment of it at the present day as the equivalent of 'non-canonical.'

Finally the name Apocrypha has come to be applied, and is now applied, by the reformed communities to a particular collection of writings. While some of these are genuine and authentic treatises, others legendary histories, and the rest apocryphal in the disparaging sense of bearing names to which they have no right, all come under the definition proposed above, for each of them has at one time or another been treated as canonical.¹

1. The Apocrypha Proper.

3. Apocrypha. This collection of books may be properly classified in several ways. We might classify them critically thus:—

1. *Additions to canonical books:*—
 - 1. Esdras (interpolated form of Ezra): see below, § 4, ii.
 - Additions to Esther: see below, § 5, 1.
 - Additions to Daniel: see below, § 5, 2.
 - Prayer of Manasses: see below, § 6, 3.
2. *Pseudepigraphical writings:*—
 - 1. Esdras: see below, § 7.
 - Wisdom of Solomon: see below, § 8, 2.
 - Barnabas: see below, § 6, 1.
 - Epistle of Jeremy: see below, § 6, 2.
3. *Legendary or Haggadic writings:*—
 - 1. Tobit: see below, § 5, 3.
 - Judith: see below, § 5, 4.
4. *Genuine and authentic treatises:*—
 - 1. Ecclesiasticus: see below, § 8, 1.
 - 1, 2. Maccabees: see below, § 4, i.

Probably the most natural and convenient division

¹ It does not seem necessary to devote space here to commenting upon the use of the word *Deutero-canonical*, as applied to these books by the Church of Rome; for it is expressly said by the authorities of that Church that no distinction of authority is implied in the term.

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will be one depending upon the kind of literature which each book represents, as thus:

- I. Narrative: (a) Historical; (b) Legendary (or Haggadic).
II. (a) Prophetic; or (b) Apocalyptic.

III. Didactic.

I. (a) HISTORICAL. 1. *The Book of Maccabees*. 1. *Maccabees*.—An important and generally trustworthy history, extant in Greek. It was translated from a Hebrew original.

4. **Historical.** history, extant in Greek. It was translated from a Hebrew original, which survived as late as the time of Jerome. On this and the following see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.

2. *Maccabees*.—Extant in Greek; an abridgment of a work in five books by Jason of Cyrene (see 221). Prefixed to it are two letters, from the Jews of Jerusalem to the Jews of Egypt, commonly held to be spurious (see, however, MACCABEES, SECOND, § 7).

3. *Maccabees*.—Greek. A fragmentary history of an attempted massacre of the Jews under Ptolemy Philopator, and of their miraculous deliverance. This book and the following are not included by the Roman Church in its Canon, and do not appear in the Vg. though found in $\mathfrak{S}$.

4. *Maccabees*.—Greek. A philosophical discourse, illustrating the triumph of Reason over Matter, by the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the 'Seven Maccabees' and their mother. The work was traditionally attributed to Josephus. An edition of the Syriac version with kindred documents, prepared by the late Prof. Bunsen, has been printed under the supervision of W. E. Barnes.

ii. 1. *Esther*.—Greek. A recasting of the canonical Ezra, to which is added the legendary tale of the Dispute of the Three Counters (known to Josephus). This book appears in Vg. as an appendix to the NT; but no authority is attributed to it by the Church of Rome. See ESTHER, BOOKS OF, First and Second.

(b) LEGENDARY. 1. *Additions to Esther*.—Greek. They consist of a number of letters, prayers, visions, and the like, which are found intercalated into the canonical book of Esther in $\mathfrak{S}$. See ESTHER, § 10.

2. *Additions to Daniel*.—Greek. These are three in number:—

- (i.) The Story of Susanna, prefixed to the book.
- (ii.) The Song of the Three Children, inserted in ch. 3.
- (iii.) The Story of Bel and the Dragon, following ch. 12 and attributed to Habakkuk.

They are found both in the $\mathfrak{S}$ Version and in that of Theodotion. What is said to be the Hebrew original of the Song of the Three Children has been recently found by Dr. M. Gaster in the Chronicle of Jeremiah, and printed by him in *TSAI*, 1894. Cp DANIEL, § 5.

3. *Tobit*.—Greek and 'Chaldee.' A romantic narrative of the period of the Captivity, written not later than the first century A.D. at latest, and perhaps in Egypt. The book has a literary connection with the story of Ahikar (see ACTHACHARUS). The date cannot at present be considered at all certain. The 'Chaldee' or Aramaic version (on the name see ARAMIC, § 4. end), published by Dr. Neubauer in 1878, is probably not the earliest form of the book. Of the Greek there are three recensions, and there are three old Latin recensions besides Jerome's Vg. version. There are also two Hebrew texts, one derived from $\mathfrak{S}$ and the other from the Aramaic. Dr. Gaster has printed some fresh Hebrew texts of the story in *TSAI*, 1896. See TOBIT.

4. *Judith*.—Greek. A romance which, in its present form, may date from the first century B.C. It tells the story of the deliverance of the city Bethulia from the Assyrians under Holofernes, through the bravery of Judith, a Hebrew widow. No miraculous element appears in the story. See JUDITH.

1 So called in EV and $\mathfrak{S}$ (e.g. Swete [B]). In $\mathfrak{S}$ A (subscr.) it is called δ *τερεβ*; in Lag.'s Luc. it is *Εσθρας Β'*, and in Vg. it is 2 Esdras.

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II. (a) PROPHETICAL. 1. *Baruch*.—Greek. A pseudepigraphical book (i.e. one written under a false name) ascribed to Baruch son of Nehiah, amanuensis of Jeremiah. It consists of

6. **Prophetical.** two parts: (1) 1-32, which may date from the times of the Persian supremacy, possibly has a Hebrew original, and certainly shows close affinities with Dan. 9; (2) 33-54 (end), originally written in Greek, probably after 70 A.D.; chap. 5 is modelled on the 11th Psalm of Solomon. Edited most fully by Kneucker. Appended to this book is—

2. *The Epistle of Jeremy* (Baruch 3 in our Apocrypha).—Greek, also pseudepigraphical, purporting to be a letter of Jeremiah addressed to the Jews at Babylon, inveighing against the worship of idols.

3. *The Prayer of Manasse*.—Greek. This is attributed to Manasseh, king of Judah, when in prison. It is very likely an extract from a legendary history of Manasseh, of which other portions appear to be quoted (in connection with the prayer) in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (222); or possibly it was written with a view to insertion into the text of 2 Chron. 33. It is not in the Roman canon, but is appended thereto.

(b) APOCALYPTIC. —Of this large and important class of writings only one specimen is contained in our Apocrypha,

namely:—

4. *Esdras*.¹—Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian. The original Greek is lost. Only chaps. 3-14 appear in any Version save the Latin; chaps. 1f. 15f. are later accretions, probably of two different dates, 1f. being perhaps of second century, and 15f. of third century; 3-14 are a wish apocryphal, probably written about 97 A.D.; 1f. are Christian, 15f. most likely Jewish. Rejected by the Roman Church, it is printed as an appendix to the Vg. See ESTHER, BOOKS OF, and APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 13-15.

III. DIDACTIC. 1. *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, commonly called *Ecclesiasticus*.—Greek, avowedly translated from the Hebrew of which a considerable portion has lately been recovered. A genuine authentic treatise, in parts of high literary excellence. The author was a Palestinian Jew of the second century B.C. See ECCLESIASTICS.

8. **Didactic.** 2. *Wisdom of Solomon*.—Greek. Written under the name of Solomon, perhaps by Philo (according to an early tradition), certainly by a Jew of Alexandria in the first century. It is of great merit in parts; but the tone deteriorates towards the end. The book seems, moreover, to be incomplete. See WISDOM, BOOK OF.

II. Other Apocryphal Literature.

Our survey of the remaining literature is a much more difficult matter. The idea of classifying the books upon chronological principles must be

9. **Other literature.** set aside at once as impracticable; the data are in a majority of cases far too vague. The simplest division that can be made is between those books which have to do with the OT and those which associate themselves with the New. Within those the classification will be made, as in the case of the apocrypha already described, according to kinds of literature represented; writings which unite more than one element will be arranged according to their most prominent feature. In the case of the OT literature, slightly modifying our previous classification, we can include all the documents we possess under the following headings:—i. Legendary or Haggadic Narratives. ii. Prophetical and Apocalyptic books. iii. Poetical. iv. Didactic.

¹ Called 2 Esdras in EV, but oftener, as here, 4 Esdras—i.e., 4th after 1st Esdras, the Heb. Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is called 3 Esd. when Ezra-Neh. are counted one book, as in $\mathfrak{S}$. In an Amiens MS chaps. 1f. 3-14 15f. are called 3rd, 4th, and 5th Esd. respectively.

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A. OLD TESTAMENT (§§ 10-25)

1. LEGENDARY OR HAGGADIC NARRATIVES (§§ 10-15)

10. Adam and Eve, etc.

These versions represent variously developed forms or fragments of a Jewish romance dealing with the life of Adam and Eve after the Fall, and with their death and burial. We no longer possess the romance in its original form.

The remains of it must be sought in the following documents:—
(a) Greek, *Apocalypsis of Moses*, more properly *Apokalypsis 'Adām kai Ewēs*. Edited by Tischendorf (*Apocrypha Apocrypha*, 1866) and, in a fragmentary text, in the best MS, by Ceram (*Monumenta sacra et profana*, 5, 4). It is principally concerned with the death of Adam and Eve, and includes an important narrative of the Fall. It is essentially Jewish.

(b) Latin *Acta Iste et Iste*; extant in many MSS, printed by Wih. Meyer in *Urk. d. Münch. Akad.*, Philo-soph. Kl. II, 1878. It covers the same ground as (a) and introduces elements which occur in (c) and (d).

(c) Arabic and Ethiopic *Book of Adam and Eve or Conflict of Adam and Eve*. A long romance, Christianized throughout, dealing with the sufferings and temptations of Adam and Eve after the Fall. The history is continued to the birth of Christ, and has close affinities with the *Book of Enoch* (ed. Raddi; *Schöndel*). It is derived in large part from the lost Jewish romance. First translated by Dillmann (*Das christl. Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, 1853); Ethiopic text by Trümpf in *Urk. d. Münch. Akad.*, 1879-81; English version by S. C. Malan (*Book of Adam and Eve*, 1883). See below the article 'Adam, Book of,' by Hort, in *Pict. Christ. Biogr.*

(d) Greek, Syriac, and Arabic fragments of the *Testament of Adam*. Prophetic and apocalyptic in character; some are extracts from the old romance in its original form; others are Christianized. Edited by Roman in *Journal*, 18, 1881, pp. 427-471; the Greek by M. R. James (*Apocrypha Aecdotica: Texts and Studies*, ii, 3, 1883).

(e) Coptic. Abstemious Moses Adam apocalypse, gnostified. Edited by Schmidt and Harnack in *Sitzungsber. d. k. pre. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1874, p. 1045. It is now recognised by Harnack to be part of the late Coptic *Apocalypse of Bartholomew*.

2. *Book of Jubilees*, *Little Genesis* (*Leptogenesis*), *Apocalypse* (or *Testament*) of *Moses*. A 'haggadic commentary upon Genesis.' The book is in the form of a revelation made to Moses on Mount Sinai by the angel of the Presence. Hence it has been called the *Apocalypse of Moses*. The narrative communicated by the angel begins with the Creation, and extends to the giving of the law, and the whole time is reckoned in periods of jubilees; hence the name *Book of Jubilees*. The events narrated in Genesis are for the most part sketched slightly with the addition of details of a legendary character; hence the name *Leptogenesis*, 'a detailed treatment of Genesis' (see, however, *ESCHATOLOGY*, § 49). These details include the names of the wives of the patriarchs, the wars of Jacob and Esau, the last words of Abraham and Isaac. Much of the legendary element in *Test. vii. Patr.* (see below) is derived from this book; see *APOCALYPTIC*, §§ 48-53.

3. *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs* (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob).—Referred to in the *Apost. Const.* 16 (6).

11. *Patriarcha*. Books under these names, combining the legendary, apocalyptic, and haggadic elements Christianized, are found in Greek, Slavonic, and Rumanian (*Testament* [or *Apocalypse*] of *Abraham*), and in Arabic and Ethiopic (*Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*). They narrate the circumstances attending the deaths of the three patriarchs. Their early date is maintained by the present writer (one is quoted by Origen), but is not universally allowed. Dr. Kohler (*JQR*, 1895) assigns an Essene origin to the *Test. of Abraham*.

Edited by M. R. James ('*Test. of Abraham*'), *Texts and Studies*, 2, 2, and by Dr. Gaster ('*Rumanian version of Apoc. of Abraham*'), *ESR*, 1, 1, 71. The Greek version is printed from one MS by Vassiliev (*Uncodita Graeco-Syriantina*, 12, 1).

4. *Apocalypse of Abraham*. Slavonic, from Greek. An interesting Jewish book with Christian insertions. The first part is haggadic, and gives the story of Abraham's conversion; the second is an expansion of the

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vision narrated in *Gen. 15*, edited by N. Bonwetsch in *Studien zur Geschichte d. Theologie u. Kirche*, 1897.

5. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. A book combining the three elements of legendary, apocalyptic and haggadic matter in twelve sections, each of which gives the last dying speech of one of the sons of Jacob; see *APOCALYPTIC*, §§ 68-76.

6. *Life* (or *Confession*) of *Joseph*. A Jewish legend of early date, Christianized. Extant in Greek and

12. *Aseneth*. Syriac (and Latin). It is connected with the *Test. vii. Patr.* and narrates the circumstances attending the marriage of Aseneth with Joseph. There is much beauty in the story. The Latin version was, according to the present writer's belief, made by or for Cassiodorus, at the same time as that of the *Testaments*.

The Greek and Latin are edited by P. Banaul, *Studia Patristica*, 1896. The Syriac will be found in Land, *Ann. L. Sin.*, and Oppenheim, *Parula Scriptae et Sanctae*, 1896. See Hort's article in *Pict. Christ. Biogr.*

7. *Testament of Job*.—A Midrash on Job, containing a mythical story of his life, Christianized to a very

13. *Job*. *Nephtali* (Nahoi). Job's wife is called Seta. Elhan is represented as inspired by Satan. The story is worth reading.

It exists in Greek and seems to be quoted in the *Apoc. Pauli* printed from a Vatican MS by M. (Script. Lat. Aec. coll. 7, 1874); a French translation in Migne's *Pat. des Apoc. 1895*; edited last from two MSS by M. R. James, *Apocrypha Aecdotica*, ii, 1897.

8. *Testament of Solomon*. Greek. Practically a magical book, though interspersed with large haggadic sections. It is mainly Jewish, though

14. *Solomon, etc.* Christian touches have been introduced. It narrates the circumstances under

which Solomon attained power over the world of spirits, details his interviews with the demons, and ends with an account of his fall and loss of power.

Ed. first by F. L. Fleck in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Alterthums*, vol. ii, as an appendix to Fleck's writings. A German translation by Bornemann in *Bibl. des Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1843.

9. *Contradictio Salomonis*.—A work under this name is condemned in the 'Gelasian' Decree (*de scriptis et non recipiendis libris*). It was in all likelihood an account of Solomon's contest in wisdom with Hiram, and was the groundwork of the romance still extant in many forms and under many names—e.g., *Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn* (Anglo-Saxon), *Solomon and Kiboras* (i.e. Kentauros, Slavonic), *Solomon and Marcolph* (Latin, etc.). Josephus mentions the Hiram-legend. See on all these books J. M. Kenilbe's Introduction to the *Anglo-Saxon Dialogue of Solomon and Saturn*, Elfric Society, 1843, and compare *ATTACHARS*.

10. *Ascension of Isaiah*.—Partly haggadic, but chiefly important as an apocalypse—under which heading it will be treated. See *APOCALYPTIC*, §§ 42-47.

11. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum Biblicarum*.—Latin, from Greek, and that from Hebrew. Printed

15. *Pseudo-Philo*.—thrice in the 16th century (in 1527, in 1550, and in 1599), this book had practically escaped the knowledge of all modern scholars (except Cardinal Pitra) until Mr. Lennell Cohn introduced it to the world in an article in the *Hebrew Quarterly Review*, 1898. It is a haggadic summary of Bible history from Adam to the death of Saul, full of most interesting visions, prophecies, and legends.

The Latin version, the only form in which the book is known, very much resembles the version of a *Psalm*. Four fragments published by the present writer (*Prayer of Moses*, *Vision of Kenaz*, *Lament of Sella*, and *Song of David*, *Apoc. Aecdotica*, i, 1) turn out to be extracts from this work of Pseudo-Philo. It is apparently pre-Christian and merits careful study.

12. *Book of Jasher*.—A haggadic commentary upon the Hexateuch, containing ancient elements, but pre-

16. *Jasher*.—served in a medieval form. There is a French translation by Draeh in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, vol. ii.

17. *Noah*.—Haggadic and apocalyptic fragments of this work are incorporated in the Book of Enoch; there is also a Hebrew Midrash under this name printed by Jellinek in *Be-sha'ar Ha-sha'ar*, 3, partly based on the *Book of Jubilees*. See Ronsbohl and Charles, and esp. APOCALYPTIC, §§ 21, 57.

18. *Book of Enoch*.—The title 'Enoch' occurs in Greek lists of apocryphal books. A story of Enoch is treated (as the Slavonic one does) of the accidental slaying of Cain by Enoch.

19. *Book of Oig*.—In the Gelasian Decree a book is mentioned as 'The Book of Oig the giant, whom the heretics feign to have fought with a dragon after the Flood.' It was, according to the present writer's belief, identical with a book *Ἡρακλῆς καὶ τὸν Φύδρον* or *De Pise of the Giant*, which is mentioned in a list of Manichaean apocrypha by Timotheus of Constantinople (Fabricius, *cod. apoc. A.P. I*, 100). It was no doubt a Jewish haggada, containing, to judge from the title, some stirring incidents. Possibly it may have given a Jewish form of the ancient Dragon-myth of Babylon, on which see Gunkl *U.S. Hoff*.

20. *Pentence of James and Mambres*.—Mentioned also in the Gelasian Decree, and perhaps, like the *Pentecost of James*, a confession of the wicked magical arts of the two Egyptian wizards. See an article by Iselin in Hildenhof's *ZIT*, 1894. There is a fragment (in Latin and Anglo-Saxon) apparently belonging to this book in the Cotton MS. Bib. B.V.; but it has not yet been printed.

21. *Father*.—Origen on Romans (9.1: p. 646) has the following passage, which clearly refers to a romance about Esther: 'We have found it written in a certain book of an apocryphal nature (*apocryphon*) that there is an angel of grace who takes his name from grace. For he is called Ananias (ἄννης), which being interpreted means the grace of God. Now in this writing it was said that this angel was sent by the Lord to Esther to give her grace in the sight of the king.'

There are, besides, many haggadic histories—e.g., of David, Jonah, the Captivity, and (see *Rev. S. Soc.*, 1898) the Rechabites—in Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, which are still unpublished; they are to be found in MS. at Paris and elsewhere.

See Zotenberg's *Cat. der MSS. Syriacae* and *Cat. der MSS. Ethiopicae de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, and Wright's *Catalogues of Ethiopic and of Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*. Much Slavonic apocryphal literature also remains unknown to critics, though most of it has been printed. See Kozak's list of Slavonic apocryphal literature in *IFT* xviii, and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Altchristl. Lit.* 902-917.

22. *Apocryphic*.—1. *Book of Enoch*; and 2. *Secrets of Enoch*.—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 18-32 and 33-41 respectively.

3. *Sabbellian Oracles*.—Greek hexameter verse, in fourteen books of various dates. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 86-98.

4. *Assumption of Moses*.—Quoted in the epistle of Jude, as well as by later Christian writers; extant in Latin incomplete. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 59-67.

5. *Apocalypse of Baruch*.—A long and important apocalypse, closely resembling 4 Esdras in style and thought. See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 5-17, and also below under Zoroaster (§§ 23, no. 15).

6. *Other Apocalypses of Baruch* (a), (b), (c).—As far as is known at present (a) is contained in only a single Greek MS (Brit. Mus. Add. 10,073); edited by M. R. James, *Apoc. Anecd.* ii., with a translation of the Slavonic version by W. R. Morfill; Bonwetsch also has published a German translation of the Slavonic. The Greek text has two Christian passages. In the main it is very well Jewish and of early date. It contains predictions about the course of the sun and

moon, the history of the Tower of Babel, the Vine of Hirsutia, and the offering of the prayers of men to God by Michael. (c) An Ethiopic *Apoc. of Baruch*, preserved in a British Museum MS 1414 in Dillmann's *Catalogue* is apparently the production, in part at least, of an Abyssinian Christian. The title of another, is mentioned in Wright's *Catalogue* (No. 27, b, c, d). A quotation from Baruch not found in any existing book of his, is in the *Liberatio Simonis et Theophili* (Text of Luther, 141), and a larger one in some MSS of Cyprian's *Testament*, 324. It is noticed by Dr. J. Rendel Harris in *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 10.

7. *Reliqua verborum Baruchi* (The rest of the words of Baruch), in *Paralipomena Jeremiae* (Greek and Ethiopic). There is hardly anything really apocalyptic in this book, which is a Christian appendix to the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, haggadic in character. It narrates the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, the miraculous rescue of Ebed-melech, and the martyrdom of Jeremiah.

Printed first in Ethiopic by B. Christomathos (Ethiopic, 5), in Greek by Ceram (Mon. 20, 1, et passim), and lastly in Greek by Dr. J. Rendel Harris (*Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 1899). Harris regards it as an *exortation* addressed by the church of Jerusalem to the synagogue after the Bar Cochba rebellion. It was often printed in various abridged forms in the Greek *Menaea*.

8. *A Short Prophecy of Jeremiah* is uniformly attached to the *Epistle of Jeremiah* in Ethiopic MSS of the Old Testament. It consists of only a few lines, and is written to justify the quotation from 'Jeremy the prophet' in Mt 27.9. It is addressed to Pashur, Jerome had seen a Hebrew volume in which a similar passage occurred. Dillmann printed it in his *Christomathia Aethiopia*, 1866 (p. viii n. 2).

9. *Conversion of Baruch*.—See APOCALYPTIC, §§ 42-47.

10. *Apocalypse of Elias*, and

11. *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

The first of these was supposed to be the source of Paul's quotation in 1 Cor. 2.9, 'Eye hath not seen, etc.'

22. *Elias, Zephaniah, etc.*—The second is quoted by Clement of Alexandria. They both survive in

two dialects of Coptic. Fragments of 10 and 11 were published by Baumant in the *Moniteur de la Mission archéologique au Caire*. Stern translated them into German in *ZIT*, 1886. The whole, with additional fragments, has been edited by Stendorff in Harnack and Gelhardt's *Texte u. Unters.* The *Apocalypse of Elias* is fairly complete; the editor assigns only one leaf to the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* and a large fragment to an unknown *Apocalypse*. It is the present writer's belief that this last is from an *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*. Both are seemingly Christianized forms of Jewish books, containing sections descriptive of heaven and hell, and prophecies of Antichrist, and his conflict with Tabitha and the two witnesses. There is an *Apocalypse of Elias* in Hebrew and one was printed in Jellinek's *Be-sha'ar Midrash* and edited in 1897 by Bittenwieser. A passage from a Gnostic *Visions of Elias* is quoted by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 26.13).

12. *A Revelation of Moses*, containing a visit to the unseen world has been translated from Hebrew by Dr. Gaster (*IR. IS.*, 1893).

13. *An Apocalypse of Esdras*, extant in Syriac, edited by Baethgen from a late MS, and published

22. *Esdras, etc.*—with a translation in *ZIT* 11 (61-72) (1896), is by some thought to be an old Jewish apocalypse which was remodelled in Mohammedan times. There is an Ethiopic *Apoc. of Esdr.* in the British Museum (see Wright's *Catalogue*).

14. The same remark applies to a Persian *History of Daniel* edited and translated by Zotenberg in Merx's *Archiv* (1896), which in its present form is certainly medieval. The Armenian, the Coptic, and the Greek *Visions of Daniel*, which are printed respectively by

¹ It may be noticed in this connection that in *Ch. of Theodotion's* Daniel the whole book is divided into twelve *Visions* (*opascēs*).

single leaf of a papyrus book found by them at Oxyrhynchus. It contains a small number of sayings of Jesus which in part agree with sayings contained in the canonical gospels and in part differ from them. Harnack believes them to be extracted from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*; but it is as yet not possible to express a final opinion on their character.

7. *Gospel of Matthew*. Probably identical with the *Traditions of Matthew*, from which we have quotations. It was most likely a Basilidian work, for the Basilidians professed to regard Matthew as their special authority among the apostles. See Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, ii. 275.

8. *Evangelium Mariæ* (the Descent of Mary), quoted by Epiphanius (*Her.* 26c), was a Gnostic anti-Jewish romance representing Zacharias as having been killed by the Jews because he had seen the God of the Jews in the temple in the form of an ass.

9. *Zacharias, the father of John Baptist*. A. Berendts in *Studien zur Zacharias-apokryphen u. Zach.-legende* gives a translation of a Slavonic legend of Zacharias which may be taken from an early book, subsequently incorporated into the *Book of James*.

Almost every one of the apostles had a gospel fathered upon him by one early sect or another, if we may judge from the list of books condemned in the so-called Gelasian Decree, and from other patristic allusions.

Of a gospel of Philip we have fragments, descriptive of the progress of the soul through the next world, showing it to have been a Gnostic composition; it was probably very much like the *Pistis Sophia* (a long Gnostic treatise in Coptic), in which Philip plays a prominent rôle. The *Questions of Mary* (Greek and Latin) was the title of two Gnostic books of the most revolting type, quoted by Epiphanius (*Her.* 26a).

A Coptic papyrus volume recently acquired by Berlin contains texts as yet unpublished of two Gnostic books connected with the names of the Virgin and John, and also a portion of some early Acts of Peter.

For the most part, however, these heretical pseudepigrapha, where we know anything of their contents, must be assigned to a period later than that contemplated by our present scope.

27. Extant Gospels.

Extant apocryphal gospels two must be mentioned—
1. *Book of James*, commonly called *Protogospelion* (this name being due to Guillaume Postel, who first noticed the book, in the sixteenth century). Extant in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, etc. A narrative extending from the Conception of the Virgin to the death of Zacharias. The James meant is perhaps James the Just. In one place, where Joseph is speaking, the narrative suddenly adopts the first person. Origen, and perhaps Justin, knew the book. A Hebrew original has been postulated for it. It is undoubtedly very ancient, and may possibly fall within the first century. From it we ultimately derive the traditional names of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne. The work has been edited by Tischendorf (*Evangelia Apocrypha*).

2. *Acts of Pilate*, often called the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.—Greek, Latin, Coptic, etc. In two parts: (1) an account of the Passion and Resurrection; (2) a narrative of the Descent into Hell. Part 1 may be alluded to by Justin Martyr, who more than once alludes to Acts of Christ's Passion. It is possible, however, that he may be referring to another apocryphal document which exists in many forms—the *Anabasis Pilati* or official Report of Pilate to Tiberius. In any case, the *Acta Pilati* (Part 1) in some form probably date from early in the second century. Edited by Tischendorf (*l.c.*); see also Lipsius, *Die Pilatusakten*, and Schubert on the Gospel of Peter.

3. *Acts of James* (Ἀποστολὴ Ἰακώβου), only mentioned by Epiphanius (*Her.* 30).—An Ebionite and anti-Pauline book of which we most likely have an abstract in the end of the

first book of the *Clementine Recognitions*. It contained

addresses delivered by James the Just in the Temple. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 330, 367.

4. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*.—Greek, Syriac, etc. Tertullian tells us that this romance was composed in honour of Paul by a presbyter of Asia, who afterwards confessed the longevity (*De Baptismo*, 17); and Jerome, quoting Tertullian (probably from the Greek text of the same treatise), adds the detail that the expense took place in the presence of John. In the present writer's opinion, this may be a false reading: 'apud Iohannem' may have been corrupted into 'apud Iohannem.' Undoubtedly the romance is the earliest of the kind which we possess. It details the adventures and trials of a virgin, Thecla of Iconium, who was converted by Paul. Ed. Lipsius (*Acta Petri et Pauli*). Professor Ramsay contends for the historical accuracy of much of the local detail. It is now clear that this episode formed part of the *Acts of Paul* which has just been discovered by Carl Schmidt in a fragmentary form in Coptic. Until the text is published, however, little can be said.

The Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Philip have all survived in part. They may be referred to some time in the second century. The author of all of them, save the first and last, was most likely one Leucius. The Passions and Acts of the remaining apostles are all later.

III. EPISTLES. 1. *The Abgarus Letters*. A letter from Abgar Vologases, king of Edessa, to our Lord,

begging him to visit Edessa and take up his abode there, and an answer from our Lord, promising to send an apostle to Abgarus, are given by Eusebius (*HE* I. c. 13), who translates them from Syriac, and derives them from the archives of Edessa. They are very early, and are intimately connected with the legend of the apostolate of Addai or Thaddæus at Edessa. A fragment of a fourth century papyrus text of the letters (which are very short) is in the Bodleian. They are found also in Syriac.

2. *Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans*. Latin. It was founded upon Col. 4.6, and is a short cento of Pauline phrases. An Epistle to the Laodiceans is mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. See Lightfoot's *Colossians*, 317 ff., and Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kan.*, ii. 256b; also COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS, § 14.

3. *Epistle of Paul to the Alexandrines*.—Also mentioned in the Muratorian Canon, and nowhere else. Zahn (*l.c.* 58) has printed, from the Bobbio Sacramentary and Lectionary, a lesson purporting to be taken from the Epistle to the Colossians, which he assigns to the Epistle to the Alexandrines, or to some similar Pauline apocryph.

4. *Third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* (and letter from Corinth to Paul).—Armenian and Latin (and Coptic). These are now known to have formed part of the *Acta Pauli*.

There are but few other spurious epistles, and these are all of a distinctly later character.

IV. APOCALYPSES. 1. *Apocalypse of Peter*.—Greek. Quoted by Clement of Alexandria and by the heathen

antagonist of Macrinus Magnus (who is possibly Porphyry), and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon. We have now a considerable fragment of it, which was discovered in the same MS. as was the excerpt from the Gospel of Peter (see § 26 no. 4). This contains the end of a prophecy of Jesus about the last times, and a vision of the state of the blessed, followed by a much longer description of the torments of various classes of sinners. It was probably written rather early in the second century, and has had an enormous influence on later Christian visions of heaven and hell. Dieterich, in his *Apokalyphe*, has pointed out the strong influence which the Orphic literature has had on the writer. A trace of the influence of this apocalypse on Latin documents has been recently pointed out by Harnack in the Pseudo-Cyprian tract *De Laude Martirum*, and earlier by Robinson in the

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Passion of St. Perpetua, and there is a possible trace in the earlier tract *De Alcatribus*. The Arabic and the Ethiopic *Revelation of Peter* or *Books of Clement* (see an article by Bratke in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschr.*, 1893) seem not to contain the old book embedded in them; but as yet they are not very well known. Ed. Dieterich, Harnack, James.

2. *Preaching of Hystaspes*.—Lost. There are quotations from it in the *Preaching of Paul* (quoted by Clem. Alex.), in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* 1:344), and in Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 7:1518). In every case it is coupled with the Sibylline Oracles, with which it is clearly to be associated, as a Christian forgery in pagan form. Ammianus Marcellinus (236) calls Hystaspes a 'very wise king, father of Darius,' Lactantius, 'a very ancient king of the Medes, who has handed down to posterity a most wonderful dream as interpreted by a prophesying boy (sub interpretatione vaticinantis pueri).' The same author represents Hystaspes as saying that the Roman name was to be wiped out, and, further, that in the last days the righteous would cry to God and God would hear them. Justin says that he prophesied the destruction of all things by fire, and the quotation in Clement makes him declare that the kings of the earth should hate and persecute the Son of God—the Christ—and his followers. It is this last passage which fixes the book as Christian rather than Jewish.

V. DIDACHE.—1. *Teaching of the Apostles* (Didachē).—Greek. The literature of this manual of ethics and church discipline is enormous, and the

31. **Didactic.** history of its various forms cannot be attempted here. It was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in a MS. 1056 at Constantinople, and printed first in the year 1533. It consists of two distinct parts: the first an ethical manual which may be founded on a Jewish document, and reappears in the Epistle of Barnabas, the second relating to church matters, containing disciplinary rules and liturgical formulae. Opinions as to its date differ widely. Harnack would assign it in its present form (which is probably not primitive) to 130-160. It forms the groundwork of the 7th Book of the Apostolic Constitutions.

2. *Preaching of Peter*.—Apparently an orthodox second century book, of which Heracleon and Clem. Alex. have preserved important fragments containing warnings against Judaism and polytheism, and words of Jesus to the apostles. Another set of fragments, which there is no sufficient reason for repudiating, contains a lament of Peter for his denial, and various ethical maxims. There are strong similarities between the first set of fragments and the *Apology of Aristides*. Dobschütz (in a monograph in *Texte u. Untere.*) rejects the second set. The relation of the book (a) to a supposed *Preaching of Paul*, the existence of which is very doubtful, and (b) to the Pseudo-Clementine literature, is by no means clear. A Syrian *Preaching of Simon Cephas*, published by Cureton, has none of the matter appearing in the quotations from the Greek book.

For the books noticed above, and the

32. **Bibliography.** later documents not named (which are many), the student must consult: J. A. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, Vet. Test. Hamburg, 1713 and 1721; *Codex Apocryphus N.T.*, ib. 1719, 1743 (ed. 2); D. F. Frutze, *Libri I. I. pseudepigraphi selecti*; A. Hilgenfeld, *Missiva Inducorum*; K. Schürer, *GH*; Strack and Zöckler, *Apokryphen d. N.T.*; Wace and Salmon, *Speaker's Comm.*, *Apocrypha*; J. C. Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*; Tischendorf, *Evangel. Apoc.* (ed. 2, 1876); *Acta Ap. Apoc.*; *Apoc. Apoc.*; Lipsius, *Die Apok.*; *Apokelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*; Migne, *Pat. des Apoc.*; James, *Apocrypha, Unc. data*, i. ii; Vassiliev, *Unc. data Graeco-Biblica*; Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apoc.* i. ii. Editions of individual writings have been specified under their proper headings.

M. R. J.

APOLLONIA (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ [Ti. VII]). A town on the Egnatian Road, in that part of Macedonia which had the name Mygdonia and lay between the rivers Strimon and Axios. It was near Lake Bolla (*Βολή*); but its exact site is not yet known. From the

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Itin. Ant. we learn that it was 30 R. m. from Amphipolis, and 37 from Thessalonica. Leake places it to the S. of the lake, at the modern village *Potima*; and this is probably right, though others are inclined to look for it more to the W. at the post station of Khsali, which is seven hours from Thessalonica. Apollonia was at any rate on the main road between Amphipolis and Thessalonica by the Anlon, or pass of Arcthesa. Paul and Silas, therefore, 'passed through' the town on their way to Thessalonica (Acts 17:1).† W. J. W.

APOLLONIUS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ [VA], ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ; ܐܡܠܠܐܢܝܐ).

1. (Son) of THIRASTAS [q. v.]; the governor of Coele-syria and Phoenicia who, according to 2 Macc. (35-14), induced Seleucus IV. to plunder the rich temple treasury of Jerusalem (see THIRASTASTES). He may possibly be the same as

2. The governor of Coele-syria under Alexander Balas, who came to the help of Alexander's rival, Demetrius II. (Nicator), who made him chief of the army. This is more explicable, it, as in Polyb. xxxi. 21:2. Apollonius was the foster brother (ἀνερρωτός) of Demetrius I. He was besieged at Joppa, and was entirely defeated by Jonathan near Azotus (Ashdod) in 147 B.C. (1 Macc. 10:60 ff.). Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 1) calls him Δαός (or rather Ταός, Niese), i. e., one of the Dui (the classical Dahae) on the E. of the Caspian Sea, and erroneously represents him as fighting on the side of Alexander Balas.

3. General of Samaria, one of the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, beaten and slain by Judas the Maccabee, 106 B.C. (1 Macc. 3:6 ff.). He is probably the chief tax commissioner (ἀρχισυνταμίσιος), who previously (168-167 B.C.) had been sent to hellene Jerusalem, and by taking advantage of the sabbath had routed the Jews and occupied a fort there (1 Macc. 1:2 ff., 2 Macc. 5:24 ff.). He may perhaps be identified with—

4. The son of Menesibius sent by Antiochus Epiphanes to congratulate Ptolemy VI. Philometor on his accession (δῶτα τὰ πρωτοκλήσια; 2 Macc. 4:21).

5. Son of GESSIUS (ὁ γὰρ Γεσσιανός); a Syrian general under Antiochus V. Eupator (2 Macc. 12:2).

APOLLOPHANES (ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗΣ [VA]; Syr. has ܐܡܠܠܐܢܝܐ). Apollonius?, a Syrian slain by the men of Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 10:37).

APOLLOS (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ; [Ti. VII]), according to 1 Cor., our most important source, was a missionary

and teacher who continued Paul's work in Corinth after the first visit of the latter (36), and was afterwards his companion in Ephesus, though not perhaps at the time the Epistle was being written (see *Ep.* in 16:12). Shortly before the writing of the First Epistle four parties had arisen in Corinth (1:10-12), one of which claimed to be 'of Paul,' and another 'of Apollos'; it argues, therefore, delicacy of feeling in Apollos that he did not comply with Paul's invitation to revisit Corinth again. The invitation itself, on the other hand, makes it plain that there were no very fundamental differences between the two men, least of all as to doctrine. Yet neither is it conceivable that the party division turned upon nothing more than the personal attachment of their individual converts to the two men respectively. On that supposition there would be nothing so blameworthy about it; and it would be impossible to explain the existence, alongside of them, of the party of Christ, and still more of that of Peter. Our earliest authority for Peter's ever having been in Corinth at all is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth about 170 (his *III* n 25), who, contrary to all the known facts of history, will have it that Peter

† The contraction, like Ζηνάς from Ζηνοδοτός, Ζηνός from Ζηνοδόρος, and so on (cp. NAIMES, § 80, col. 1). The latter form is more probably Ἀπολλωνίος than Ἀπολλωνίος, of which the usual contractions were Ἀπολλός, Ἀπολλας, Ἀπολλας. The reading Ἀπολλωνίος is actually given by D in Acts 18:24. By analogy the accentuation Ἀπολλώνιος ought to be preferred to the currently adopted Ἀπολλων.

came both to Corinth and to Italy simultaneously with Paul. Thus the formation of an Apollos party, as distinguished from the party of Paul, can have been due only to the individuality and manner of teaching of Apollos. Paul finds it necessary to defend himself against the charge that 'wisdom' is absent from his teaching. His answer (117-34) is that in substance 'wisdom' is really contained in the simple preaching of the Cross, but that in form he offers it only to Christians of mature growth, and (this not being the Corinthians' case) that he has purposely kept it in the background in his dealings with them. The teachers who offered 'wisdom,' and thus excelled Paul in the eyes of many of the Corinthians, however, were assuredly not the Judaizers among whom the parties of Christ and of Peter found their supporters. Apollos, therefore, must be meant. Paul actually says that on the foundation laid by himself in Corinth, besides the gold, silver, and precious stones, wood, hay, and stubble have been built (312). But the energy with which he pronounces his judgment in 119 f. 29-25 can be explained only by the fact that the adherents of Apollos overruled their teacher and subordinated substance to form.

With this agrees the notice in Acts 18:24-28 (our secondary source; see ACTS),¹ that Apollos was an

2. In Acts. eloquent man, mighty in the Scriptures, and an Alexandrian Jew. We may accordingly assume that the distinguishing quality in Apollos' teaching of 'wisdom' showed itself in an allegorising interpretation of the OT, such as we see in Philo or in the Epistle of Barnabas. But the fact that he was a Christian and taught the doctrine of Jesus 'exactly' (ἀκριβῶς; 18:25a) contradicts the statements (on the one hand) that he knew only the baptism of John (18:25c) and (on the other) that he had to be instructed more perfectly in Christianity by Priscilla and Aquila (18:26c). Whilst, therefore, it is possible for us to regard 18:24-25a as derived from a written source which the compiler had before him, 18:25c-26b would seem to be later accretions. The effect of these last expressions (even if they are traditional) is to represent Apollos as subordinate to Paul; for, according to 19:1-7, the rest of the disciples of John must receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the first time at the hands of Paul. As to the rest, the fact that in 19:1-3 mention is made of these as of something new goes to show that originally in 18:25 there was no reference to a disciple of John. Further, Acts 18:28 is not easily reconcilable with what is said in 1 Cor. 12:2 compared with 7:18). In that case Acts 18:28a may be attributed to the same author to whom 18:28 (and 18:25c-26b) must be ascribed.

Of the most recent attempts to deny the existence of the contradictions indicated above none can be pronounced successful. Blass (*Exp. Times*, 7, 1895-96, pp. 241ff., 364, and *Philology of the Gospels*, 1893, p. 39 f.) supposes Apollos to have derived his knowledge of Christianity from a book where, as in the second canonical gospel, the baptismal precept was wanting. Arthur Wright (*Exp. Times*, 9, 1897-98, pp. 8-12, 437 f.) replies, with reason (as it seems to us), that such use of a book could not have been intended by the word *κατηχίσθαι*. It is only of *ἀκούειν* that Blass has been able to show that in some few cases it is practically equivalent to 'learning by reading' (see the examples, in Stephanus, *Thes.* I, Paris, 1831, p. 126^a A and B. They are not, however, all of them quite certain. Nor is Jn. 12:34 a case in point; the meaning is 'Our teachers have read in the law, and have to do us by word of mouth that the Christ abideth for ever'). No single instance can be adduced in which *κατηχίσθαι* denotes acquisition of knowledge without intervention of a teacher. In particular, in Rom. 2:17 f. the meaning is, 'thou leastest the name of a Jew and . . . provest the things that differ, being instructed out of the law' [by frequenting the synagogue, or the instruction of the scribes]; and even in those cases where *ἀκούειν* has practically the sense of 'read,' the underlying idea is always that the book is read not by the 'hearer' himself, but by some other person, as, for example, a slave, so that the primary sense of the word has never entirely disappeared. In the case of Apollos, however, the idea that he

used a Christian book, not however reading it himself but getting it read to him by some other person, is too far-fetched to be brought into requisition here. To the suggestion (referred to by Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, ed. philol. 1895, ad loc.) that Apollos may have been orally instructed by a man whose knowledge of Christianity, in its turn, was limited to the contents of a book from which the baptismal command was absent, it has to be replied that the supposition is irreconcilable with the ἀκριβῶς of Acts 17:25.1 Wright himself, however, contributes nothing new to the solution of the question except the emendation of ἀκούειν into ἀπεκάλει (so 14), the verb being then taken as meaning 'to repeat by rote' or at least 'to glibly recite.' Even if such a meaning could be established for the word, it would not nearly suffice to remove the difficulties of the passage. Lastly, Baldeusperger (*Der Prolog des 4. Evangeliums*, 1877, pp. 93-95) is constrained to take refuge in the view that what Apollos taught ἀκριβῶς consisted only of Messianic matters as enumerated in such passages as Heb. 6:1 f.; that the editor of the source of Acts here employed says τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ only from a point of view of his own, meaning all the while not the historical Jesus but simply the Messiah in the larger sense, in whose coming the disciples of John also believed. If this be so, he could not possibly have expressed his meaning in a less appropriate and more misleading way.

Tit. 3:13, the only other NT passage in which Apollos is named, cannot be used as a historical source; and there is no ground for the conjecture that

3. Other points. what constituted the difference between Apollos and Paul lay in the value attached

by the former to the administration of baptism with his own hands (1 Cor. 1:13-17), and that thereby he gave an impulse to the practice of baptism for the dead (1 Cor. 15:29). Paul, indeed, regards the church of Corinth, although he has personally baptized hardly any of its members, as wholly his own (1 Cor. 4:15 and often). On the other hand, the hypothesis put forward by Luther (as having already been suggested somewhere) that Apollos wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews is, at all events, preferable to any other that ventures to descend on a name.

In the lists of 'the Seventy' (Lk. 10:1), dating from the fifth and sixth centuries, Apollos is enumerated, and has the diocese of Caesarea assigned to him (*Chron. Pasc.* Bonn ed., i. 442, ii. 125). P. W. S.

APOLLYON (ἀπολλύων [Ti. VII]. Rev. 9:11. See ABADDON.

APOSTLE (ἀποστολος, 'a messenger')² was the title conferred by Jesus on the twelve disciples whom

1. 'The Twelve.' he sent forth, on a certain occasion, to preach and heal the sick. In the earliest Gospel tradition the disciples appear to be

spoken of as apostles only in reference to this special mission (Mk. 3:14 [NB] = Lk. 6:13, cp Mt. 10:2; and Mk. 6:30 = Lk. 9:10); but the name soon became a customary designation, and is so employed in Lk. (17:5 21:10) and Acts (12, etc.). The number twelve was symbolical, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel; and when Judas fell from his 'apostolate' (Acts 1:25) the number was restored by the election of Matthias.³ It is used in this symbolical and representative sense in Rev. 21:14.

Lists of the Twelve. In the four lists (Mt. 10:2 Mk. 3:16 Lk. 6:14 Acts 1:13) the names fall into three groups of four names, the first name in each group being constant, while the order of the rest changes. Thus:

I. Mk.	Peter	James	John	Andrew.
Mt. Lk.	Peter	Andrew	James	John.
Acts	Peter	John	James	Andrew.
II. Mk. Lk.	Philip	Bartholomew	Matthew	Thomas.
Mt.	Philip	Bartholomew	Thomas	Matthew.
Acts	Philip	Thomas	Bartholomew	Matthew.

III. Mk. Mt.	James	Thaddaeus	Simon the	Judas
	of Alphaeus		Canaanean	Isariot.
Lk. (Acts)	James	Simon Zelotes	Judas of	Judas
	of Alphaeus		James	Isariot.

Mark's order of the first group recurs in Mk. 13:3. It puts first the three who were selected as witnesses of the raising of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5:37), of the Transfiguration (9:2), and of the Agony (14:33). Their importance is further marked by surnames given by Jesus (Cephas (Cephas) and Boanerges. Mt. and Lk.

¹ Blass now (*Phil. of Gospels*) expressly rejects the idea.

² ἀπόστολος, a stronger word than ἀγγελος, properly denotes not a mere messenger, but rather the delegate of the person who sent him. It seems to have been used among the Jews of the fourth century A.D., of persons sent on a mission of responsibility, especially for the collection of moneys for religious purposes.

³ On this subject, see MATTHEWS, I.

¹ The reference to Acts 18:24-28 occurs in § 11.

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drop the Aramaic surname Boanerges, and class the brothers together ('Peter and Andrew his brother'). In Acts the order is accounted for by the prominence of Peter and John in the opening chapters. This seems to have had a reflex action on the writer's mind, for in Lk. 8.51-58 we have 'Peter and John and James,' though where Peter is not mentioned we have 'James and John,' 9.54.

The original signification of the term (delegate or missionary) is recalled by its application to Barnabas and Saul (Acts 11.41), who had been selected under the direct guidance of the Spirit from among the prophets and teachers of the church of Antioch and sent forth on a missionary enterprise. Paul in his epistles defends his claim to be an apostle in the highest sense, as one directly commissioned by God; and in this connection he emphasises his personal acquaintance with the risen Christ (Gal. 1. 2 Cor. 11. 5 1 Cor. 9. 1: 'Am I not an apostle, have I not seen Jesus our Lord?'). As 'apostle of the Gentiles' (Rom. 11. 13) he received full recognition from the chief apostles in Jerusalem (Gal. 2.7-9).

The stress laid by Paul on his own apostolate, as 'not a whit behind' that of the Twelve, was probably a main factor in the subsequent restriction of the title to the original apostles and himself.

3. Others. In the NT, however, it is certainly applied to Barnabas, as we have seen, and almost certainly to Silvanus (1 Thess. 2.6), Andronicus, and Junias (Rom. 16.7) - apart from its more limited reference in the case of the 'apostles of the churches' (2 Cor. 8.23) and Epaphroditus (Phil. 2.25 'your apostle'). Moreover, we see it claimed in the church of Ephesus by certain persons to whom it is denied only after they have been tested and 'found false' (Rev. 2.2).

Rules for deciding the validity of such claims are given in the early manual called *The Teaching of the Apostles*. This book, which shows us a primitive type of Church life existing in the locality in which it was written, confirms the view suggested by the NT of the extension of the title of apostle beyond the limits of the Twelve and Paul. Apostles are here spoken of as teachers essentially itinerant; ranking above the prophets who may or may not be settled in one place, and in no specified relation to the bishops and deacons who are responsible for the ordinary local administration of the community. Even as the first apostles were sent forth 'without purse or scrip,' so these, 'according to the ordinance of the gospel,' move from place to place, and are not to remain in a settled church more than two days, nor to receive money or more than a day's rations. These wandering missionaries are referred to by Eusebius as 'holding the first rank of the succession of the apostles' (*HE* 3.37.5.10; he avoids the actual designation 'apostle,' perhaps in deference to later usage); and the strict regulations in the *Teaching* prove that there was danger lest the frequency of their visits should become burdensome to settled churches.

It is interesting to observe that the tradition of the application of the title to missionaries survives at the present day in the East. Among the Greeks the word for a missionary is *ἀποστόλος*, and the delegates of the Archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Nestorians are regularly called apostles by the Syrians of Urm.

Having thus clearly established the wider use of the term 'apostle,' we must return and consider the uniqueness of the position occupied by the

4. Apostolate. Twelve and Paul, to whom *par excellence* the title belongs. The distinction of their office which first comes under notice is that they were witnesses of the Resurrection. This is emphasised at the election of the new apostle in Acts 1.21. 'Of the men which have accompanied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, one of these must with us be a witness of his resurrection.' Their personal discipleship to Jesus, however, and the special training which he had bestowed upon them, had fitted them to be not only the preachers of faith and repentance to the multitudes, but also the authoritative instructors of the 'brethren' (cp. Acts 2.42 'the apostles' doctrine'). Their commission was derived directly from Christ, even as his was from the Father (Jn. 20.21, and cp. 1 Clem. 45: 'Christ then is from God, and the apostles from Christ'). In performing cures they lay stress upon the fact that they are his representatives; their acts are in fact his (cp. especially Acts 3.10-34). Certain functions are in the first instance

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exercised exclusively by the apostles: as the laying on of hands, to convey the Pentecostal gift to the baptized, and the appointment of local officers in the church. In the earliest stage, too, the contributions of wealthy believers are laid 'at the apostles' feet'; though at a later time it is 'the presbyters' who receive the offerings made for 'the brethren in Judaea' (Acts 11.30).

The authority implied in their commission is now formally defined; but on two important occasions we are permitted to observe the method of its exercise. Thus, in the appointment of the Seven the apostles call on the whole body of believers to elect, and thereupon themselves appoint the chosen persons to their work by a solemn ordination. Again, when the question of the obligation of Gentile believers to observe the Mosaic ritual arises in Antioch, it is referred to 'the apostles and elders' in Jerusalem (see *CONC.*, ii.), and a letter is written in their joint names ('the apostles and elder brethren'). This letter is couched in terms of authoritative advice rather than of direct command; and the authority which it implies, with regard to the distant communities whose interests are involved, is moral rather than formal.

In the churches of Paul's foundation we find that apostle acting with a consciousness of the fullest authority, in appointing presbyters, conveying the gift of the Spirit, and settling all kinds of controverted questions (Acts 14.23 19.6 1 Cor. 7.17). His relation to the Twelve is marked by a firm sense of independence together with an earnest desire for concerted action. In the case of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus in Crete we see him delegating for a time during his own absence his apostolic authority.

For the relation of the apostolate to other forms of the Christian ministry, see *CHURCH*, § 12.

Bishop Lightfoot's note 'on the name and office of an Apostle' (*Comm. on Gal.* 5th ed. 92-101) had, even before the recovery of the *Teaching*, destroyed the fiction of the limitation of the term in the first age. It needs now to be supplemented by Harnack's important discussion, *Lehre der Apostel*, 93-118. The whole subject has been freshly and vigorously treated by Hort in *Eccelesia* (*passim*).

APOTHECARY (אֶפֶסֶק Ex. 30.25 35. רֶקֶת Eccl. 10.1). The Heb. word means 'perfumer.' See *CONFECTION*, *PERFUME*. G's term is *μυρεῖος*, the medical or magical aspects (see *φαρμακία*, *λενεν*, *κον* in G) of whose trade may be seen in Eccles. 38.8, where his skill in compounding the medicines (ἡ *φαρμακία*, *medicamenta*) that the Lord created out of the earth is referred to. In Neh. 3.8 is mentioned a guild of perfumers, one of the 'sons' or members of which was Hananiah (the idiom is effaced in RV, and misrepresented in AV, which gives 'son of one of the apothecaries').

APPALIM (אֶפֶסֶק *efraim* [B]; אֶפֶסֶק [A]; אֶפֶסֶק [L]), a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2.30 f.).

APPARITION (φαντασμα), Mt. 14.26 RV. See *DIVINATION*, § 3 (3), *SOUL*.

APPEAL On inferior and superior courts, or what might be called courts of review or of appellate jurisdiction in the Hebrew commonwealth, see *GOVERNMENT*, §§ 19, 31, and *LAW AND JUSTICE*, § 16. As regards Roman criminal procedure, the appeal of Paul to Caesar is best understood from the narrative of Festus to Agrippa (Acts 25.14-21). Accused by his compatriots in 'certain questions of their own superstition,' and asked whether he was willing to go to Jerusalem and there be judged, he had 'appealed' (*ἐπαλεσάμενος*) to be reserved for the hearing (*διάγνωσιν*, *cognitionem*) of Caesar. The apostle as a Roman citizen was well within his rights when he invoked the authority of the emperor and thereby virtually declined the jurisdiction alike of the Jewish courts and of the Roman procurator; and his reasons for choosing to do so are not far to seek. Under the republican procedure every Roman citizen had the right of *provocatio*

APPHIA

ad populum. From the time of Augustus the *populus* ceased to exercise sovereign criminal jurisdiction; the emperor himself took cognisance of criminal cases as a court of first instance, having co-ordinate jurisdiction with the senate.—The *questio* procedure continued as before to be the ordinary mode of trial.

APPHIA (Ἀπφία [Pi. WH], etc., *APPIA*, etc. Cp especially Iaghtf. *Col. and Philem.* 372 ff.), probably the wife of Philemon (Philem. 2).

APPHUS (Ἀπφους [A]; *CAPIPH*. [NV]), 1 Macc. 25. See JONATHAN, 18, MACCABEES, § 5.

APPII FORUM, RV 'Market of Appius' (Ἀππίου Φορὸν [Pi. WH]; modern *Foro Appio*), a well-known halting-place on the *Via Appia*, where Paul was met by brethren from Rome (Acts 28.13). The distance from Rome is given in the *Itin. Anton.* (107) as 43 R. m. and so perhaps *It. Hier.*—*g.* Migue, *PL* 8.794, but in other edd. [611 f.] as 37.

For inscription on XIII milestone, found near *Foro Appio*, see *ILL* x. pt. i. 630. The road leading to Appii Forum from the south through the district of the Pontine Marshes was often abandoned in favour of a journey by boat (cp Horace, *Sat.* i. 5.1-26, where Appii Forum is described (*G.* 4) as being 'Bifferium nautis, campobus atque malignis'. See also THOMAS JAVIERSS,

APPLE (תַּפְּחִי; Pr. 25.11 Cant. 2.15 78.3) 85 Joel 1.11, see also FRUIT, § 12), by some understood as a

1. **Name.** generic name including various fruits, and by others supposed to mean not the apple but the quince, citron, or apricot. The origin of the Hebrew name is not quite certain; but there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the accepted derivation from תַּפַּח, to breathe; the name thus alludes to the perfume of the fruit. תַּפַּח in post-biblical Hebrew, and the corresponding word *tufāh*² in Arabic, ordinarily denote the 'apple'; and this rendering is, so far, supported by the ancient versions—Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Latin, and the Targum. It must be admitted, however, that all the words used—*μᾶλον*, *hazzōri*,³ *ṭufāh*, *malum* (s. *potum*)—are capable, with or without the addition of an epithet, of being applied to other fruits; *μᾶλον*, indeed, originally meant 'large tree,' or fruit in general, and only gradually became confined to the apple;⁴ cp the very wide use of *potum*, *poma* in Latin. Still, an examination of the biblical passages where תַּפַּח occurs seems to show that some particular fruit is intended; and the question must be answered by considering (1) which kind of fruit possesses in the highest degree the qualities of beauty of colour and form, of fragrance, and of efficacy in overcoming the feeling of sickness; and (2) which fruit-tree was most likely, under the conditions of climate and of botanical history, to be found abundant in Palestine during biblical times. [Though all the six occurrences of תַּפַּח are possibly, not to say certainly, post-exilic, the antiquity of the cultivation of the tree (or class of trees?) in Palestine is proved by the place-names Tappuah and Beth-Tappuah.]

The following identifications have been proposed:—(1) apricot (Tristram, *FFP* 294); (2) apple (especially WRS, *J. Phil.* 1365 f.); (3) citron or orange (Del. *Comm. on Prov.*); (4) quince (Houghton, *PSRA* 1242-43 [1889-90]).

1 It seems doubtful whether there was, as postulated by Löw (*Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 136) and Houghton (*PSRA* 1247 [1889-90]), any word תַּפַּח to swell, even in Rabbinic Hebrew. It is at all events unknown to biblical Hebrew, to Syriac, and to Arabic. See, further, Lag. *Ubers.* 111, 129; and F. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 107, and in *ZDMG* 44.546 (1900).

2 This must be a loan-word in Arabic (Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw.* 140), probably from Aramaic, though no trace of it has yet been found in Syriac.

3 Lag. is inclined to derive this, the Aramaic equivalent of תַּפַּח, from the Armenian word for apple (*hutsor*) and thus prove that the fruit came to Semite lands from Armenia (*Ubers.* II. cc.); but Hommel shows the probability of the word being genuinely Semite, connecting it with an Arabic root *ḥanaza* (*Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 1-7).

4 Hehn and Stallybrass, *Wanderings of Plants and Animals*, 499.

APPLE

1. With regard to the first of these—the apricot (*Prunus Armeniaca*, L.)—it is to be remarked that it is not mentioned by Theophrastus, and does not appear to have been known to the Greeks or the Romans before the commencement of the Christian era (De C. *Orig.* 171).

Its original home was E. Asia (probably China), whence it gradually spread westward to Armenia (Ἰσχυρὸν Ἀρμενίαν, *malum armeniacum*), but Tristram is certainly wrong in saying (*Nat. Hist.* 335) that it is native there.

The present abundance of the apricot in Palestine is almost certainly post-biblical.

2. The apple *Pyrus Malus*, L.—is found without doubt in a wild state in Northern Asia Minor, especially about Trebizond, and occasionally forms small woods.

It extends eastwards to Transcaucasia, and apparently to Persia (cp Boissier, *Fl. Orient.* 206). Sir Joseph Hooker says that it is 'apparently wild' in NW. Himalaya and W. Tibet, but that everywhere else in India it is cultivated (*Fl. Brit. ind.* 2373). De Candolle (*Orig.* 180) thinks the apple was indigenous and cultivated in Europe in prehistoric times; but Boissier (*loc. cit.*) restricts its natural occurrence to Macedonia and Euboea.

In any case the original apple clearly required a cool climate. Under cultivation there have been obtained varieties which will tolerate and even require a warmer one;¹ but these are notoriously modern inventions, and it is absurd to take account of them in considering the ancient history of the fruit. In truth the original apple—and the apple of biblical times was presumably somewhat similar—cannot have been very attractive; it was in fact a 'crab' only about an inch in diameter.

Sir Joseph Hooker says (from his own knowledge) 'Palestine is too hot for apples.' With this agrees Tristram's account:

'Though the apple is cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, out of the boundaries of the Holy Land, yet it barely exists in the country itself. There are, indeed, a few trees in the gardens of Jaffa; but they do not thrive, and have a wretched, woody fruit. Perhaps there may be some at Askani. What English and American writers have called the "apple," however, is really the quince. The climate is far too hot for our apple tree' (*NHB* 334 f.).

As there is no evidence of the apple ever having been found native in Syria, those who render *tappuah* 'apple' have to show (1) that it was introduced from without (Pontus), and (2) that it became established when introduced. Both propositions are improbable. What is said above of the introduction of a few modern sorts into Syrian gardens is true;² but it is impossible to infer from this fact that the biblical *tappuah* was the apple.

The strongest argument for the apple is that *tufāh* is used in modern Arabic for this fruit; but, as we have seen above, the word may have wider significance, and it is exceedingly probable that in such passages as those quoted by Robertson Smith in an article (*Journ. Phil.* 65 f.) which, though short, appeared to him (prematurely?) to be almost decisive, it is really the quince that is meant. Even if 'apple' be the usual modern meaning of *tufāh*, it is far from uncommon in botanical history for a name to pass from one to another of two plants so nearly allied as the quince and the apple.

[J. Neill (*Pal. Explored*, '82, p. 186) differs widely from Prof. G. Post of Beyrout (Hastings, *DB*, 'Apple'), who argues that the apple as grown in Palestine and Syria to-day alone fulfils all the conditions of the *tappuah*.

Post remarks, 'almost all the apples of Syria and Palestine are sweet (Cant. 2.3). To European and American palates they seem insipid. But they have the delicious aroma of the better kinds. . . . Sick persons almost invariably ask the doctor if they may have an apple; and if he objects they urge their case with the plea that they only want it to smell.' This being so, it is needless to conjecture that 'such an epicure as Solomon would have had many of the choicest kinds,' for, according to Post, the ordinary and (to us) disappointing Syrian apple can still, without poetic idealisation, be referred to in the language of Canticles. But was Canticles written for Syria?]

3 No citrus (orange or citron) will do.

The citron has its home in the sub-Himalayan tract of N.

¹ Thus the best American apples succeed in Great Britain only under glass.

² Similarly, in the Deccan four sorts of apples are now found; but these are all introduced, two from England and two from Persia.

APRONS

India. Thence it spread W. through Mesopotamia and Media; hence its current botanical name, *Citrus medica*, L.¹ It is first mentioned by Theophrastus (*το μῆλον το μέλιον ἢ τὸ πῆρικον*; *Hist.* iv, 42); but he says that it is not eaten (*οὐκ ἐσθιέται*). It was probably, therefore, not much developed by cultivation.

The Romans did not know the citron. Their citron wood was the wood of *Callitris quadrivalvis*, Ventr., from N. Africa. The true citron was probably not introduced into Italy till the third or fourth century A.D.

The claims of the citron² (to be the *tappach*) are so exceedingly slight that its introduction into Palestine is chiefly interesting in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, at which, in the time of Jos., it was carried by the Jews (a custom which is continued to the present day; see 'The Citron of Commerce,' *Nero Bulletin*, June 1894). It was introduced at any rate during the period of their relations with Media and Persa, and we find it depicted upon Jewish coins (see Stadel, *GTZ* 2, facing p. 106).

The statement of Jos. (*Ant.* xiii, 13) is, that according to the law of the Feast of Tabernacles branches of the palm and citron tree (*ῥαβδὸν τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ῥαβδὸν*) were to be borne by every one; elsewhere (*ib.* iii, 104) he specifies the myrtle, the willow, and boughs of palm-tree, and of *παντὶ δένδρῳ μύλος τῆς περσικῆς*. The Talmudic law particularly ordained that the fruit should be held in the left hand, and the branches (*arabes*) in the right. The priestly law, on the other hand, has not the provision which the translators and exegeses of a later age gave to it. In Lev. 23:40 ff. (H) among the requirements for the feast of Ingathering, stands the 'fruit of goodly trees,' or (better) 'lovely tree-fruit' (*פרי עץ נחמד*; cp *DBAL*, *καρπὸν ἑυδαίου ὁπαίου*), which *Varag*, Pesh., and ancient Jewish tradition identified with the orange or citron.³ This identification is open to question, and the expression may be correctly, preferably with the 'fair boughs' mentioned in the account of the Feast of Tabernacles, 2 Mac. 10:6 ff. (*καλὰυθα ὁπαύων*; *varag* *varag*; Pesh. om.). Nor is the citron specifically mentioned in the somewhat fuller and less vague list in Neh. 8:15 (the Pesh. apparently renders 'palm trees' by 'citrons'), although commentators find an allusion to it in the *עץ זית*, the fat or oily tree (AV 'pine,' RV 'wild-olive').

The orange was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It was introduced into Mediterranean countries by the Arabs about the ninth century.

4. Whereas the development of the modern apple is most probably to be attributed to the northern races, the quince (*Pyrus Cydonia*, L. = *Cydonia Vulgaris*, Pers.) is a fruit characteristic of the Mediterranean basin and requires a warm temperate climate. A native of W. Asia, it extended to the Euxas, and thence spread through all Mediterranean countries.⁴ The best sort came from Crete; hence *μῆλον κρήτιον* and *Atlantia cydonia*, and the various European names (*Cydonia*, Ital.; *Coing*, Fr.; and *Quince*, Engl.). Hehn (*l.c.* 185) says: 'The golden apples of the Hesperides and of Atlantis were idealised quinces . . . Its colour, like that of the pomegranate, made a lively impression.' This would well accord with the reference in Prov. 25:11; whilst the well-known aroma of the quince (much stronger than that of the apple) would explain Cant. 2:578[9]. It is true that the taste of the fruit, unsweetened, is harsh and bitter, and there is hence some difficulty in reconciling our theory with Cant. 2:4; but something must be there allowed for the idealisation of the picture, and undoubtedly the fruit could be prepared in such a way as to have a delicious taste. Moreover the whole classical history of the fruit is saturated with erotic suggestion, and this falls in with the repeated mention of it in Canticles.

S.M. — W. T. T. D.

¹ Sir Joseph D. Hooker (*Fl. Brit. Ind.* 1514) gives its range as Garwal to Sikkim.

² *תפוח*, from Pers. *tūmū*. For the various traditions connected with it cp Levy, *s.v.* See *l.c.* 46.

³ The Daphnephoria as depicted by Leighton is a familiar and popular illustration of this custom.

⁴ Rashi referred to the annual beauty of the tree, and the Talmud supposed that *תפוח* = *l.c.* *תפוח* — an allusion to the fact that the citron grows beside all waters (cp Field, *Heb. Lex.* ad *loc.*). See De Candolle (*Orig.* 32, 141 f.), who quotes Rashi to show that the citron was not recognised by the translators of *DB*. If *תפוח* is really a genuine (and ancient) Semitic word (cp above, § 1, n. 3), it is tempting to read it here instead of *תפוח*.

⁵ De Candolle, 189, says: 'Avant l'époque de la guerre de Troie.'

AR, AR OF MOAB

APRONS. For *תַּרְלוֹת*, the (tig-leath) coverings of Gen. 37 (AV ⁹⁸ 'things to gird about,' RV ⁹⁸ 'girdles'; G⁹⁸ *περιζωματα*), see GIRDLE, 2. For *מִצְנֵפִים* (Ruth 3:15 AV ⁹⁸) see MANTLE, § 2, no. 3. The *σχιματῖδια* [Ti. VII] of Acts 19:1 (used for healing purposes) are the *semicincta* or aprons worn by servants and artisans.

AQUILA [αἰγυλας [Ti. VII]] is the Latin name by which alone we know one of the Jewish companions of Paul. A Jew, native of Pontus, he had removed to Rome and there carried on his calling as tent maker; probably it was also in Rome that he married his wife Priscilla, whose name is always associated with his. Most commonly indeed placed before it. The banishment of the Jews from Rome by Claudius (*ca.* A.D. 49) led to the settlement of Aquila and his wife in Corinth (Acts 18:2). Here, presumably, their acquaintance with Paul began and they were converted to Christianity. It was with them that the apostle, also a tent maker, lodged on his first visit to Corinth. Afterwards, looking back upon his relations with them at this time [Rom. 16] he applies to them the words: 'fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life, laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles.' From Corinth Aquila and Priscilla accompanied Paul to Ephesus (Acts 18:18), and here they remained behind while he went on to Jerusalem. At this time Apollos (*ca.* 37) arrived in Ephesus, and the zealous pair undertook to 'expound unto him the way of God more perfectly' (v. 26). Writing to the Corinthian Church after his return to Ephesus, Paul encloses the message: 'Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house' (1 Cor. 16:19). What is meant by this church is not quite clear; but the expression shows that they must have held a somewhat prominent and perhaps official position in the Ephesian community. That Ephesus continued on was supposed to have continued to be their home long after Paul left it is shown by the salutation addressed to them in 2 Tim. 1:10. That they are saluted in Rom. 16 shows (on the assumption that Rom. 16:20 is an integral part of the epistle in which it now occurs; see ROMANS) that at some period they must have returned to Rome for at least a season; but the occurrence of their names here is one of the facts that are held to make it probable that the salutations of Rom. 16:20 really belong to an Ephesian epistle.

Ecclesiastical tradition has little to say of either Aquila or Priscilla; in some late forms of the *Acts*, Aquila and Priscilla are represented as having been the disciples and companions of that evangelist, and as having been the Gospel entrusted to them by him. They are enumerated as two of the 'Seventy' (Lk. 10), dating from the fifth or sixth century, Priscilla being sometimes read for Prisca. See *Life of St. Paul*, *Apocrypha*, i. 203 ff. 399 ff. 2:367.

AR, AR OF MOAB, is mentioned in the two ancient songs which celebrate Israel's passage across Moab:—Nu. 21:15, 'the slope of the valley that stretches to the seat' or site 'of Ar' (*עַר*, *הַר* [B.M.]); and Ps. 124, 'a fire hath devoured Ar of Moab' (*בְּעַר* *בְּעַר* *מוֹאב* [L.]; *עַר* M. [B.V.]). *i.e.* *עַר* *כַּ*; so Sam. and some Heb. MSSs and consumed the high places of Arnon.' This 'Ar Moab' is usually taken to be the same as the 'Ir Moab,' 'city of Moab' (*בְּעַר* *בְּעַר* *מוֹאב* [B.M.]), 'which is on the border of Arnon at the utmost part of the border' (Nu. 22:36), where Barak met Balaam when he came to Moab from the E.; and indeed *עַר* in these ancient songs may be the primitive spelling of *עַר*. It is also the 'Ar Moab' of Is. 15:1 (*הַ מְוָאבֵיטִים* [BNAQI]), there parallel to Kir Moab, another chief fortress of the country, the present Kerak. It may also be 'the city (*עַר*) in the midst of the valley'—*i.e.*, of Arnon (Deut. 2:6 Josh. 13:9 and 28:24). In harmony with these passages, it is called the 'border of Moab' in Deut. 2:13 (*עַר* *מוֹאב* *אֲרֹנָה*); but in *עַר* *מוֹאב* (*אֲרֹנָה* [B.F.]) and 29 (*אֲרֹנָה* [B.F.]; *אֲרֹנָה* [A]) of the same chapter it seems

ARA

to mean a district rather than a town, and in this connection it is interesting that **ARA** renders 'Ar Moab' in Is. 15 by Moabit. Our present knowledge of the topography of Moab does not enable us to identify the site of 'Ar, the city.

We may be sure it was not the modern Rabbā (so the *PEF* map), the Anapoda, which in the fourth century of our era was the capital of Moab. Others have suggested the Melat el-Haj on the left bank of the Arnon opposite Aroer (see Burckhardt, *Arab.* 374).

More probably (cp Nu. 22.36) it lay at the E. end of one or other of the Arnon valleys.

There Langer (*Reisebericht*, vii) has proposed Lejin (Legio?) described by Doughty (*Arab. Deserts*, 1.30) as a 'four-square, lime-stone bailey, walled town in ruins, the walls and corner towers of dry block-building, at the midst of every wall a gate.'

ARA (אֲרָא; אֲרָא [BA] -אֲרָא [L.]), in a genealogy of ASHER (גִּזְרָה, i. § 4), 1 Ch. 7.34. Perhaps אֲרָא should be pronounced אֲרָא (Ural for אֲרָא, i. riah). See ULLA.

ARAB (אֲרָב; אֲרָב [B], אֲרָב [A.]), a site in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15.62). If Dt. Matt. (7.7, 4) is ed-Dameh, there may possibly be an echo of Arab in *er-Rithra*, the name of a site, with ruins, in the mountains of Judah, S. of Hebron (*PEF* Mem. 3 in 300).

ARABAH (הַעֲרָבָה; אֲרָבָה [BA]), often translated by ἡ ἄραια (εἰς, εἰς, κατα) ἄραια, sometimes by καὶ ἡ ἄραια (εἰς) ἄραια [BA], as a common noun, from a root probably meaning 'dry' (cp ARABIA, § 1), is used as a parallel (Is. 35.16, etc.) to 'desert-steppe,' and to 'עֲרֵב, ' parched ground,' with much the same force. As a proper name, with the article, it is generally confined to the great depression of the Dead Sea valley, 'the Arabah.' So correctly in RV; in AV it is more usually translated 'plain' (7.7, 6) or 'wilderness' (but in Josh. 18.18 'Arabah,' *BA* Bathapaia, see BATH-ARABAH). Along with the hill-country, the slopes, the Shephelah, and the Negeb, it is reckoned as one of the great parallel divisions of the land (Dt. 17 Josh. 11.6 12.8), and it is clear that the name was applied not only to the depression from the Lake of Galilee (Dt. 3.17; cp ARABATIS) to Jericho (2 K. 25.4) and the Dead Sea (which was called the Sea of the Arabah; Dt. 4.49, etc., Josh. 3.16, etc.), but also to the rest of the same great hollow as far as the Gulf of Akabah (Dt. 1.1).

Different parts of the Arabah were called 'Arboth (construct plur. of 'Arabah); cp Josh. 5.10 Jer. 39.5, etc., EV 'plains of Jericho'; Nu. 22.263, etc., 'plains of Moab.' See too ARABATIS.

To-day the name *Ar. Araba* is confined to the south of the line of cliffs that crosses the valley obliquely a few miles south of the southern end of the Dead Sea; and all N. of this is known as *El-Ghōr*, 'the depression' (Rob. BR 2.490).

The singular geological formation of the Arabah is indicated under PALESTINE (§ 31). Here it is sufficient to explain how such a name was applied to the valley even N. of the Dead Sea. In spite of the enormous possible fertility of the Jordan valley under proper irrigation, the vast stretches of jungle, near, saline soil, and parched hillsides out of reach of the streams, along with the sparseness of cultivation in most ages (owing to the great heat, unhealthy climate, and wild beasts), fully justify the name Arabah. In the NT also the valley is called a wilderness (τῇ ἐρήμῳ Mk. 1.4).

For the Arabah S. of the Dead Sea, see Rob. BR 1. and ii, Hall, *PEF* Mem., 'Geology,' and for the part N. of the Dead Sea, Stanley, *SP* 7; Conder, *Tent Work in Pal. II*; F. A. S. 117.22.

ARABAH, BROOK OF THE, AV River of the Wilderness (הַנָּחַל הָעֲרָבָה), is in Am. 6.14 the southern limit of the land of Israel in opposition to the northern Pass of Hamath. The name occurs nowhere else; but by some has been taken as another form of Brook of the Arabim (עֲרָבִים; EV BROOK OF THE WILLOWS [AV^{ms} BROOK OF THE ARABIMANS]—rather of the *Populus euphratica*; ZDPV 2.25-31).

ARABIA

given in Is. 15.7 as the southern boundary of Moab. This may be the long Wady el-Hasy (or Hesi, *PEF* Map) which Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1.26) describes as dividing the uplands of Moab and Edom, and running into the S. end of the Dead Sea; by some thought to be also the Brook Zikrid. It is doubtful, however, whether the Israelite kingdom could ever have been described as extending S. of the Arnon. Hoffmann (*Z. LIT.* 3.115 [83]) suggests that the Brook of the Arabah may have lain at the N. end of the Dead Sea. *BA* rendering, τοῦ χειμάρρου τῶν δεσμάτων [BAQ], is no help. It is to be noted that N. Israel under Jeroboam II. in the time of Amos is stated in 2 K. 14.9 to have extended from 'the entering in of Hamath unto the Sea of the Arabah.' The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty as to whether Amos means to include Judah. G. A. S.

ARABATTINE Ἰακρὰβαττίνη [AN], 1 Macc. 5.34 AV, RV AKRABATTINE.

ARABIA, ARABIANS (עֲרָב; gentile עֲרָבִי and in Neh. עֲרָבִי, pl. עֲרָבִים, also once עֲרָבִיָּים, and once Kt. עֲרָבִים; אֲרָב[ε] [A] decl. and indecl. [ANAL, etc.], Bicea [BAN], אֲרָב[ε] [ABU], [BAN], etc., אֲרָב[ε] [BAN]).

The name 'Arab' (עֲרָב) seems originally to have meant nothing more than 'desert': hence 'people of the desert.' So Isaiah¹ uses the word,

1. Earlier

OT usage.

'In the forest in the desert (*Arabah*); but *BA* εἰσέρχας ye halt for the night' (Is. 21.8). More usual in Hebrew is the fem. form *Arabah* (e.g. Job 21.39), a word employed as a proper name to denote the desolate valley, in which the Dead Sea is situated, reaching to the north-eastern extremity of the Red Sea (see ARABAU, i.). In the OT the term 'Arab,' as the name of a particular nation and country, is confined to comparatively late writings; it must therefore appear highly improbable that the Homeric *Ἐρεβῶν* (*Od.* 4.84) are to be identified with the Arabs. The lists in Genesis, which specify various Arabian tribes, do not mention the name—a very significant indication of their antiquity. The word being certainly an appellative ('desert') in Is. 21.13 (with EV cp Hab. 1.8, Zeph. 3.3), the heading קָצָה עֲרָבִים, 'Oracle concerning the Arabs,' cannot be in accordance with the author's real meaning.² No certain instance of the use of 'Arab' as a proper name occurs before the time of Jeremiah. He speaks of 'all the kings of Arab' (עֲרָבִים, Jer. 25.24). The words which follow in MT, וְהָעֲרָבִים כָּלֵב הָעֲרָבִים, are of course a dittography; in order to make sense the scribes pronounced קָצָה 'the mixed people,' a form which really occurs in 2.20, as well as in Ez. 30.5 and 1 K. 10.15 (where *BA* reads קָצָה 'the mixed'). The Greek text of Jer. 25.24 (κ. πάντας τ. συμμικτούς [BAQ]), it may be noticed, does not presuppose a repetition, and moreover (followed by Co.) omits the word 'kings,' necessary though it is to the sense. The phrase, 'like a *Arabi* in the desert' (Jer. 32, κοπύνη [BAN]; Aq. ἀραβ [Q^{ms}]), may be explained to mean either 'like an Arab' or 'like a Nomad'—the word has not yet acquired a strictly ethnographical signification. The same thing applies to a passage dating from the end of the Babylonian Exile, 'No *Arabi* shall pitch his tent there, nor shall shepherds cause their flocks to lie down there' (Is. 13.20, 'Αραβ [BAN^{ms}]). In Ez. 27.20, however, 'Arab' (עֲרָב; אֲרָב[ε] [BAQ]), with the note εἰσέρχας [Q^{ms}]), appears as the name of a people, coupled with Kebar, a desert tribe very frequently mentioned at that period (see ISHMAEL, § 4 [2]).

¹ Isaiah's authorship, it is true, has been disputed (see ISAHIAH, § 6).

² Q omits it; but Aq. Symm. Theod. all have it.

³ Gieseb., however, while agreeing as to the dittography which follows, denies that 'and all the kings of Arab' are the words of Jeremiah; the closing words of the verse ('who dwell in the wilderness') alone are genuine; they give the locality of those 'who have the corners of their hair polled' (7.20). Cp. 9.26 [25], 'all that have, etc., who dwell in the wilderness.'

⁴ *BA* has κ. π. τ. σ. αυτου.

ARABIA

It would seem that the name of the Arabs came into use among the Hebrews at a time when the old names Ishmael, Midian, etc., were disappearing from ordinary speech. This change may be connected with the fact that during the period in question various tribes were advancing from the S. into the northern deserts and dispossessing the former inhabitants, who, in all probability, were closely akin to the Hebrews. Such shiftings of the population have occurred repeatedly in the course of ages. However unproductive the districts to the E. and to the S. of Palestine may appear to us, they are nevertheless, from the point of view of the Nomads, decidedly preferable to many parts of Arabia proper.

From the ninth century B.C. and onwards, the name of the Arabs occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, where it presents a variety of forms¹ (*Arabi, Arabu, Arbu*, etc.), the adjective being *Arbaya*.

The name *Arbi* (*KB* 2 4 f.), however, can scarcely be, as Dehtsch (*loc.*) supposes, another form of the same word and the equivalent of the Arab *ʿArabi* (which appears to be quite later and of the Heb. אַרְבִּי). The Arabs mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions were probably all, or for the most part, natives of the Syrian desert, though we have no reason to assume that the name was applied to them exclusively as distinguished from the inhabitants of Arabia proper.

The inscriptions of the Persian King Darius (*e.g.*, Behistūn, l. 15) mention *Arabaya* among the subject lands, always placing it after Babylonia and *Athura* (*i.e.*, Assyria, Mesopotamia proper, and possibly northern Syria) and before Egypt; here also the word must refer to the great deserts of Syria—perhaps also to those of Mesopotamia and the Sinitic peninsula.

Æschylus (*Pers.*, 316), the first extant Greek writer in whose works the name occurs, speaks of a distinguished Arab in the army of Xerxes, and the contemporary authority whom Herodotus follows in his account of the Persian army makes mention of Arabs on the same occasion (*Herod.*, 769). While the notions of Æschylus, however, about the geographical position of the Arabs, are altogether fantastic—he represents them as dwelling near the Caucasus (*Prom.*, 422)—Herodotus shows himself much better informed. He applies the term Arabia to the whole peninsula (*cp.* *Herod.* 2 1 3107-113 439); but, as might have been expected, he refers in particular to those Arabs who inhabited the country between Syria and Egypt (2 12 30347 ff. 82091, etc.). It is also to be remarked that, in accordance with a peculiar classification, he gives the name of Arabia to that part of Egypt which lies to the E. of the Nile valley (23, etc.). Xenophon (*Anab.* vii. 825) speaks of a governor set by the Persian king over 'Phœnicia and Arabia,' by which is meant the S. of Syria, including Palestine and the neighbouring desert—a separate governor being set over 'Syria and Assyria.' Similarly in the *Cynopædia* he doubtless always means by Arabia the desert lands which were to some extent dependencies of the Persian Empire, not the peninsula itself; we must remember, further, that Xenophon had no definite ideas about these countries, through which he had not himself travelled. The name Arabia is used, in particular, for the desert of Mesopotamia (*Anab.* i. 51); it can hardly be an accident that this very district is called *ʿArab* by Syriac writers from the third century after Christ and onwards. Whilst, however, the term is regularly applied to that part of the desert which remained under Roman dominion till the Mohammedan conquest, the eastern portion, which belonged to Persia, is more commonly known as *Belth*, *ʿArabāyē* (or *Bil* *ʿArabāyē* in the Arabicised form) *i.e.*, 'land of the Arabs.' Traces of this usage are found in late Greek authors also.

A strictly ethnographical sense belongs to the word

¹ See Del. *Par.* 295 304 ff.; and *cp.* Schr. *KGF.* 100 ff.

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'Arab' in the writings of a contemporary of Herodotus, Nehemiah, who suffered much from the enmity of an Arab (*Neh.* 2 19 61-6) and commemorates the Arabs as such in the list of his opponents (*Neh.* 17 11).

3. Later OT writers. The Arabian question bears a name which, according to the Massoretic vocalisation, is to be pronounced *Gashmū* (*גַּשְׁמוּ*) or *Gashmū*, and appears in the Greek text as *Γασημ* [*ΓΑ*]. *Γασημ* [1.]; the correct form is probably *Gashmū*, a well-known Arabic name. It is very likely that at that time the great migration of the Nabateans had already happened (see *EDOM*, § 1, NABATEANS). The Chronicler too refers to 'the Arabians.' They brought tribute, he tells us, to the pious King Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 11). He relates, also, how God punished the wicked Joram by means of the Philistines and 'the Arabians who were beside the Ethiopians' (2 Ch. 21 16, *cp.* 22 1), and how he succoured the pious Uzziah in the war against 'the Arabians that dwell in Gilead' [*גִּלְעָד*] and other nations (2 Ch. 26 7). All this is written from the point of view of the author's own time (*circa* 200 B.C.), and has no claim to be regarded as historical.

By the beginning of the Macedonian period the kingdom of the NABATEANS [*נַבְיָאִי*] had long been firmly established. At that time various other Arabian tribes were also to be found in the great Syrian desert, and from among these certain families and persons rose to great power during the decline of the Seleucid Empire. In several Syrian towns we find Arabian sovereigns, and at Palmyra, at least, there was an Arabian aristocracy; elsewhere also Arabian chieftains occasionally played an important part in the politics of that period. Place, several times mentions Nabateans and other Arabs (525 39 9 15 11 17 to 12 31, *cp.* 2 Macc. 5 8 12 to f.).

The apostle Paul, after his conversion, retired into Arabia (*Gal.* 1 17) probably some desert tract in the Nabatean kingdom. When he speaks of **4. NT.** Arabia he of course includes the Sinitic peninsula (*Gal.* 1 25). Similarly, 'Arabs' (Arabian Jews or proselytes) in Acts 21 probably means natives of the Nabatean kingdom (see NABATEANS) or of the Roman province of Arabia which covered almost the whole extent of that kingdom. The province was constituted by A. Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria (*circa* 105 A.D.).

At what period certain tribes began to call themselves Arabs, and at what period the name was adopted by the

5. Native Arabian usage. The distinguished scholar, D. H. Müller,¹ has maintained that the name 'Arab' was unknown to the natives of Arabia till Mohammed introduced it as a national designation. This view, however, is scarcely tenable. The present writer does not happen to have made any notes on the occurrence of the name in the pre-Islamic poetry;² but the verse in Tabari, i. 10365, which dates from the beginning of the seventh century, is a sufficient proof of its occurrence—the poet, who can have known nothing of Mohammed, speaks of 3000 Arabs as opposed to 2000 foreigners. The events there described happened in the neighbourhood of the lower Euphrates—that is to say, in a district where Arabs, Aramaeans, and Persians frequently came into contact with one another, and where, for that very reason, a special term to denote the Arabian nationality and language was absolutely required. When we take into account the frequent communication between the Arabs of this district and those of the distant W. and S., and the great uniformity of the Arabian nation, it must appear highly probable that the name had long been generally used in Arabia itself.

¹ *Neue Freie Presse*, 1894, 20th April.
² He would not lay great stress on the words *kura* 'arabiyātin', 'villages of Arabian women,' or *kura* 'arabiyātin', 'Arabian villages,' in a verse ascribed to the old poet Imra' al-kays (about 550 A.D.), 392 (Ahlwardt), the fragment being very obscure and the text not quite to be trusted. Nor could he affirm the genuineness of the verses ascribed to old poets in *ʿAḡāḡ* ix. 10 second last line, x. 149 2 where the word 'Arab' occurs.

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scription of Tiglath-pileser III. (745-727 B.C.), and an inscription of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.). (See *Hel. Z.* 238, Schr. *K 11* 110, *A 11* 23). The name occurs also in a few other Assyrian inscriptions; but, owing to the imperfection of the writing, it may sometimes be doubted whether the word is really 'Aram,' and not some such form as *arā*, *arā*, or *arā*. It is remarkable that the cuneiform inscriptions, at least according to the opinion of Del. and Schr., never give the name of 'Aramians' to the Aramaic-speaking populations W. of the Euphrates, whereas in the OT this is the Aramaean country *par excellence* (cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 1).

Though at several periods the whole, or the greater part, of the Aramaean nation has been subject to a single foreign power, the Aramaeans have never formed an independent political unity; in fact, so far as we know, there has never existed a state comprehending the Aramaeans of the main part of Syria or of Mesopotamia proper, to the exclusion of other races.

From a very early time, however, the population of these countries must have been predominantly Aramaean, as is shown by the fact that all the other nationalities were gradually eliminated, so that, even before the Christian era, the various dialects of the Aramaeans, as the Greeks say, Syriani language prevailed almost exclusively in the cultivated lands which lie between the Mediterranean and the Mountains of Armenia and Kurdistan. Aramaic was used by the neighbouring Arabs as the language of writing; it also took possession of the land of Israel (see § 5, end). It is indeed very unlikely that, as early as the time of Solomon, there was an important Aramaean element in Palestine, as W. Max Müller supposes (*Is. u. Pers.* 171); the ending *ai* in many names of Palestinian cities in the list drawn up by the Egyptian king Šosēnk is probably nothing more than the Hebrew ending *ay*, expressing motion towards—the so-called *Hebraïsme*. Even in some books composed before the Exile, however, the influence of the language spoken by the neighbouring Aramaeans is occasionally perceptible. This influence became very much greater after the Exile (when those Israelites who remained, or founded settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, were at first feeble in numbers) and little by little the Aramaic tongue spread over the whole country. Though the language of such parts of the OT as Esther, Ecclesiastes, and several of the Psalms is Hebrew in form, its spirit is almost entirely Aramaic. The compiler of Ezra inserted into his book an extract from an Aramaic work composed, it would seem, about 300 B.C.; and half of the Book of Daniel (which was written in 167 or 166 B.C.) is in Aramaic. Moreover, a dialect of this language was spoken by Christ and the apostles, and in it the discourses reported in the Gospels were originally delivered. Nor did the Latin language (under the Roman rule) ever threaten to supplant the prevalent Aramaic. Greek, it is true, gained some footing in Syria, and, since it was the vehicle of intercourse and literary culture, exercised a great influence on the native dialects. It was the conquests of the Moslems, however, that suddenly brought to an end the ascendancy of Aramaic after it had lasted for more than 1000 years. The Arabic language was diffused with surprising rapidity, and at the present day there are only a few outlying districts in which Aramaic dialects are spoken.

What group of tribes the author of Gen. 10:23 includes under the name of Aram, we are unable to say precisely.

3. In Pentateuch. Of the 'sons of Aram' enumerated there is unfortunately none that can be identified with tolerable certainty (see GEOGRAPHY, § 24). The position of 'Uz, although it occurs several times in the OT, is unknown. It must, however, have been situated not far from Palestine. 'Mash' is usually supposed to be the country of the *Μάσιον ὄρος* (Strabo, 506, etc.), the source of the river Mashē (*n'hār*

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Mashē, in Arabic *Horma*), which flowed by Nisibis ([pseudo-]Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, ed. Chabot, 712, and Thomas of Margā, ed. Budge, 346-7), this is, however, by no means certain. Other theories respecting the names in Gen. 10:23 might be mentioned; but they are all open to question.

A second list, in Gen. 22:24, represents Aram as a son of Keturah, son of Nahor and brother of Uz, Keturah (i.e. Chetah), the eponym of the Chaldeans, Bethuel, and others. Bethuel is called an 'Aramaean' in Gen. 25:20-28:5, as is also his son Laban in Gen. 25:26-31:30. The passages in question belong, it is true, to different sources; but they may have been harmonised by the redactor. All these statements seem to point to the district of Harran (HARAN, § 2), where, as Hebrew tradition attests with remarkable distinctness, the patriarchs (Abraham, Jacob), and the patriarchs' wives (Rebecca, Leah, Rachel, either were born or sojourned for a long time. Here, in remote antiquity, Hebrew tribes and Aramaean tribes (represented by Nahor) probably dwelt side by side.¹ Hence it is said in Dt. 26:5 'a nomad Aramaean was my father.' In one of the sources of Genesis the country of Laban is called 'Aram of the two rivers,'² which seems to mean, as has long been held, the Aramaean land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, or between the Euphrates and the Chaboras (Kiepert, *Lehrb. d. alt. Geogr.* 154). What is meant by Paddan Aram, however, the name given to the dwelling-place of Laban and his kinsmen in the other source (see PADAN), is not clear. In Assyrian (?) and Aramaic *Paddan* signifies 'yoke,' and by a change of meaning, found also in other languages, it comes to denote a certain area of land, and finally 'corn-land,' but not a 'plain,' as is sometimes assumed by those who wrongly take the phrase 'field of Aram' (Hos. 12:13[12]) to be a translation of 'Paddan Aram.' This latter can scarcely be the name of a country. It may denote a *locality* situated in the land of Aram. We might, therefore, be tempted to identify Paddan Aram with a place near Harran called *Paddana* (see Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.* 1127a; Georg. Holman, *Oxyr. Zettor.* 129, l. 21), in Gr. *παδαν* (Strabo, 614), and in Ar. *Paddan*, in the neighbourhood of which *Tel Paddan* is situated (see Yakūt s.v.). It is, however, a somewhat suspicious consideration that several of the passages which have been cited mention the patriarchs in connection with the place. Hence the name may be due to a mere localisation of the biblical story on the part of the early Christians. According to the narrative of Balaam, 'Pethor' is in Aram (Nu. 22:5-23:7; see PETHOR). If Schr. (*KAT* 155 ff. *KB* 113) be right in identifying it with the city of *Pitra*, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, and situated on the river Sagur (Sajūr)—that is to say, not far from Mambij (Hierapolis)—the statement that Pethor is on the Euphrates itself cannot be quite correct. Such an inaccuracy, however, would not be surprising.

What historical foundation there may be for the account of the subjugation of Israel by Cushan Rishathaim (§ 2), 'king of Aram of the Two Rivers' (Judg. 3:8-10), is uncertain.

Of all the Aramaean states, by far the most important from the point of view of the Israelites, during the kingdom period, was Damascus, the inhabitants of which, from the time of David (§ 2, § 86) onward, were often at war with their Israelite neighbours; but there must also have been much peaceable intercourse between the two nations. In most cases where the OT speaks of Aram the reference is to Damascus (even though the latter name be not expressly mentioned), the small Aramaean states of the neighbourhood being sometimes included. That

¹ On this point see ISRAEL, § 1.

² It is not necessary to suppose with W. Max Müller (*Cl.* 252, 255) that the Dual *naharain* is a mistake for the plural *naharim*. On this subject, however, cp ARAM-NAHARAIM, MESOPOTAMIA, § 2.

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this mode of speaking was actually current in early times is proved by such passages as Am. 1:9 Is. 7:24/8. Cp. DAMASCUS.

Not far from Damascus lay the Aramaean districts of Maacah (2 S. 21 and Geshur (2 S. 11). That Maacah was Aramaean is not expressly stated.

6. Maacah, Geshur, Rehob.

except in 1 Ch. 19:6, where the text is very doubtful,¹ but it seems to be indicated by Gen. 22:4 where Maacah is represented as a son, or daughter, of Nodiv by a concubine. Moreover, in 1 Ch. 7:6 Machir, chief representative of the tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan, is the husband of Maacah, and in 1:14 of the same chapter he is a son of Manasseh by an Aramaean concubine—whence we may infer that the Israelite tribe which had penetrated furthest to the NE. became mingled with the Aramaeans of Maacah. That the Maacathites were not included in Israel, though they dwelt among the Israelites, is stated in Josh. 13:13. Their geographical situation is to some extent determined by the fact that Maacah, though regarded as an ancient Israelite city (2 S. 20:1), is sometimes called 'Abel-beth-Maacah', 'Abel in the land of Maacah' (2 S. 20:14² etc.), in order to distinguish it from other places bearing the name Abel. In accordance with the statements in 1 K. 15:20 2 K. 15:9 to which must be added 2 S. 20:18, a passage preserved in M but mutilated in MT, this Abel is now generally admitted to be identical with the northern Abel, near Hinn, on one of the brooks which unite to compose the Jordan (see ARAM. IN THE MIDDLE EAST). That this region, on the slopes of Hermon, was the home of the Maacathites appears from Dt. 3:14 Josh. 12:13 13:13, where they are mentioned together with the Geshurites, another foreign people who continued to dwell among the Israelites (Josh. 13:6), and belonged to Aram (2 S. 15:8; cp. also 1 Ch. 2:24, where the text, it must be admitted, is obscure and seems to be corrupt). Not far off was the territory of Rehob or Beth Rehob, which included the city of Dam (Judg. 18:23), often mentioned as the northern limit of Israel, the modern Tell el-kādi, a few miles east of the aforesaid Abel. In Josh. 19:28 Rehob, it is true, is reckoned as belonging to the Israelite tribe of Asher; but, according to 2 S. 10:6, its inhabitants were Aramaeans. Thus it appears fairly certain that several Aramaean tribes were settled near, or within, the borders of the northern tribes of Israel (Naphtali, Asher, and Eastern Manasseh). In these parts the Aramaean population seems to have extended, with scarcely any interruption, as far as Damascus. The Aramaeans of Maacah and Rehob fought on the side of the Ammonites against David (2 S. 10:6 = 1 Ch. 19:6), David married a daughter of the king of the Geshurites,³ and she became the mother of Absalom. It is remarkable that she bore the name of Maacah (2 S. 3:3 = 1 Ch. 3:1), which, as we have seen, occurs often in connection with Geshur, and the same name was given by Absalom to his daughter,⁴ afterwards the mother of two kings of Judah (1 K. 1:22 2:13 2 Ch. 11:20 ff.). After he had murdered his brother Amnon, Absalom took refuge with his grandfather the king of Geshur, and remained there for a considerable time (2 S. 13:38 14:13 15:2). The king of Geshur must, therefore, have been to some extent independent of David. Of all these Aramaean tribes we hear nothing more in later times; but one of them has left a trace in 'the Maacathite' (see MAACATH, 1), an appellation borne by the father of Jaazaniah, a contemporary of Jeremiah the prophet (2 K. 25:23 = Jer.

¹ Instead of מַאכָּה, the 'Aramaean of Maacah', the parallel passage 2 S. 10:6 has מֶלֶךְ מַאכָּה, 'the king of Maacah', for which B⁹⁷ reads βασιλεῖς Ἀμαλῆα. Here the word Ἀμαλῆα is certainly due to a mistake (B⁹⁷ have μααῖα); but βασιλεῖα [BAL] supports the Masoretic reading מַאכָּה.

² In this verse we should no doubt read מַאכָּה בֵּית מַאכָּה with Ew., Wellh., and others.

³ See, however, GESHUR, 2, where the view is proposed that David's wife was from the Southern Geshur.

⁴ On this see, however, MAACATH, ii.

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408). These Aramaeans, who were so closely connected with the Israelites, probably played an important part in the diffusion of the Aramaic language over Palestine.

Another name, also described as Aramaean, was that of ZOBAB (2 S. 10:6; cp. 1 Ch. 19:6 Ps. 60 [title]).

6. Zobab, greater consequence. In it was situated the city of BEROOTH (2 S. 10:6), no doubt identical with BEROOTH (2 S. 10:6), which in 1 K. 17:16 is placed between Hamath and Damascus. With this it agrees that, according to the statements of the historical books, Zobab had relations with Hamath on the one side, and with Damascus on the other. Its site must, therefore, be approximately in the neighbourhood of Lamsa, and we may hope that archaeological researches will throw further light upon the subject.¹

The statement about Saul's wars with 'the kings of Zobab' (1 S. 14:7) is open to grave suspicion; it is, in fact, doubtful whether the warlike operations of Saul ever extended so far (see SAM. § 3). A little later, however, we find Zobab and Damascus assisting the Ammonites in their war against David (see DAVID, § 86). At length Hadadfezer, king of Zobab, even brought to his help Aramaeans from beyond the Euphrates, but was utterly defeated, together with the king of the Ammonites, and David carried off a rich booty. Upon this the king of Hamath, who had been at war with the king of Zobab, sent an embassy to the Jewish king, expressing great satisfaction (2 S. 8:1-4). According to 2 S. 23:6, one of David's heroes (among whom were several non-Israelites) came from Zobab; in 1 Ch. 11:8, however, the reading is quite different (see ZOBAB). A servant of the above-mentioned Hadadfezer, named Rezon, fled from his master, became the chief of a band of robbers, and after David's death founded a kingdom at Damascus (1 K. 11:13 ff.; see DAMASCUS, § 3). It is not easy to extract a satisfactory sense from the passage which describes the capture of 'Hamath of Zobab' by Solomon (2 Ch. 8:6), and there is reason to suspect the integrity of the text. After the time of Solomon we find no mention of Zobab in the OT; but Assyrian monuments bear witness to the existence of this city in the seventh century B.C.—if, as seems likely, the same place be meant.

In the account of the wars of David against the Ammonites and their allies, these latter are classed

7. 'Arameans', together under the name of 'Arameans' (2 S. 10:8 ff. 14 ff.); but this is perhaps nothing more than a classification *a posteriori*. It is of more importance to notice that the army of Nebuchadnezzar is called by a contemporary 'the army of the Chaldeans and of the Aramaeans' (Jer. 35:11). That the great mass of the Babylonian army was composed of Aramaeans might have been naturally inferred, even if we had not this explicit statement on the subject.

Cp. Noldeke, 'Die Namen der Aram. Nation u. Sprache' in *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Alterthums*, 5, 443 ff.; and the section on the Aramaic dialects in Ari. 'Semitic Languages', *Erlaub.*, published separately in German, *Die Sem. Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 27 ff., 2nd ed., 1892.

² An Asherite (1 Ch. 7:34); [אַשְׁרָתָא] [B], ἀραμ [ALD]. See also ARAM, 1, and ARA.

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.² Aramaic is nearly related to Hebrew-Phoenician; there is, nevertheless,

1. Geographical extent. a sharp line of demarcation. Of its original home nothing certain is known. In the OT 'Aram' appears

at an early period as a designation of certain districts in Syria (see ARAM, § 1) and in Mesopotamia. The language of the Aramaeans gradually spread far and wide. It occupied all Syria—both those regions which had been in the possession of non-Semitic peoples, and

¹ It would appear that the Assyrian inscriptions sometimes mention this place as *Sulutu* or *Subiti* (see Del. *Par.*, 270 ff.; Schrader, *KAT*, 122, K. 1. 182 ff.); but they have not enabled us to fix the site.

² Revised and adapted by the author from art. 'Semitic Languages' (Aramaic section) in *EB* 21.

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those which were most likely inhabited by Canaanite tribes. First of all, Palestine became Aramaised (ib. § 2). Towards the E. this language was spoken on the Euphrates, and throughout the districts of the Tigris S. and W. of the Armenian and Kurdish mountains, the province in which the capitals of the Arsacides and the Sassanians were situated was called 'the country of the Aramaeans'. In Babylonia and Assyria a large, or perhaps the larger, portion of the population were most probably Aramaeans, even at a very early date, whilst Assyrian was the language of the government.

Some short Aramaic inscriptions of the Assyrian period, principally on weights, have long been known.

2. Earlier history. To these have recently been added longer ones from the most northern part of Syria (Zenjirli, about 47° N.). In these, as in the weight inscriptions, the language differs markedly from later Aramaic, especially by its close approximation to Hebrew-Canaanite or, perhaps, to Assyrian; but Aramaic it undoubtedly is. It is to be hoped that more of these inscriptions, important alike for their language and for their contents, may yet be discovered.¹

In the Persian period Aramaic was the official language of the provinces W. of the Tigris; and this explains the fact that some inscriptions of Cilicia and many coins which were struck by governors and vassal princes in Asia Minor (of which the stamp was in some cases the work of skilled Greek artists) bear Aramaic inscriptions, whilst those of other coins are Greek. This, of course, does not prove that Aramaic was ever spoken in Asia Minor, and as far north as Sinope and the Hellespont.

In Egypt Aramaic inscriptions have been found of the Persian period, one bearing the date of the fourth year of Xerxes (482 B.C.),² we have also official documents on papyrus, unfortunately in a very tattered condition for the most part, which prove that the Persians preferred using this convenient language to mastering the difficulties of the Egyptian systems of writing. It is further possible that at that time there were many Aramaeans in Egypt just as there were many Phoenicians, Greeks, and Jews.

This preference for Aramaic, however, probably originated under the Assyrian Empire, in which a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic; in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians. Thus we understand why it was taken for granted that a great Assyrian officer could speak Aramaic (2 K. 18. 26-36), and why the dignitaries of Judah appear to have learned the language (*ibid.* 1); namely, in order to communicate with the Assyrians. The short dominion of the Chaldeans probably strengthened this preponderance of Aramaic.

A few ancient Aramaic inscriptions have been discovered far within the limits of Arabia, in the palm oasis of Tema (in the north of the Hijaz); the oldest and by far the most important of these was perhaps made somewhat before the Persian period.³ We may presume that Aramaic was introduced into the district by a mercantile colony, which settled in the ancient seat of commerce; and, in consequence, Aramaic may have remained for some time the literary language of the neighbouring Arabs. These Aramaic monuments, which we may with more or less certainty ascribe to the Persian period, exhibit a language which is almost absolutely uniform. The Egyptian monuments bear marks of Hebrew, or (better) Phoenician, influence.

Intercourse with Aramaeans caused some Aramaic

words to be imported into Hebrew at a comparatively

3. Biblical Aramaic. early date. This influence of Aramaic on Hebrew steadily grew, and shows itself so strongly in the language of Ecclesiastes, for example, as almost to compel the inference that Aramaic was the writer's mother tongue, and Hebrew one subsequently acquired without complete mastery.

Certain portions of the OT (Ezra 4. 7-17, 5. 1-17, 7. 1-26, Dan. 2. 4-7, also the ancient gloss in Jer. 10. 11) are written in Aramaic. The free and arbitrary interchange between Aramaic and Hebrew, between the current popular speech and the old sacred and learned language, is peculiarly characteristic in Daniel 1. 16-7 and 1. 19-20; see DANIEL, II § 117. Isolated passages in Ezra perhaps belong to the Persian period, but have certainly been remodelled by a later writer.⁴ Still in Ezra we find a few antique forms which do not occur in Daniel.

The Aramaic pieces contained in the OT have the great advantage of being furnished with vowels and other orthographical signs. These were not inserted until long after the composition of the books (they are sometimes at variance with the text itself); but Aramaic was still a living language when the punctuation came into use, and the lapse of time was not so very great. The tradition ran less risk of corruption, therefore, than in the case of Hebrew. Its general correctness is further attested by the innumerable points of resemblance between this language and Syriac, with which we are accurately acquainted. The Aramaic of the OT exhibits various antique characteristics which afterwards disappeared—for example, the formation of the passive by means of internal vowel-change, and of the causative with *ba* instead of *witha*—phenomena which have been falsely explained as Hebrewisms.

Biblical Aramaic agrees in all essential respects with the language used in the many inscriptions of Palmyra

4. Nabatean, etc. (beginning soon before the Christian era and extending to about the end of

the third century), and on the Nabatean coins and stone monuments (concluding about the year 100 A.D.) Aramaic was the language of Palmyra, the aristocracy of which were largely of Arabian extraction. In the northern portion of the Nabatean kingdom (not far from Damascus) there was probably a large Aramaic population; but Arabic was spoken farther south. At that time, however, Aramaic was highly esteemed as a cultivated language, for which reason the Arabs in question made use of it, as their own language was not reduced to writing, just as in those ages Greek inscriptions were set up in many districts where no one spoke Greek. The great inscriptions cease with the overthrow of the Nabatean kingdom by Trajan (105 A.D.); but, down to a later period, the Arabian nomads in those countries, especially in the Sinaitic peninsula, often scratched their names on the rocks, adding some benedictory formulae in Aramaic. These inscriptions having now been deciphered with completeness and certainty, there is no longer room for discussion of their Israelitic origin, or of any similar fantastic theories concerning them. That several centuries afterwards the name of 'Nabatean' was used by the Arabs as synonymous with 'Aramaean' was probably due to the gradual spread of Aramaic over a great part of what had once been the country of the Nabateans. In any case, Aramaic then exercised an immense influence. This is proved by the place which it occupies in the strange Pahlavi writing, various branches of which date from the time of the Parthian empire. Biblical Aramaic, as also the language of the Palmyrene and the Nabatean inscriptions, may be described as an older form of Western Aramaic. The opinion that the Palestinian Jews brought their Aramaic dialect directly from Babylon—whence the incorrect name 'Chaldee'—is untenable.

¹ The discovery which is said to have been sent by Artabanus (Ezra 7. 12-20) is in its present form a comparatively late production (cp. EZRA, II § 10).

² Cp. *Augrabungen in Sendschrift*, Sachau, *Königl. Mus. zu Berlin, Mittheil. aus dem Mus.*, 1833; also K. H. Müller, *altsem. Inschrift. v. Sendschrift*, Vienna, 1837; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.*, Paris, 1854, and on the language, Nöld, *ZDMG.* 17. 223; D. H. Müller, 'Die Ruinschrift des Bar Kokhba', *ZKMH.* 1. 1, 1897, 37 ff. Two old Arab. inscriptions from Nedab (near Aleppo) have since been brought to light; cp. Hoffmann, *ib.* 207 ff.

³ See the Palmyrenishah Society's *Descriptive Notes*, plate XLII, and *CIS* 2, no. 122.

⁴ See *CIS* 2, nos. 113-121.

ARAMAIC LANGUAGE

By the time of Christ Aramaic had long been the current popular speech of the Jews in Palestine, and the use, spoken and written, of Hebrew

5 NT. (in a greatly modified form) was confined to scholars. Christ and the apostles spoke Aramaic, and the original preaching of Christianity the *Ἑβραϊσμός*, was in the same language. And this too not in the dialect current in Jerusalem, which roughly coincided with the literary language of the period, but in that of Galilee, which it would seem, had developed more rapidly, or, as is now often but erroneously said, had become corrupted. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to know the Galilean dialect of that period with accuracy. The attempts made in our days to reduce the words of Jesus from Greek to their original language have, therefore, failed.

In general, few of the sources from which we derive our knowledge of the Palestinian dialect of that period can be implicitly trusted. In the synagogues it was necessary that the reading of the OT

6. Targums. should be followed by an oral 'Targum', a translation, or rather a paraphrase into Aramaic, the language of the people—which was at a later period fixed in writing; but the officially sanctioned form of the Targum to the Pentateuch (the so-called Targum of Onkelos) and of that to the prophets (the so-called Targum of Jonathan) was not finally settled till the fourth or fifth century, and not in Palestine but in Babylonia. The redactors of the Targum preserved, on the whole, the older Palestinian dialect, yet that of Babylon, which differed considerably from the former, exercised a vitiating influence. The punctuation, which was added later (first in Babylonia) is not so trustworthy as that of the Aramaic passages in the OT. The manuscripts which have the Babylonian superlinear punctuation may nevertheless be relied upon to a great extent. The language of Onkelos and Jonathan differs but little from biblical Aramaic. The language spoken some time afterwards by the Palestinian Jews, especially in Galilee, is exhibited in a series of rabbinical works—the so-called Jerusalem Targums, a few Midrashic works, and the Jerusalem Talmud. Of the Jerusalem Targums, at least that to the Pentateuch contains remains that go back to a very early date, and, to a considerable extent, presents a much more ancient aspect than that of Onkelos, which has been heavily revised throughout; but the language, as we now have it, belongs to the later time. The Targums to the Hagiographa are, in part, very late indeed. All these books, of which the Midrashim and the Talmud contain much Hebrew as well as Aramaic, have been handed down without care, and require to be used with great caution for linguistic purposes. Moreover, the influence of the older language and orthography has, in part, obscured the characteristics of these popular dialects: for example, various gutturals are still written, although they are no longer pronounced. The adaptation of the spelling to the real pronunciation is carried furthest in the Jerusalem Talmud, but not in a consistent manner. All these books are without vowel-points; but the frequent use of vowel letters in the later Jewish works renders this defect less noticeable (cp. *TLNT*, § 641).

Not only the Jews but also the Christians of Palestine retained their native dialect for some time as an ecclesiastical and literary language. We possess

7. Christian Palestinian. translations of great portions of the Bible (especially of the Gospels) and fragments of other works in this dialect by the Palestinian Christians dating from about the fifth century, partly accompanied by a punctuation which was not added till some time later. This dialect, the native country of which was apparently not Galilee, but Judea, closely resembles that of the Palestinian Jews, as was to be expected

from the fact that those who spoke it were of Jewish origin.

Finally, the Samaritans, among the inhabitants of Palestine, translated their sacred books, the Pentateuch, into their own dialect (see *TLNT*).

8 Samaritan dialect. § 43. The critical study of this translation proves that the language which

lies at its base was very much the same as that of the neighbouring Jews. Perhaps, indeed, the Samaritans may have carried the softening of the gutturals a little farther than the Jews of Galilee. Their absurd attempt to embellish the language of the translation by arbitrarily introducing forms borrowed from the Hebrew original has given rise to the false notion that Samaritan is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. The introduction of Hebrew and even of Arabic words and forms was practised in Samaria on a still larger scale by copyists who lived after Aramaic had become extinct. The later works written in the Samaritan dialect are, from a linguistic point of view, as worthless as the compositions of Samaritans in Hebrew—the writers, who spoke Arabic, endeavoured to write in a language with which they were but half acquainted.

All these Western Aramaic dialects, including that of the oldest inscriptions, have this characteristic among others in common, that they form the third person

9. Western dialects. singular masculine and the third person plural masculine and feminine in the im-

perfect by prefixing *r*, as do the other Semitic languages. And in these dialects the termination *ā* (the so-called *āramēphaticus*) still retained the meaning of a definite article down to a tolerably late period.

As early as the seventh century the conquests of the Moslems greatly circumscribed the domain of Aramaic, and a few centuries later it was almost completely supplanted in the W. by Arabic. For the Christians of those countries, who, like every one else, spoke Aramaic, the Palestinian dialect was no longer of importance. They adopted as their ecclesiastical language the dialect of the other Aramaean Christians, the Syriac (Edessan; see § 11 *Z*). The only localities where a W. Aramaic dialect still survives are a few villages in Anti-Lebanus.¹

The popular Aramaic dialect of Babylonia, from the fourth to the sixth century of our era, is exhibited in the

10 Babylonian and Mandæan. Babylonian Talmud, in which, however, as in the Jerusalem Talmud, there is

a constant mingling of Aramaic and Hebrew passages. To a somewhat later period, and probably to a somewhat different district of Babylonia, belong the writings of the Mandæans, a strange sect, half Christian and half heathen, who, from a linguistic point of view, possess the peculiar advantage of having remained almost entirely free from the influence of Hebrew, which is so prepotent in the Aramaic writings of Jews as well as in those of Christians. The orthography of the Mandæans comes nearer than that of the Talmud to the real pronunciation, and in it the softening of the gutturals is most clearly seen. In other respects there is a close resemblance between Mandæan and the language of the Babylonian Talmud. The forms of the imperfect which we have enumerated above take in these dialects *n* or *z*. In Babylonia, as in Syria, the language of the Arabic conquerors rapidly drove out that of the country. The latter has long been extinct—unless, which is possible, a few surviving Mandæans still speak among themselves a more modern form of their dialect.

At Edessa, in the W. of Mesopotamia, the native dialect had already been used for some time as a literary language, and had been reduced to rule through the influence of the schools (as is proved by the fixity of the grammar and the orthography) even before Christianity

¹ On this subject we have now very valuable information in a series of articles by M. Parisot (*Journal*, etc., 1898); moreover it is hoped that Professors Hym and Sacha will soon be able to furnish more ample details.

¹ This in opposition to Dalman's *Gramm. d. jud. pal. Aram.* (Leipzig, 94)—a book highly to be commended for the fulness and accuracy of its facts, but less so for its theories.

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acquired power in the country, in the second century. At an earlier period the Old and the New Testaments were not so isolated, with the help of Jewish tradition (see *TEXT*, § 59). This version, the so-called Peshitta or Peshito became the Bible of Armenian Christians, and Edessa became its capital. Thus the Aramaic Christians of the neighbouring countries, even those who were subjects of the Persian empire, adopted the Edessan dialect as the language of the church, of literature, and of cultivated intercourse. Since the ancient name of the inhabitants, 'Armenians,' lost before that of 'Ephraim,' had acquired in the minds of Jews and Christians the unpleasant significance of 'heretic,' it was generally avoided, and in its place the Greek terms 'Syrians' and 'Syria' were used. 'Syria,' however, was also the name given by the Jews and the Christians of Palestine to their language, and 'Syrians' was applied by both Jews and Persians to the Armenians of Babylonia. Therefore, in order to employ the word 'Syriae' in the language of Edessa alone, that, surely, being the most important of these dialects, it has been usual to claim to this generally received appellation. As we have said, a form very definitely fixed in the mentioned forms of the imperfect in the Babylonian dialects, the terminations *-ān* and *-ān*, so completely a part of the substantives, is not added that it has wholly lost the meaning of 'and' in this article; whereby the clearness of the text is not perceptibly impaired. The influence exerted by the very apparent in Syriae

From the third to the seventh century, a local literature was produced in this language, consisting of a number of books, the best of which are the

12. its history.

literature the *Syriacs of the Persian empire* took a more important part. In the Eastern Roman empire Syriac was, after Greek, by far the most important language, and under the Persian kings it virtually occupied a more prominent position as an organ of culture than the Persian language itself. The conquests of the Arab totally changed this state of things. Meanwhile, even in Edessa, a considerable difference had arisen between the written language and the popular speech, in which the process of modification was still going on. About the year 700 it became a matter of absolute necessity to systematise the grammar of the language and to introduce some means of clearly expressing the vowels. The chief object aimed at was that the text of the Syriac Bible should be recited in a correct manner. It happened, however, that the eastern pronunciation differed in many respects from that of the W. The local dialects had, to some extent, exercised an influence over the pronunciation of the literary tongue; and, on the other hand, the political separation between Rome and Persia, and yet more the ecclesiastical schism—since the Syriacs of the E. were mostly Nestorians, those of the W. Monophysites and Catholics—had produced divergences between the traditions of the various schools. Starting, therefore, from a common source, two distinct systems of punctuation were formed, of which the western is the more convenient, but the eastern the more exact, and generally more in accordance with the ancient pronunciation: it has, for example, *ā* in place of the western *a*, and *ḡ* in many cases where the western Syriacs pronounce *g*. In later times the two systems have been intermingled in various ways.

Arabic everywhere put a speedy end to the pre-dominance of Aramaic, a pre-dominance which had lasted for more than a thousand years, and soon began to drive Syriac out of use. Nevertheless, up to the present day Syriac has remained in use for literary and ecclesiastical purposes, and may perhaps be even spoken in some monasteries and schools; but it has long been a dead language. When Syriac became extinct in Edessa and its neighbourhood is not known with certainty. It is very desirable that theologians who interest them-

ARAM-NAHARAIM

Archeology scientifically in the history of the first centuries of Christianity should *do no harm*. The task is not very difficult for those who know Hebrew.

In small quantities in northern Mexico and in the Mescal territory, of Kurdistan and on Lake Urmia, Armenia.

13. Neo Syriac
dialects.

that of Syria has become the most important since American missionaries have formed a new literary language of it. Maron, the Roman Propaganda has printed books in twofold the New Syriae dialects.

On the Aramaic dialect, in general, see Nöldeke, 'Die Syriacisch-Aram. Sprache', in *ZfA*, 2 (1877), 2 (1902), 3 (1903), 4 (1904), 5 (1905), 6 (1906), 7 (1907), 8 (1908), 9 (1909), 10 (1910), 11 (1911), 12 (1912), 13 (1913), 14 (1914), 15 (1915), 16 (1916), 17 (1917), 18 (1918), 19 (1919), 20 (1920), 21 (1921), 22 (1922), 23 (1923), 24 (1924), 25 (1925), 26 (1926), 27 (1927), 28 (1928), 29 (1929), 30 (1930), 31 (1931), 32 (1932), 33 (1933), 34 (1934), 35 (1935), 36 (1936), 37 (1937), 38 (1938), 39 (1939), 40 (1940), 41 (1941), 42 (1942), 43 (1943), 44 (1944), 45 (1945), 46 (1946), 47 (1947), 48 (1948), 49 (1949), 50 (1950), 51 (1951), 52 (1952), 53 (1953), 54 (1954), 55 (1955), 56 (1956), 57 (1957), 58 (1958), 59 (1959), 60 (1960), 61 (1961), 62 (1962), 63 (1963), 64 (1964), 65 (1965), 66 (1966), 67 (1967), 68 (1968), 69 (1969), 70 (1970), 71 (1971), 72 (1972), 73 (1973), 74 (1974), 75 (1975), 76 (1976), 77 (1977), 78 (1978), 79 (1979), 80 (1980), 81 (1981), 82 (1982), 83 (1983), 84 (1984), 85 (1985), 86 (1986), 87 (1987), 88 (1988), 89 (1989), 90 (1990), 91 (1991), 92 (1992), 93 (1993), 94 (1994), 95 (1995), 96 (1996), 97 (1997), 98 (1998), 99 (1999), 100 (2000), 101 (2001), 102 (2002), 103 (2003), 104 (2004), 105 (2005), 106 (2006), 107 (2007), 108 (2008), 109 (2009), 110 (2010), 111 (2011), 112 (2012), 113 (2013), 114 (2014), 115 (2015), 116 (2016), 117 (2017), 118 (2018), 119 (2019), 120 (2020), 121 (2021), 122 (2022), 123 (2023), 124 (2024), 125 (2025), 126 (2026), 127 (2027), 128 (2028), 129 (2029), 130 (2030), 131 (2031), 132 (2032), 133 (2033), 134 (2034), 135 (2035), 136 (2036), 137 (2037), 138 (2038), 139 (2039), 140 (2040), 141 (2041), 142 (2042), 143 (2043), 144 (2044), 145 (2045), 146 (2046), 147 (2047), 148 (2048), 149 (2049), 150 (2050), 151 (2051), 152 (2052), 153 (2053), 154 (2054), 155 (2055), 156 (2056), 157 (2057), 158 (2058), 159 (2059), 160 (2060), 161 (2061), 162 (2062), 163 (2063), 164 (2064), 165 (2065), 166 (2066), 167 (2067), 168 (2068), 169 (2069), 170 (2070), 171 (2071), 172 (2072), 173 (2073), 174 (2074), 175 (2075), 176 (2076), 177 (2077), 178 (2078), 179 (2079), 180 (2080), 181 (2081), 182 (2082), 183 (2083), 184 (2084), 185 (2085), 186 (2086), 187 (2087), 188 (2088), 189 (2089), 190 (2090), 191 (2091), 192 (2092), 193 (2093), 194 (2094), 195 (2095), 196 (2096), 197 (2097), 198 (2098), 199 (2099), 200 (2100), 201 (2101), 202 (2102), 203 (2103), 204 (2104), 205 (2105), 206 (2106), 207 (2107), 208 (2108), 209 (2109), 210 (2110), 211 (2111), 212 (2112), 213 (2113), 214 (2114), 215 (2115), 216 (2116), 217 (2117), 218 (2118), 219 (2119), 220 (2120), 221 (2121), 222 (2122), 223 (2123), 224 (2124), 225 (2125), 226 (2126), 227 (2127), 228 (2128), 229 (2129), 230 (2130), 231 (2131), 232 (2132), 233 (2133), 234 (2134), 235 (2135), 236 (2136), 237 (2137), 238 (2138), 239 (2139), 240 (2140), 241 (2141), 242 (2142), 243 (2143), 244 (2144), 245 (2145), 246 (2146), 247 (2147), 248 (2148), 249 (2149), 250 (2150), 251 (2151), 252 (2152), 253 (2153), 254 (2154), 255 (2155), 256 (2156), 257 (2157), 258 (2158), 259 (2159), 260 (2160), 261 (2161), 262 (2162), 263 (2163), 264 (2164), 265 (2165), 266 (2166), 267 (2167), 268 (2168), 269 (2169), 270 (2170), 271 (2171), 272 (2172), 273 (2173), 274 (2174), 275 (2175), 276 (2176), 277 (2177), 278 (2178), 279 (2179), 280 (2180), 281 (2181), 282 (2182), 283 (2183), 284 (2184), 285 (2185), 286 (2186), 287 (2187), 288 (2188), 289 (2189), 290 (2190), 291 (2191), 292 (2192), 293 (2193), 294 (2194), 295 (2195), 296 (2196), 297 (2197), 298 (2198), 299 (2199), 300 (2200), 301 (2201), 302 (2202), 303 (2203), 304 (2204), 305 (2205), 306 (2206), 307 (2207), 308 (2208), 309 (2209), 310 (2210), 311 (2211), 312 (2212), 313 (2213), 314 (2214), 315 (2215), 316 (2216), 317 (2217), 318 (2218), 319 (2219), 320 (2220), 321 (2221), 322 (2222), 323 (2223), 324 (2224), 325 (2225), 326 (2226), 327 (2227), 328 (2228), 329 (2229), 330 (2230), 331 (2231), 332 (2232), 333 (2233), 334 (2234), 335 (2235), 336 (2236), 337 (2237), 338 (2238), 339 (2239), 340 (2240), 341 (2241), 342 (2242), 343 (2243), 344 (2244), 345 (2245), 346 (2246), 347 (2247), 348 (2248), 349 (2249), 350 (2250), 351 (2251), 352 (2252), 353 (2253), 354 (2254), 355 (2255), 356 (2256), 357 (2257), 358 (2258), 359 (2259), 360 (2260), 361 (2261), 362 (2262), 363 (2263), 364 (2264), 365 (2265), 366 (2266), 367 (2267), 368 (2268), 369 (2269), 370 (2270), 371 (2271), 372 (2272), 373 (2273), 374 (2274), 375 (2275), 376 (2276), 377 (2277), 378 (2278), 379 (2279), 380 (2280), 381 (2281), 382 (2282), 383 (2283), 384 (2284), 385 (2285), 386 (2286), 387 (2287), 388 (2288), 389 (2289), 390 (2290), 391 (2291), 392 (2292), 393 (2293), 394 (2294), 395 (2295), 396 (2296), 397 (2297), 398 (2298), 399 (2299), 400 (2300), 401 (2301), 402 (2302), 403 (2303), 404 (2304), 405 (2305), 406 (2306), 407 (2307), 408 (2308), 409 (2309), 410 (2310), 411 (2311), 412 (2312), 413 (2313), 414 (2314), 415 (2315), 416 (2316), 417 (2

14 Literature.

[illegible]

Some grammar is Nöldeke's *Aramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1909), and the *Ar. Dialects* (Leipzig, 1909) in connection with the other Aramaic dialects, and the *Lehrbuch der aramäischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1910), a literary handbook. To theologians wishing to study *the Bible in the original* (ed. Halle), we recommend Articles on the N. Testament, the Christian-Palestinian dialects by Nöldeke in the *ZPMG* 179, 180, 181, 21, 59, 114, 115, 116, 117. Some dictionaries, useful for a long time was the only one of general utility. Recently there have appeared, Payne Smith's great *Thesaurus* (fortunately not yet finished), Brockelmann's and Bruns'. Of glossaries to the Aramaic inscriptions, we must now add to Lehmann's *Notae de novis linguis Pahlavicae* (1872) the glossary of Stanley A. Cook (Cambridge, 1881) and Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordarabischen Inschriften* (1902).

For the above, *Chalif* is used in early Jewish literature, including the Hebrew parts of it, we have, besides the *Id. Chalif* of (Basel, 1764), Isaac Lewis *Chalif*, n. *Chalif*, *Hebrew Chalif*, 1770, and the shorter one of J. Dalman (part 4, Leipzig, 1875). Levy had previously edited a *Chalif*, *Hebrew*, n. *Id. L'argumim* (Leipzig, 1875).

On the biblical Aramaic there are, besides the Grammar of Kautsch (1883), the little books of Strack (1924 ed.), Leipisch (1925) and of Mann (Leipisch, 1926). For the Targum dialects there is no grammar that meets the requirements of modern science. Nor is there an adequate grammar of the Aramaic dialect of the Babylonian Talmud, although the little treatise of S. D. Luzzatto, *La lingua grammatica e volgare della babilonia dei talmudisti* (Padua, 1863) is a very useful work. For the Palestine Talmudic dialects see Dalman's Grammar (Leipisch, 1922), for the Samaritan, the grammar of Meinhof (Leipisch, 1927) and the grammar of Dalman (Leipisch, 1928) of the naturally Semitic dialects of the Samaritans, and the little book of Dalman, which sends the reader to the modern scholarship. For the Mandaic, see that of Noddeke (Halle, 1875), for the Neo-Syriac that of the same author (Leipisch, 1876) and especially the most valuable grammar of A. T. Maclean (Cambridge, 1925).

ARAMAIC VERSIONS. See TEXT, §§ 59 f., 64

ARAMEAN ('278). Dt 26: 18¹⁹, and **Aramitees** ('278), 1 Ch. 7: 14¹⁵. See ARAM (beginning).

ARAM-MAACAH (אַרַם מַעַכָּה), 1 Ch. 19:6 RV.
See MAACAH, 1

ARAM-NAHARAIM (אֲרָם נַחְרַיִם). IN preserves.

the form *Aramesubrahman* only in Ps. 60 (title; *μεσοποταμιαν* *συνας* [PS]), *μ. σογια* [R]) and in 14, 23 & 31 RVing; else-
where the phrase is invariably rendered

1 OT expression.

ἵς σφύρας ποταμῶν) where MT has simply Ἀσφύρας (278: σφύρας [V; I, om. altogether]). The other D-forms are: Jud2, 3, ποταμῶν σφύρας [H]; σφύρας α σφοταμίας ποταμῶν [M]; 1 Ch. 19, 6 σφύρας μεσσοποταμίας [B¹ V].

Apart from Judg. 38, where its genuineness is more than doubtful (see *Thesaurus biblicus*), and the confused editorial data of 1 Ch. 19:6 and Ps. 60:2 (title in

ARARAT

ARARAT

the Tigris and the Euphrates rise, whilst Ararat proper (Urartu) lay to the N. in the plain of the Araxes; but that between the eleventh century and the ninth, the Urartians (whom their language shows to have been a non-Semitic people) conquered the more southerly region, and established there the chief seat of their dominion: a conquest which they were enabled to make by the great decline of Assyria at that time. Afterwards, both names, Nairi and Urartu, were used for the whole country. The Assyrian king Sargon broke the power of Urartu for a long time; but his successors did not succeed in their endeavours to destroy it, and so it is not unnatural that Assyriologists have sometimes defended the pre-exilic origin of the long prophecy against Babylon at the end of the Book of Jeremiah, on this ground among others, that the kingdoms of Ararat and Minni are still well known to the Israelites, and considered to be formidable powers.¹ Kuenen, however (*Oud^e 241*, *Int.* 242 f.), has sufficiently shown that these arguments are not conclusive. Proper names like Ararat and Minni simply prove the literary and antiquarian research of the author, and the phenomenon of the prophecy as a whole appear to both the present writers to presuppose a period later than that of Jeremiah. (See FURUMAH, n.c.)

2. Ararat is mentioned also in the post-exilic version of the Deluge-story. The statement runs thus: 'And the ark rested . . . upon the mountains of Ararat' (Gen. 8:4 RV; Samar. *בְּהָרֵי אֲרָרָת*). This is precisely paralleled to the statement of the cognate Babylonian story (see DILLMANN, § 11). The mountain of the land of Nisir stopped the ship, or, as the following lines give it, 'The mountain Nisir stopped the ship.' That Nisir (protection? deliverance?) is properly the name of a mountain or mountain range seems to be clear from Nisir nasir pal's inscription (see KR 177), and Ararat too, in the intention of the Hebrew writer, will be the name of a mountain or mountain range. The situation of Nisir is clear from the inscription just referred to. It was in Media, E. of the Lower Zab, and S. of the Caspian Sea. There lies Elburz, the Hara berezanti, or Hara haraiti hares, thus named by the S. Iranians after their mythic sky mountain. Now, it is remarkable that Nicodorus Damascenus (in Jos. *Ant.* i. 36, cp. also *OS²* 299-300) names the mountain of the ark Barris, and places it 'above Minvas' (i.e., Minni (Mannai). Barris (*bar* = high) appears to be a fragment of the Iranian name of Elburz, which this writer took for the whole name.² It may be conjectured that this was the mountain which the Hebrew writer, in accordance with the Babylonian tradition, had in view. If so, he gave it the name which it bore in his own time, Hara haraiti, shortening it into Ararat, not perhaps without confusing it involuntarily with the land of Urartu, which latter name may have had a different origin.

It was natural enough that the most widely spread tradition accepted the identity of the Ararat of the Hebrew Deluge story with the kingdom of Ararat spoken of above. There (*loc. cit.*) in the plain of the Araxes) a lofty mountain rises, worthy, so it may have appeared, to be the scene of such a great event as the stranding of the ark. But, as we have seen, the name of the mountain of the ark Barris, and places it 'above Minvas' (i.e., Minni (Mannai). Barris (*bar* = high) appears to be a fragment of the Iranian name of Elburz, which this writer took for the whole name.² It may be conjectured that this was the mountain which the Hebrew writer, in accordance with the Babylonian tradition, had in view. If so, he gave it the name which it bore in his own time, Hara haraiti, shortening it into Ararat, not perhaps without confusing it involuntarily with the land of Urartu, which latter name may have had a different origin.

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¹ Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 485 f. Prof. Sayce is uncertain whether Jeremiah 'has made use of some earlier prophecy of which Nineveh was the burden, or whether "the prophecy belongs to a time when Babylon had already taken the place of Nineveh, but when in other respects the political condition of W. Asia still remained what it was in the closing days of the Assyrian Empire." In any case the prophecy must be earlier than the age of the second Isaiah, to which modern criticism has so often referred it. This was pointed out in 1894, five years after the appearance of vol. II of the most authoritative summary of "modern criticism," Kuenen's *Oud^e 241*, and two years after that of the German translation. Prof. Hilde, who, in 1886 (*Bibl.* 420), found an incomplete view of the critical arguments, maintained Jer. 30 f. to have been written before Cyrus, among the exiles in Babylon, now accepts Kuenen's main conclusions as expressed in the work referred to.

² Whether Lulair, the name of the mountain of the ark in *Jubels*, chaps. 3 and 10, has any connection with Barris, it is unimportant to decide.

ARAUNAH

the ark. Of its two conical peaks, one is crowned with perpetual snow, and rises 17,000 ft. above the sea-level; the other is 4000 ft. lower. That the Hebrew writer thought of these mountains is in the highest degree improbable (see *De Geogr.*, 131). Another tradition identified Ararat with the land of Cardu (so Pesh., *Int.* 170), the ancient Kordine or Kordichia on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, and the mountain of the ark with the Jebel Judi, SW. of Lake Van, which has become the traditional site with the Moslems.

In the Table of Nations (Gen. 10) the name of Ararat does not occur, but Ashkenaz, Kaphath (or Diphath), and Togarmah (see special articles) probably denote districts of W. and NW. Armenia.

For the geography of Urartu (especially Sayce, 'Cuneiform Inscri. of Van,' *KR IS* vii pt. ii 488 ff.), where, however, the Armenians, who entered the country from the W., and are related to the Aryan races of Asia Minor, are regarded as Iranians. It is against this view that, shortly after the first mention of the name Urartu by Assyrian pal. names of an Aryan sound occur in an inscription of his son Shalmaneser II. (*Atlas* and *Datal.* C. P. T. W. H. K.).

ARARATH, *AR²* 134; RV ARZARATH.

ARARITE (אַרְרָיִי), 2 S 23:36 RV; AV HARARITE, 3.

ARATHES (אַרְאֶתֶס [VA]), 1 Mac. 15:2 RV; AV ARARATHUS (q.v.).

ARAUNAH (אַרְוֵנָה, so Kr. everywhere in 2 S 21, but Kr. אַרְוֵנָה in 10, אַרְנִיָּה in 18, אַרְוֵנָה in 22-24), or ORANAN (אֲרָנָן in Ch.), a Jebusite, whose third floor, consecrated by the presence of the angel of Yahwe, David purchased as a site for an altar (cp. MORIAM). The story is told in two forms, which agree in essentials. On 1 Ch. 21:20 see note to Kittel's translation in *SBOT* (2 S 21:16 ff., 1 Ch. 21:15 ff., 2 Ch. 31, *opra* [BAI]; cp. *opra* Jos. *Ant.* vii. 3; *opora* ib. 134). The real name, however, was not Arannah, which is thoroughly un-Hebrew, and presumably an Aramæish. The critics have in this case not been critical enough. Even Biddle (*SBOT*, Heb. ed., note on 2 S 21:16) admits, rather doubtfully, the form Arannah. Kloss, prefers אֲרָנָה, which, however, is no better than the Ornan of the Chronicler. One has a right to require a definitely Hebrew name, and such a name for this Jebusite MT actually gives us in 2 S 21:18 אֲרִיָּה אֲרִיָּה אֲרִיָּה (cp. *opra* [s] [VI.] Arannah in 2 S. 3, and in *Ch.* 1 Ch. 3, and in 1 K. 1:1). It is proposed, therefore, to correct Arannah into Arannah throughout, except in 2 S 23:10n which see below; cp. 'Arannah,' misspelled in Judg. 1 for 'Arannah' (*q.v.*).

The critics have been very near making this correction. They have rightly rejected the pretty romance based on the phrase 'Arannah the king' in 2 S 24:21 (MT), from which Lwald (*Hist.* 300) inferred that Arannah was the old deified king of Jebus. They have also rejected the makeshift rendering of RV, 'All this, O king, doth Arannah give unto the king,' because a subject speaking to his sovereign was bound to call himself humbly 'the king's servant' (cp. 1 S 26:14 K. 120). As Wellhausen first saw, the sense required is, 'All this doth the servant of my lord the king give unto the king.' This means correcting אֲרִיָּה אֲרִיָּה אֲרִיָּה and prefixing אֲרִיָּה a capital correction which only needs to be supplemented by the emendation of אֲרִיָּה elsewhere into אֲרִיָּה (see above).

An additional argument has thus been gained for the substitution of 'Arannah' for 'Arannah.' The correction is certain, and it is of the highest interest. The Jebusite king and his Jebusite subject worship the same god, the god of the land of Canaan. Arannah too was not an ex-king, but simply a member of the Jebusite community, which continued to exist even after the conquest of Jerusalem. *Ch.* (2 S. 6:6 *opra*, Heb. אֲרִיָּה).

ARBA

apparently identified the place with the threshing-floor at Perez-Uzzah (see NACHON).

ARBA (אַרְבָּע; אַרְבַּע [B], אַרְבַּע [A] - 8e [L]), 'the greatest man among the Anakim' (Josh. 11:21). See ANAK, and HEBRON, 1.

ARBAH (אַרְבָּע) Gen. 35:27 AV. See HEBRON, 1.

ARBATHITE (אַרְבַּתִּי) = i.e., a man of Beth-arabah (2 S. 23:31; 1 Ch. 11:32). See ARA-ALBON.

ARBATTIS AV, or rather **Arbatta** RV (ἐν ἀρβατοῖς [AN²]; -ΒΑΝΟΙΣ [N²], -ΒΑΤΝ, [V²], -ΤΑΝ, [V²]; Vg. in *Arbattis*; the Syriac gives the strange form *Arbat*, אַרְבַּת), 1 Mace. 5:23, 24. Simon the Maccabee, after his successes in Galilee against the Gentiles, brought back to Judea 'those [Jews] that were of (reading *ἐκ* for *ἐν*) Galilee and in Arbatta'. A district rather than a town is obviously to be understood. Ewald (*Hist.* 5:14) thinks of the plain called el-Battha on the NE. shore of the Sea of Galilee (cp the Syriac form); more probably the Arabah or Araboth (אַרְבַּת) of Jordan is intended. See ARABAH, 1.

ARBELA (ἐν ἀρβηλοῖς [ANV]), 1 Mace. 9:2. Bacchides and Alimus, in their second expedition into Judea, 'went forth by the way that leadeth to Gulgala (γὰλααδ [cod. 64, 93]), and pitched their tents before Masaboth (RV Mesaboth; μεσσαβωθ [V], μαῖσα, [NV]), which is Arbela'. There are four alternative explanations (but see CHRISTIAN-THORP).

First: Josephus (*Jud.* vii. 111) seems to have read for 'Gulgala,' 'Galilee,' which Wellhausen (*JHJ* 3:261,

1. In Galilee? n. 2, where he quotes the parallel case, Jos. xii. 23 ὁ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀδοκῆς), adopts, and, without explaining Masaboth, takes Arbela to be the well-known spot at the head of the cliff overhanging the western border of the plain of Hattin, the modern Irbid. The interchangeableness of the two forms Arbel and Arbēl is proved by the Arab geographers. Nāsir-i-Khinsari, 1047 A.D., calls it Irbil; Vākūt in 1235 A.D., and others, call it Irbil. The limestone caverns near Irbid were the haunts of bandits, who were only with difficulty dispossessed by Herod the Great; the methods he employed are graphically described by Josephus (*Jud.* xiv. 154 *cf.* 163 ff.). Robinson, who, with most moderns, accepts this identification, conjectures that Masaboth 'which is in Arbela' represents the Heb. מַסְבֵּת in the sense of *steps, storeys, terraces*, and describes the fortress on the face of the almost perpendicular cliff (3 *et seq.*). With more reason Tuch (*Quest. de Elai; Jos. Libb. Hist.*), followed by Wellhausen (*JHJ*), proposes to read μεσσαβωθ cp Hipp. 93. μασσαβωθ as if for μεσσαβωθ 'strongholds.' The objections to this identification are that Josephus is the only authority for the reading Γαλιλαίας, and that, by all we can learn from him, the task of reducing Arbela would have cost Bacchides more time than in the circumstances he was likely to be willing to spend. The direction through Galilee by Arbel would, however, be a natural one for the Syrians to take.

Second: As natural a line of march for the Syrian army lay along the coast down to the mouth of the valley of Ajalon, and up that valley or one of the parallel defiles further S. On this line there was a Γαλααθ, the present Jilbulch, a little more than 13 m. NE. of Joppa, on a site so important that the main road might well be described as ὁδὸς τῆς εἰς Γαλααθ. There is, however, no trace along it of a μεσσαβωθ or an Ἀρβηλα.

Third: If Bacchides wished to avoid the road by the coast and up Ajalon, which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon S. through Samaria,

which Holfernes is represented in Judith as taking the road which this book (17) expressly calls 'The

ARCHES

ambush of the hill-country,' 'the entrance into Judaea.' Upon it there stand two Gulgals, one near Shechem, and one 5 m. N. of Gulgala, which Ewald (*Hist.* Eng. ed. 5:23) takes to be the Gulgala of the narrative (but see GULGALA). On this route Masaboth might be Meselich or Meithalim, respectively 5 and 8 m. S. of Jeim, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by ἐν Ἀρβηλοῖς. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*OS* 2: Ἀρβηλα) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 6 R. m. from Lejjun, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Meselich and Meithalim are 3 R. m. from Lejjun. It is therefore possible that the name Ἀρβηλα covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the N., which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jilbulch, a Meselich, and a Meithalim.

Fourth: There is some MS authority¹ for reading γὰλααδ instead of γὰλααθ; and if the march of

4. In Gilead? Bacchides be conceived as having been through Gilead, the Arbela of 1 Mace. 9:2 may be the Ἀρβηλ (mod. Irbid) which Eusebius (*OS* 2:171) vaguely defines as a certain village beyond Jordan on the confines of Pelcia. This Irbid, however, lies very far E. and not in a direct line from the N. Even from Damascus, it would be a roundabout way for the Syrian troops marching with speed on Jerusalem. (We can hardly compare the advance of Antiochus III. upon Ptolemy IV. [*Polyb.* 5:6], in the course of which Antiochus, after taking Tabai and Bethshean, crossed Jordan and overran Gilead from Arbela to Rabbath-ammon.)

Of these four alternatives the first and third seem the most probable. The difficulties of all, however, are so great that most historians (e.g. Schürer and Stadelshirk) discussion of the line of march, and bring Bacchides without delay to the walls of Jerusalem. G. A. S.

ARBITE, THE (אַרְבִּיטָה), 2 S. 23:15, probably an error for Archite. See PARAT.

ARBONAI (ἀρβωνά [V], χερβων [N]; ܐܪܒܢܐ [Syr.], *arbanay*). In Judith 2:4 it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar 'went through Mesopotamia, and destroyed all the high cities that were upon the river (χερσαρρος) Arbonai till ye come to the sea.' Various commentators, following Grotius, have taken the Chaboras to be meant. There is much plausibility, however, in the suggestion of Movers that the proper name may have arisen out of a failure to understand the original, which he conjectures to have been אַרְבַּת נָחַר (the cities which were) beyond the river, נָחַר having been taken for a proper name and supplied with a Greek ending.

ARCHANGEL (ἀρχαγγέλους [LW]) Jude 9. See ANGEL, § 4.

ARCHELAUS (ἀρχαλαός [LW]). Mt. 22:4, son of Herod the Great by Mathabe, and elder brother of Herod Antipas. By his father's will he was made ruler over Judea and Samaria, and his visit to Augustus for the confirmation of this mission undoubtedly suggested a point in the parable Lk. 19:12 ff. Upon his coins he bears the family name of Herod and is called 'Ethnarch', for 'king' he never was, in spite of the assumption (cp Jos. *Jud.* xv. 1-3). He may, however, have been popularly called 'king' (cp Jos. *Jud.* xvii. 13, and the use of βασιλεὺς in Mt. 2:2). See further HERODIANS FAMILY, 3.)

ARCHER. See WAR, WEAPONS.

ARCHES is the rendering in the EV of ἄρχει etc., in Lz 19:16 ff. The word ἄρχει or ἄρχα occurs in MT only in this chapter, but ἄρχα transliterates ἀρχαί, also where MT has ἄρχα ἄρχα. Whatever explanation be adopted of the variation of form, the meaning is

¹ Hipp. ὁδὸς εἰς γῆν γὰλααδ (cod. 64), ο. τῆς εἰς γὰλααδ (cod. 93).

ARCHEVITES

doubtless the same throughout—viz., 'porch'. See PORCH, PALACE, TEMPLE.

That the principle of the arch early became known to Israel is a probable inference from the shape of their TOMBS.

ARCHEVITES (Kt. אֲרֶכְוִי ep Kan. *Gram. d. bibl. Aram.* §616; Kr. אֲרֶכְוִי; S. Swete, ἀρχαίται; ἀρχαίοι [B]; ἀρχαί; [A]; ἀρχ. [L.]), mentioned in Ezra 4:9 as a tribe settled in Palestine by ASSYRIAN (7.7.1). The word is not to be regarded as meaning inhabitants of Erech (Ryssel, Kyle), or as equivalent to ἀρχαίται (Hensen, *ILL.* 1845, n. 201), but rather as miswritten for אֲרֶכְוִי, 'who are Cantharids' (see 2 K 17:24 'from Babylon and from Cantharid,' cp 1. So Marq. *Fund.* 64 f.).

ARCHI (אֲרֶכְוִי), Josh. 16: AV, RV ARCHITES.

ARCHIPPUS (ἀρχιππιδης [Ti. WH]) is included as a 'fellow-soldier' of Paul and Timothy in the address of the epistle to Philemon (Philem. 2), and in that to the Colossians (1:17) he received this message: 'Take heed to the ministry (ὑποακousα) which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.' Most probably he had recently become the minister (more than 'deacon' in the narrower sense) of the church at Colosse, perhaps in succession to Epaphras, who was now with the apostle. In *JA. Const.* (7:49) he is said to have been apostolically ordained bishop of Laodicea in Phrygia.

ARCHITES, AV ARCHI (אֲרֶכְוִי); TOY APY [L.]; אֲרֶכְוִי combine the word with the following Ataroth, χαταρωθ [B]; ἀρχαταρωθ [A]; a clan mentioned in the difficult phrase נְבוֹל הָאֲרֶכְוִי (Josh. 16:21) in the delimitation of the southern frontier of Joseph. Probably we should reverse the order of the last two words and read 'the border of Ataroth-of the Archites.' Indeed, we might plausibly go a step further and change אֲרֶכְוִי to אֲרֶכְוִי (or אֲרֶכְוִי, 'Addarites' (or 'Ardites'). See ATAROTH, 2. That the name Archi lingers in that of the village 'Ira' (*Irak*, 5 m. WSW. of Beitin [*PEF. Mem.* 37]), is at best a hazardous hypothesis (cp Ötli, and Buhl *Pal.* 170 f.). The home of the clan of Archites to which HUSHAJ and, according to S. 12 S. 2311 אֲרֶכְוִי, δ' Αραχας [B]; δ' Αραχ [L.], and 1:15 אֲרֶכְוִי, [τοῦ Ουρα] οραχ [B]; δ' Αραχίτης [A]; δ' Αραχ [L.], SHAMMAH (7:3 and 4) and PYARAI, two of David's heroes, belonged, may have been farther S.

ARCHITECTURE. See CONSTITUTION AND RESERVOIRS, FORTRESS, HOUSE, PALACE, TEMPLE, TOMB.

ARCHIVES. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

ARCTURUS, AV's rendering of אֲרֶכְוִי (Job 9:9) and אֲרֶכְוִי (Job 38:32); RV BEAR. Most probably, however, אֲרֶכְוִי in Job 9:9 has arisen from dittography of אֲרֶכְוִי which precedes, for אֲרֶכְוִי follows without s. The whole verse seems to be an immetrical interpolation (see Bickell), Duhm agrees as to אֲרֶכְוִי, and goes so far as to excise 7:81 (so also Beert). Observe that Am 5:2, which is certainly (see AVOS, § 12) an interpolation, and very possibly alludes to Job 9:9 (as Am 4:1), also interpolated, may allude to Job 9:9, does not include אֲרֶכְוִי among the constellation. We have, therefore, only to explain the אֲרֶכְוִי (אֲרֶכְוִי?) of Job 38:32. That the Pleiades are meant is not unlikely (see STARS, § 3 (a)); cp Tg. (38:32) אֲרֶכְוִי אֲרֶכְוִי, 'the hen with her chickens'. Cheyne, however, prefers 'the Lion with his sons' (on Job 38:31, etc., *ILL.* 1846, 103 f.). Epping's list of 'stations' for Venus and Mars, obtained from Sumerian tablets, gives as the tenth—the fourth son behind the king—(p. Leonis). The 'king' is Regulus (α Leonis); he is preceded by α Leonis (Lion's head α Leonis).

(Cenepor [BBA]; *kythia* [Pesh 1]; *arcturion* [Vg. 90], *arcturion* [ib. 38:32]. In 9:9 S. Pesh., presuppose the order אֲרֶכְוִי, אֲרֶכְוִי. Cp MAZZAROTH, OKIOS, PLEIADES.

C. F. B. —T. K. C.

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE

ARD (אֲרֶד, Gen. 46:21 Nu. 26:40) (cp ARDON, ARON), perhaps a better form than ARDAR (אֲרָד) of 1 Ch. 8:34 (Gen. אֲרָד [A]; B lacking; Jos. אֲרָד [A]; Nu. אֲרָד [B]; אֲרָד [A]; 1 Ch. אֲרָד [B]; אֲרָד [A]; אֲרָד [L.]) in genealogy of BENJAMIN (7:7, § 9; n. 3); variously designated son of Benjamin (Gen. ALE, son of Bela (Nu. and 1 Ch.), son of Gerah, Bela (Gen. [A]; B lacking)). Gentile ARDITE (אֲרֶדִי; S. om., δ' Αδρι [L. 7:7]).

ARDATH, RV Ardat, the name of a field mentioned only in 4 Esd. 9:26 as the scene of a vision of Esdras.

The Eth. and Syr. read *Ardat*, which Fritzsche and Hilf. follow. The Lat. Vss. vary: *ardath* [Vg.], *ardar* [S.], *ardul* [L.], cp Binsly *ad loc.* Supported by the description in 7:24 'a field . . . where no house is built', Volkmar would emend to *Arda*, 'desert' (more correctly *Araba*). Similarly Rendel Harris, who, however, connects Arda with Kujatharia (*Rev. of Herodotus* [Paruch, Camb. 1876]), in which case the 'oak' in 14:1 will be Abrahams oak of Hebron. On the other hand, we should then expect rather the usual name Hebron, or, at least, the fuller form, Kirjath-Arba. If Ardat is indeed to be sought for in this district (cp 3:1 Esdras is in Babylon) we might follow T. Ren. more closely and identify it with the well-known Arad, which also was situated in a desert. See ARAD, 1.

ARDITES (אֲרֶדִי), Nu. 26:40. See ARD.

ARDON (אֲרָד; OPNA [BA], ΑΒΔΩΝ [L.]), B. Azubah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2:18). See AZUBAH, 1.

ARELI (אֲרֶלִי; Gen. 46:16; ΑΡΙΗΛΙC [D], ΑΡΗΛΙC [A], ΑΡΗΛΙC [L.]; Gen. Lxx, also τω ΑΡΙΗΛ [BFL.], om. A; see ARIEL, 1. B. Gad. In Nu. 26:56 the name is used also collectively with the art. (AV 'the Arelites'; Α ΑΡΙΗΛΙC) [BFL.], with consciousness that 'son of Gad' = Gadite clan. Doubtless 7:176 should be corrected to Α ΑΡΙΗΛΙC, the family of the Arelites (אֲרֶלִי), and it is possible that the names should rather be Uriel, Urielites (see NABUS, § 35).

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE (Acts 17:19) (ΑΡΙΕΤΑΝ ΑΠΟΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΓΟΝ [Ti. WH] EV 'unto [the] Areopagus'; 7:22, AV 'Mars' Hill', RV 'Areopagus').

1. **The hill.** Hence the title 'Areopagite', Acts 17:34, ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΗΣ [L.], אֲרֶכְוִי [WH]. Difficulty is caused by the fact that the name signifies both a hill and a court. The hill is that formless mass of rock which lies towards the NW. below the Acropolis, separated from it by a depression now largely filled with earth (Herod. 8:52. Luc. *Proc.* 42). The NE. corner of the hill is a precipice, to the top of which we ascend by means of sixteen ruined steps, cut in the rock at the SE. angle. At the head of the stair are the remains of an altar. The deep chasm at the foot of the precipice was connected with the worship of the Semnai (Eumenides or Furiae). The whole place was sacred to the most awful associations. Mythology had here lent to the majesty of the law a most solemn background. As a Court,

2. **The Court.** the Areopagus was, before the development of the democratic spirit, the supreme authority in Athens. Its powers were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. The definite powers were: (1) a limited criminal jurisdiction; (2) the supreme direction of religious worship, especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were:—a general supervision or guardianship (1) of all magistrates and law courts; (2) of the laws; (3) of the education of the young; and (4) of public morals. In addition to which there was (5) the competence to assume in political and national emergencies a dictatorial authority.

During the earlier history of the city the court held its sittings, for the trial of blood-guiltiness, upon the hill itself. For the hill was the Hill of the Ares, the God of Impetuousness. The place for the solemn trial—solely, the natural scene for the trial of terrible offences of blood—sitting that might not be tried under a roof. Moreover, to the early city, the Areopagus was the

AREOPAGUS, AREOPAGITE

place *without* the gates, a place to condemn the criminal, to erect a monument for the outcast tyrant, to bury the stranger (Robert, *Ant. Koll. theon.* 101). It was during the earlier and the later periods of Athenian history that the Court of the Areopagus (*ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλὴ*) enjoyed its powers to the full. In the interval Ephialtes, aided perhaps by Themistocles (Arist. *const. Ath.* 25; 462 B.C.), abolished most of its indefinite functions, and thus deprived it of its strongest influence; it became merely a criminal court of narrow competence. Thenceforth, as in Aristotle's time, it dealt only with cases of wilful homicide, of poisoning, and of arson (*const. Ath.* 57), while the superintendence of religion was in the hands of the King Archon. As indictments for impiety (*ὑπερβίας ὁμοφρονας*) came, in their preliminary stages, before the latter cases which once would have gone before the Areopagus were now tried before the popular jury-courts. It was in this way, therefore, that Socrates, accused like Paul of not worshipping the gods of the city and of introducing new divinities,¹ was tried. As the regular place of business of the King Archon was the Stoa Basileios, the associations of which were, in later days, exclusively religious, it was within that portico that the charge of impiety was brought against the philosopher. It is probable, however, that the Areopagus also always met within the Stoa (*Dein. in Aristot.* 776) when ritual did not demand a midnight-sitting on the open rock. In other words, in all cases other than those of murder. When, with the advent of the Romans, the Areopagus reappeared, after its long eclipse, as once more the supreme authority of the city (ep Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* xii. 15; *Nat. Deor.* 274), and the specific control of religion fell again within its competence, it would naturally continue to meet there.

There it was, therefore, and before that body, that Paul was summoned. To speak of him as 'perhaps standing on the very stone where had once stood the ugly Greek who was answering the very same charge' (Harrar, *St. Paul* 300) is to sacrifice historical truth to sentiment. We must relinquish the fond idea that Athens has the interesting distinction of being the one city of the world where we can tread in the very footsteps of the apostle. The view now generally taken errs in a double manner. It maintains, first, that the proceedings were in no sense legal or magisterial; and secondly, that they were upon the hill.

The marginal rendering (AV 7: 22) is no doubt right in representing that it was before the court that Paul was brought. Can we believe that a crowd of idlers, parodying the judicial procedure of the court, could have been allowed to defile the neighbourhood of 'that temple of the awful goddesses whose presence was specially supposed to overshadow this solemn spot, and the dread of whose name was sufficient to prevent Nero, stained as he was with the guilt of matricide, from setting foot within the famous city' (Suet. *Agr.* 31; Dio Cass. 43.14)? Such a view requires better support than is given by the bare assertion that 'the Athenians were far less in earnest about their religion than in the days of Socrates, and if this was meant for a trial it could only have been by way of conscious parody' (Harrar, *op. cit.* 300 n. 3). Nor can an appeal to Acts 17: 19 prove that *παλαίστρα* (Acts 17: 19; AV 'took') is here not used in the sense of 'arena'.

The view advocated by Curtius (*St. Paul in Athens*, 292) is correct. Paul was taken not to the Areopagus hill, a place not adapted either for hearing or for speaking upon occasion such as this, but to the Stoa Basileios (*ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου*, ep Acts 17: 19), etc., for a preliminary examination (*ἀνάκρισις*). Thence it was to be decided whether the new teaching and its missionary proclamation for the introduction of a new religion, standing in the midst of the assembled

¹ Ep Nro. 37. m. 1 c with Acts 17: 18. Yet there is probably no conscious reference in the latter of the Christian writer to the trial of Socrates, though the contrary has been asserted.

ARETAS

Areopagites (*ἐν ὑπό τοῦ Ἀρείου Πάγου*, ep Cic. *ad Att.* i. 115; *Fouilles d'Éphèse*, 108, 'Ἀρείος πάγος Ἀγορῆς προσηγορία'), he made his defence. Much of what fell from his lips may be presumed to have awakened an echo in the breasts of his audience (on the speech see H. L. L. XI. 81, § 91); but the mention of the resurrection of the body seemed to remove the case altogether out of the domain of the serious and practical. The court refused to continue the examination, and Paul was contemptuously dismissed (*ἐξ Ἀραβῶν*, 32 f. 1). Curtius, *Paulus in Athen.* modifies his view. For another view, see Rams. *Paul* 243 f. See also Lindley, *Ann. Brit. Sch.* 175 f.

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ARES (ἄρης [BA] 1. Esd. 5: 1. Ezra 25. ARAM, 2.

ARETAS (ἄρετας [1. WH], an ancient name (strictly ἄρετῃ in inscriptions, e.g., Euting *Ach. Inschr.* No. 196 of Nabatean princes, mentioned in the story of Jason the high priest on the time of Antiochus Epiphanes), 2 Macc. 5: 1. ἄρετας [BA]). The Aretas of this passage is called 'king of the Arabians'; he was hostile to Jason (7: 1). Another Aretas was master of Damascus in the time of Paul—three years after the apostle's conversion. This 'emarch' sought (see below) to apprehend Paul, who, however, made good his escape (2 Cor. 11: 32). The story of the Nabateans has been told elsewhere (see DAMASCUS, § 12, NABATÆANS). It is certain that about 85 B.C. they had possession of Damascus; but it should be added that the autonomy of Damascus in 70-69 B.C. is established by numismatic evidence. The first collision with the Romans was in 64-62 B.C., when the Nabatean king, Aretas III, intervened in the struggles between Hyrcanus and Aristobolus. Damascus now came under Roman sovereignty. During the following decennia the Nabatean kingdom became involved in the wars occasioned by the Parthians—with varying but for the most part ill success. The king also had various disputes with his neighbour Herod the Great. Aretas IV. (9 B.C. 40 A.D.) had tact and skill enough to keep terms with Augustus; his daughter became wife of Herod Antipas (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 54), but was set aside in favour of Herodias. Disputes on frontier questions furnished the aggrieved father with pretexts for war. Vitellius was ordered by Tiberius to avenge the defeat inflicted by Aretas upon Herod; but the death of the Emperor put an end to the scheme (ep CROXOTORY, § 78). At this time, according to 2 Cor. 11: 2, Damascus must again have fallen into the hands of Aretas; Damascus coins of Tiberius do not occur later than 33-34 A.D. A tempting conjecture is that it was Caligula that sought at this price, after his accession,¹ to buy over Aretas, against whom Tiberius had so recently ordered war; yet, in our complete ignorance of this chapter of history, we are not precluded from supposing that Tiberius himself in 34 A.D. had already taken occasion to present Aretas with the city as a peace-offering (ep CROXOTORY, § 78). A violent capture of the city by Aretas is not to be thought of; such a deed would have called for exemplary punishment at the hands of the Romans. Equally improbable is the view of Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 1451) and Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 547b) that Damascus had remained subject to the king of Arabia continuously from the beginning of the Roman period till 106 A.D. For (1) in Pompey's time Damascus belonged to the Decapolis (Plin. *HN* v. 1874; Ptol. i. 15: 2; ep DECAPOLIS, § 21); (2) in the reign of Tiberius it was the Roman governor that gave the authoritative decision on a question of frontier between Damascus and Sidon (Tac. *Ann.* xvii. 63); (3) we have imperial coins of Damascus with figures of Augustus, Tiberius and Nero; (4) in Domitian's time there was a cohort raised in Damascus, the Cohors Flavia (CIL.

¹ So also Gutschmid (Feyrus in Euting's *Nab. Inschr.* 85) and Schürer (*GH* i. 618, ET 2: 357 f.).

ARIMATHÆA

name will become no longer Uriel, but (by a slight modification) Ariel (i.e., altar-hearth). The reading Uriel seems to have been known to the author of 31:6: 'says Yahwē, who has a fire (שֶׁר) in Zion and a furnace in Jerusalem.' The other explanations of this prophetic name are (1) lion, or lioness, of God (Isa. 29:1; Jer. 2:3; 23:1); (2) hearth of God (Jer. 17:1; 23:1); (3) altar-hearth (Isaiah, Dalm., Che., *SBOT*). Of these, the third is probably the easiest; but none of them quite accounts for the selection of the new name for David's city, nor for the expression 'and will become to me like (an) Ariel (cf. 28:1)'.
L. K. V.

ARIMATHÆA (ἀριμαθαία [Ti. WH]), Mt. 27:57, etc. See *RAMATHAIM-ZORAIM*.

ARIOCH (אַרְיוֹךְ; ἀριώχ [BADEL 87, *See*], *CHHC* [87 in *Dm* 2:14 f.]) Probably a Hebrew form of an old Babylonian name (see CHÉRONOMER, § 3) used, (1) possibly with archaeological accuracy, in Gen. 11:9 (an ally of an ancient king of Elam); (2) by a literary fiction, of Nebuchadrezzar's captain of the guard (*Dm*, 2:14 f., 2:14 f.); and (3) of a king of Elam (so the Syriac) in alliance with Nebuchadrezzar (*Judith* 16, ἀριώχ [S*], Cp. Bezdant, *Babyl. Assy. Lit.* 53).

ARISAI (אַרְסַי; Ἀρισάιν [BNI], -φανον [A], unless we regard this as an intruder and identify Arisai with the succeeding name Ἀρισταίος; see ARIDAI), son of Human (Es. 26). See *ESTHER*, § 3 (enth).

ARISTARCHUS (ἀρισταρχός [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian (Acts 20:27), one of Paul's companions in travel (Acts 19:29), was among those who accompanied him from Ephesus on his last recorded visit to Jerusalem (Acts 20:17) and also on his voyage to Rome, having joined him at Caesarea (Acts 27:1). As the apostle's 'fellow-prisoner' (ἑταῖος, *etaios*) he unites with him in saluting the Corinthians (Col. 4:10). Cp. COLUSTANS, § 10 f. He joins the salutation to Philemon (Philem. 24), but in this passage is designated simply as 'fellow-worker,' Epiphraus alone being called 'fellow-prisoner.' From this it has been inferred, with much probability, that the companions of Paul relieved one another in voluntarily carrying his captivity.

In the list of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus (Pseudo-Hippolytus (not earlier than the fifth cent.), Arisai is bishop of Amasea in Syria. Pseudo-Dorotheus also has it that along with Phileas and Trophimus he was beheaded in Rome at the same time as Paul.

ARISTOBULUS (ἀριστοβούλος [V.V.], Ti. WH), a Greek name adopted by Romans and Jews, and borne by several members of the Maccabean and Herodian families.

1. The teacher (διδάσκαλος) of Ptolemy (no. 1), to whom Judas (the Maccabee) sent letters (2 Macc. 1:10). He is the well-known Jewish-Hellenistic philosopher of that name, who resided at the court of Ptolemy VI. Philometor (180-145 B.C.). He was of priestly descent (απὸ τοῦ τῶν Χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους, *cf.* *Ex* 13:1-22 *עֲשֵׂה*), and was the author of (among other writings) certain works on the Pentateuch, fragments of which are preserved in Clement of Alexandria and in Eusebius. See *Schur* *GTI* 2:260 ff., *Ex* *GTI* 4:353, and *Koe*, *Galat.* 2:41 ff.

2. 'The chief of the household of Aristobulus' are saluted in Rom. 16:11. It is not implied that Aristobulus himself was a Christian. The name was a common one in the dynasty of Herod. The list of the 'seventy disciples' given by the Pseudo-Dorotheus names Aristobulus as bishop of Batium.

ARIUS (ἄριος [ANV]; *See* not certain, see *Swaete*)
AR 1 Macc. 12:1, RV. See *SPARTA*.

ARK. See *DELEG.* § 10.

1. The ark (ship) is the ark (Che. *Inte*, Isa. 20:1). It is the ark of the Lord (Isa. 2:12). The ark of the Lord would then disappear. Moreover 'ark' in the sense of fire seems to be late. Cp. 30:12 f.; 33:17 (late).

ARK OF THE COVENANT

ARK OF THE COVENANT or Sacred Ark (אֲרוֹן; אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית [BAI]; *See* *ARK*).

There is nothing more significant than the changes in the titles of sacred objects. We must, therefore, be careful to place these titles in their chronological order. According to Seyring (*1711*)

1. **Names:** Ark of God, etc. (11:16 [91]) the oldest name of the ark (or sacred chest) is 'the ark of Yahwe the God of Hosts (Sēbā'ōth) who is enthroned upon the cherubim.'

This title is reached by an analysis of the designations of the ark in (a) 2 S. 6:2 and (b) 1 S. 14 (both passages belong to early documents). The titles given in (a) are 'ark of God' (*hosei-šēbā'ōth*), and 'called by the name of Yahwe Sēbā'ōth that is enthroned upon the cherubim.' In (b) the title is 'ark of the *hosei-šēbā'ōth* of Yahwe Sēbā'ōth who is enthroned upon the cherubim.' Recombining the supposed oldest elements in these titles, Seyring obtains the title mentioned above. This usually careful scholar, however, has overlooked, in dealing with (b), *See* reading in the preceding verse - viz., 'the ark of our God' (τῆς ἐκδοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν [B]). τ. κ. τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ θ. ἡ. [A], τ. κ. τ. ὁ, λέγοντες τ. θ. ἡ. [1.]), which is self-evidently more correct than the Deuteronomian formula of MT, and, taken together with 7:6 ('ark of Yahwē'), justifies us in assuming that the equally simple title 'ark of Yahwē' stood originally in 7:4 and 7:5, and 'ark of God' (cp. 7:14, 17 [9:22] in 7:4b). Nor has Seyring noticed that after 'ark of God' in (a) the relative clause which follows is superfluous, and presumably a later insertion. It must be added that it remains most improbable that the divine name Yahwe Sēbā'ōth is older than the Assyrian period, to which indeed Amos who undoubtedly uses it belongs; at any rate the theory that this name represents Yahwe as the God of Israel's hosts, and has any special connection with the ark, has insuperable difficulties. Thus, so far as (a) and (b) are concerned, the popular names for the ark were very short - viz., 'ark of Yahwē,' 'ark of God,' and 'ark of our God,' - and from the context of the former passage we find that there was a still shorter name, 'the ark' (2 S. 6:1), which occurs thrice in old parts of Samuel, and five times (for seven, including Josh 3:11, 17; see *Kat.* 28) in the Hexateuch. The title 'ark of God' (עֲרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים, or twice עֲרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים) occurs often in old parts of Samuel, and also in Chronicles. In a solemn speech of David in 1 Ch 15:11-14 we find the sonorous phrase 'the ark of Yahwe the God of Israel,' which reminds us of the phrase used by the Philistines in 1 S. 5:7 f. 11. Side by side with 'the ark of Elolam' we naturally find the phrase 'the ark of Yahwe.' It occurs first in the composite work JE, and may reasonably be ascribed in the first instance to J, though in some passages it may have been inserted by the editor, either as an altogether new addition, or in lieu of the phrase 'the ark of God,' which was probably used in E. Once (Josh. 3:1) we find this remarkable addition 'the Lord of the whole earth,' which, apart from 7:11-13, occurs only in late writings, and, as Seyring points out, is

1 Cp. Ass. *Ass.*, *Ass.* (C. 1000), 'the ark' (receptacle) (D. 1000, 1001).

2 The same renderings are given for עֲרֹן Noah's ark, but not for עֲרֹן, the 'ark' in the bulrushes.

3 This rendering implies that עֲרֹן, 'name,' occurs twice in MT by pure accident. Otherwise we should have to suppose that the name by which the ark was called was 'the name of Yahwe Sēbā'ōth, etc.

4 Smend's arguments (*Religgesch.* 125 ff.), weakly met by Marti (*Gesch.* 10, *Ass.* 14), appear conclusive, only he should have formed himself by Assyrian parallels. Thus, Ass. is said to be the overlord of the mass, or entire multitude, of the gods; 'Nobis' to be the overlord of the mass, or entire multitude, of the gods (multitude) of heaven and earth. Amos and his school represent Yahwe as the lord of all supernatural beings in the universe, in opposition to all rival deities. See, however, NAMES, § 123.

5 On these points see further, Budde's crit. note in *SBOT*; Conard, *1711* 12:71 [102], n. 1; We. *1711* 167 (especially as to the right rendering of 1 Ch. 12:3).

ARK OF THE COVENANT

presumably due to a post-exile writer whose idea of Yahwé differed from that of JE. The phrase 'the ark of Yahwé' passed from JE into the terminology of the historical books in general (including Chronicles).

A new title for the ark seems to have been coined by the author of the original Deuteronomy (Deut. 10:1), and adapted from him by writers and editors

2. Ark of *brith*. who shared his religious point of view, and even (strange to say) by the Chronicler, who, in general, stands so completely under the influence of the Priestly Code. This phrase is 'the ark of the *brith*' (usually rendered 'covenant'; see below), either simply (Josh. 3:6) or in various combinations, such as 'ark of the *brith* of Yahwé,' 'ark of the *brith* of Elohim,' and 'ark of the *brith* of Adonai.' The Deuteronomistic editors have freely introduced the term *brith* into the titles of the ark in the older sources which they edited. The work of the editor clearly betrays itself in such phrases as *אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית* (Josh. 3:6), *אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית* (Josh. 3:17), where the editor has forgotten to make the omission of the article, necessitated by the introduction of a dependent genitive.

And now as to the correct meaning of the phrase *אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית*. It is rendered by *ὁ ἀρχαιοὶς τῆς διαθήκης*, Vg. *arca foederis* and *arca testamenti* (Num. 17:10), and by EV 'ark of the covenant.' That *brith* cannot, however, in this phrase mean 'covenant' in our sense of the word is clear from 1 K. 8:21 (= 2 Ch. 6:11), where we are told that 'the *brith* of Yahwé' was 'in the ark.' The phrase is parallel to that in 1 S. 25:22, 'into the ark thou shalt put the testimony' (*אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית*), which (see below) is a technical term for the 'two tables' of the Decalogue. Hence Kan. *HS* rightly rejects the obscure if not misleading phrase 'ark of the covenant,' and substitutes 'ark with the law (of Yahwé),' which is at any rate, by common admission, the best approximate rendering (cp COVENANT, § 1).

The latest phase in the historical development of the names of the ark is marked by the title which occurs

3. Ark of *eduth*. eleven times in the Priestly Code and also in Josh. 1:6 (introduced into JE by the editor), meaning 'ark of the publicly delivered ordinance' (*ὁ ἀρχαιοὶς τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, Vg. *arca testimonii*, EV, ark of the testimony). The meaning given above is confirmed by Ex. 31:18 (1:2) 32:15 (1:3) 34:1 (P), where we hear of 'the two tables of the *עֵדוּת*.' Probably this new title appeared to the priestly writer clearer and more definite than that introduced by Deuteronomy. It did not, however, displace the older phrases, which reappear not only in Chronicles but also in the Greek Apocrypha, and (α, τῆς διαθήκης) in the NT (see below, § 15).

On looking back, we see that the names and titles of the ark fall into three classes. We have, first, the names 'ark of Yahwé,' 'ark of God,' 'ark of our God,' which indicate that the ark contained an object which in some way symbolised and represented Israel's God; and next, the names, 'ark of the law,' 'ark of the ordinance,' which suggest that the object contained in the ark was inscribed with laws; and lastly, attached to the older names, titles such as those in Josh. 3:11; 2 S. 6:2, which indicate a desire to correct the materialistic interpretation which might seem to convert the ark into an idol. A critical study of the texts is the necessary commentary on these deductions from names. The following sections aim at bringing together the chief notices of the ark, indicating the sources from which they are derived, and then, at fitting points, giving the reader some idea of the results which follow from a critical treatment of these notices.

We turn first of all to the documents called J and E (as far as we can separate the one from the other) in the Hexateuch. It is more than probable¹ that both J and

E, in their original form, related how Yahwé or Elohim, at Sinai or at Horeb, directed an ark to be made as a

4. Traditional origin of ark: JE. substitute for his personal presence as leader of his people. These passages were omitted by the editor, who preferred the much more suitable account

(so he must have deemed it given in P (see below, § 13), but has preserved the tradition of J and E that, both in the wilderness and on the entrance into Canaan, the ark led the van of the host. In referring to this J quotes two poetic formulae (Num. 10:35), which he says were spoken by Moses at the beginning and the end of a day's march, but which more probably arose at a later time.² Whether J and E agreed with Deuteronomy in stating that the 'two tables of stone' were placed in the ark is a matter which can be only conjecturally decided. There is, however, a very strong probability that they did not. The story, at any rate, is much more forcible if we suppose no renewal of the shattered tables (Ex. 32:19), and we cannot believe J to have omitted on this important point from E. Historical considerations (see below, § 10) confirm this conclusion. In particular, the ark was not, in the succeeding narratives of J and E, a symbol of the revealed law, but the focus of divine powers. Twice, we are told, the Israelites omitted to take the ark with them and were defeated (Num. 14:4 Josh. 7:1), and on the latter occasion Joshua prostrated himself before the ark,³ and remonstrated with Yahwé, the God of Israel. The crowning proof of the potency of the ark was given when the Israelites crossed the Jordan (according to one of the traditions, at harvest time), and captured Jericho (Josh. 3:6). The Deuteronomistic editor has made the former part of the narrative difficult to restore to its original form (which was a combination of J and E); but it is probable that J and E already described the priests (not, the priests, the Levites) as bearers of the ark. In the latter part it is not very difficult to recover a simpler, more natural, and presumably earlier account, in which no express mention is made of the ark, and nothing is said of the falling down of the walls of Jericho (on the narrative see Jos. A. ii. § 71.³ Thus far, then, the most genuine tradition is clear and intelligible.

The invention of portable sanctuaries, and especially of portable idols, may possibly go back to the nomadic Semites and to a time when the gods were still tribal rather than local, but the probabilities are all against such a view. There is less trace of such an institution in Arabia than in any other part of the Semite world, and nowhere else is the principle so strongly marked that a tribe that changes its seats changes its gods. Even the ark of Yahwé is not carried back by Hebrew tradition to patriarchal times; the patriarchs do worship only where they have a fixed altar. It is, therefore, more likely that portable symbols of the godhead first arose among the settled Semites and in connection with the religion of the army in war. In this connection the idea of a portable god involves no great breach with the conception that each deity has a local home, for when the campaign is over the god returns to his temple. When the notion of portable gods was once established, however, its application could easily be extended and would serve to smooth away the difficulty of establishing new permanent sanctuaries in conquered regions or colonies over the sea. A Greek colony always carried its gods with it, and it is probable that this was often done by the Phoenician colonists also. Even in Israel we find that the sanctuary of Yahwé at Dan was constituted by setting up the image from Mahab's sanctuary (Judg. 18), just as David gave a religious character to his new capital by transferring the ark to it.⁴

But by what critical process can we bring simplicity

¹ Delissch, however, defends the Mosiac authorship of JE.

² So MT and EV; EV omit 'the ark (ark)'

³ We. *CH* 12:1; *KL* II. 1. 1. 232 L.

⁴ From WKS, *Journal of Lectures*, 2nd series, Lect. 1 (1878).

¹ See the analysis of Ex. 32:1, in Exodus, ii. § 3, and cp *Exodus*, *Exodus* 143, 146; *We.* *CH* 95; *Th. Z.* ii. 1. 237, 345.

ARK OF THE COVENANT

into the episode of the capture and restoration of the

8. Capture and recovery.

sacred ark by the Philistines (1 S. 1:7-10). Some facts are admitted. That at the end of the period of the Judges the ark rested at the Ephraimite sanctuary of Shiloh is a trustworthy statement, guaranteed by 1 S. 1:1-4 (chap. 3 we must regretfully pass over, as coming from a different hand and later writer; see SAMUEL, II). It must, also, be a fact that the Philistines had defeated the Israelites near Eben-ezer (1 S. 11:1-11). Tradition doubtless added that the leaders of Israel attributed their misfortune to the absence of the ark from the host, and that they therefore fetched the sacred chest from Shiloh. The immediate consequences are graphically described. On the arrival of the ark the Israelites were in a state of wild delight; and the Philistines who heard the shoutings were proportionately alarmed, for 'who (said they) can deliver us from these great gods?' (*elohim*). Nevertheless, with the courage of despair, the Philistines renewed the fight with complete success, and were even able to carry off the ark in triumph. Then begins a series of wonderful incidents from which it is difficult to extract a kernel of early tradition. Stade thinks (GIL 1:22 f.) that in chaps. 5 and 6 he can find the remnants of two distinct accounts; but the recognition of this would only diminish the number of difficult features in the narrative. It would obviously not provide an intelligible statement of facts. Of the difficult details referred to there is only one which it is necessary to criticise here. It is a statement which is historically impossible. The Philistines, we are told, under the pressure of pestilence, returned the 'gods' which they had captured from Israel. Ancient nations did not act thus in such circumstances. For example, we know that the image of the goddess Nani (see NANI) was taken from Erech by an Elamite king, and detained in Elam for 1235 years. Did any calamity ever suggest to the Elamites the idea that Nani was chastising them for the insult to her image? No. Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, had to devote all his energies to the task of crushing the Elamites before he could restore the image to its ancient home (cp. ASHURBANIPAL, § 8). Similar stories of reconquered idols are told in connection with the names of Ashurbanipal's grandfather Sennacherib (cp. ASSYRIA, § 20) and the old Babylonian king Agak-kak (rime).

The fragmentary document which we have thus far studied closes with the statement that the ark was placed in the house of Abinadab at Kirjath-jearim, and that Abinadab's son was consecrated to keep it. It is to an entirely different (and probably earlier) source² that we owe the narrative of the bringing of the ark to Zion. We learn here that at the time when David bethought himself of the ark, it rested at a place called Baal in Judah (2 S. 6:2; see DRIVER *ad loc.*). During the whole of Saul's reign and during David's seven-years' reign in Hebron, it had lain forgotten in a provincial town. Neither Saul nor David had thought of taking it into battle; nor, so far as our evidence goes, had it been visited by the people. What, then, had been the effect of the repeated attestations which the divine judgments had given to its supernatural power? Let us see whether the narrative in 2 S. 6 (which appears to be older than that in 1 S. 1:7-10), when critically treated, suggests any way out of our manifold difficulties. It is permissible, and indeed necessary, to disregard so much of chap. 6

relates to the death of Uzzah (a passage which in its difficulty resembles parts of the story in 1 S. 5:1-4), and the growth of which can be accounted for, and to fix our attention on the simpler narrative in 2 S. 6:1-5, the kernel of which is that early in David's reign, the ark

was in the house of one Obed-edom of Gath, and that David fetched it thence with much jubilation to Zion. How came the ark to be there? That David of his own accord entrusted such a sacred object to a Philistine is highly improbable; but how if Obed-edom was not a Philistine sojourning in Judah, but a foe residing in his native town of Gath? How if the ark had never left Philistine territory, though it had been shifted from Dagon's temple to a private house? How if David acted as Assyrian kings acted in similar circumstances, and reconquered the precious object which was to him in some sense the dwelling of his God? This is the hypothesis of Kisters, who held not only, with Kittel and Budde, that 2 S. 21:15-22 is properly the continuation of the narrative in 2 S. 5:17-25, but also that the sequel of the story of the battle in Gath (2 S. 21:20) was once the notice that David fetched the ark from the house of Obed-edom in Gath and deposited it for a time at Baal.¹ After this, according to Kisters, came originally the story of the capture of Jerusalem (an event which this critic places *after* the hostilities referred to in 2 S. 5:17 ff.), and of the bringing up of the ark to Zion. The editor to whom the present form of 2 S. 6:1-12 is due appears to have had a religious rather than a historical motive. The facts as stated in the original narrative might suggest to some readers that Yahweh needed the interference of David to deliver him from captivity: in other words, that David was stronger than his God. The editor shrank from inventing an entirely new narrative, but, to counteract that idea, put the central facts in the traditional story in an entirely new setting.

This hypothesis, the present writer has long felt, is absolutely required to clear up an important historical episode.² Without it the central facts of tradition, including David's almost ecstatic joy (2 S. 6:14), are hopelessly obscure. A glance at 2 S. 6:1 f. will convince the reader that there is nothing arbitrary in the view proposed. That 2 S. 21:20 cannot have been the original sequel of 2 S. 6 must be clear. Unless 2 S. 6 is simply misplaced, it must have been followed by a record of some martial exploit of David. To the present writer it seems probable (see DAVID, § 7) that the exploit consisted in a great victory near Gath (cp. 2 S. 21:20 f.), which so weakened the Philistines that they offered to restore the ark on condition of David's making with them a treaty of peace, and that David himself fetched the ark from Obed-edom's house. It will be remembered that when David defeated the Philistines at Baal-perazim he had 'taken away the images' (2 S. 5:20) which, by their presence, should have ensured a Philistine victory. It seems probable that when the Philistines restored the ark David gave back the captured 'images'. Cleverness was a characteristic of this king. It was all-important to him not to wage an internecine warfare with the Philistines, and he therefore 'contented himself with a peace honourable for both parties' (Kamphausen). The original story may have referred to this restoration of the images captured at Baal-perazim, and this compound name may have suggested the mention of 'Baal' and 'Perez-uzzah' in 2 S. 6 as it now stands. In a certain sense, indeed, the ark *was* recovered from Baal-perazim.

Our next notice of the ark is in 2 S. 7, a passage full of varied interest, though in its present form not older than the sixth century. It tells us and no doubt the

¹ The reason why David deposited the ark in Gath, according to Kisters, that he had not yet reconquered Jebus or Jerusalem. Those who hold another view as to the time of the capture of Jebus will give a different reason. David had indeed conquered Jebus, but had not yet adapted it to his fresh buildings to serve the purpose of a capital. See DAVID, § 7.

² Since the above was written, Wackler has made another attempt to produce an intelligible view of the history of the ark (GIL 70 ff.). It is difficult to see that there is any solid ground for his very revolutionary hypothesis; but, if any rate, he perceives a problem which escaped the earlier writers before Kisters.

¹ Tiele, *Bibl. Ges.* 1895 f. 112 ff., referred to by Kisters, *PhP* 27, 374 f. ch.

² The reference in 2 S. 6:11 to the house of Abinadab seems to be an editorial insertion (see Kisters, *op. cit.* 302).

ARK OF THE COVENANT

statement is historical) that David wished to build a cedar-house for the ark, but was forbidden by an oracle.

6. Permanent
abode.

6. Permanent abode. We can understand, therefore, that for a time (see 2 S. 11.) suggests) the ark was still carried with the army as an insurance against defeat.¹ The capture of it by the Philistines, however, had already given a blow to the primitive, fetishistic conception of the ark, and an occasion arose when David, it would seem, was inwardly moved to express a far higher view. It was probably a turning point in Israel's, as well as in David's, religious development. The circumstances were these. David was fleeing from Jerusalem before Absalom. Zadok wished to carry the 'ark of God' with David and his body-guard. The king, however, protested, and commanded Zadok to carry it back, 'that it may be seated in its place' (2 S. 15. 25, 26). He was conscious (if 2. 26 may be followed) that Yahwe might have cause to be displeased with him, and would rather suffer his punishment meekly than seem, by having the ark with him, to demand the interposition of Yahwe as a natural right. Henceforth, therefore, the symbol of Yahwe's presence should no more 'leave its place': Yahwe would direct Israel's affairs, both in peace and in war, from Zion. Early in Solomon's reign the greatest of all Israel's sanctuaries was erected. Much as the original passage of Solomon's biography has been edited (see Kau. *HS* and cp. *G*), it is beyond question that this king transported the ark from its temporary abode to the sanctuary of his temple. 'There—so both he and David hoped—it was to serve as a national centre, and complete the unification of Israel. The hope was, however, disappointed; nor do even the writers of Jewish spend a word on the ark, or give a hint as to the feelings of the people towards it.

Our next news of the ark is indirect, and comes from an exile or post-exile passage of the Book of Jeremiah:

7. Disappear-
ance.

7. Disappearance. (39c). The passage runs thus: "In those days to morrow shall one say, 'The ark of the *birth* of Yahweh,' neither shall it come into one's mind, neither shall one think upon it, nor miss it, neither shall it be made again." The full import of the words may be doubtful; but at least one thing is clear, the ark, on the possession of which the well or woe of Israel had once seemed to depend, had passed away. This is too patent from later writings to be denied. Ezra 1 and 1 Macc. 4 do not mention the ark among the sacred vessels. Josephus (*Ant.* 5.5) declares that the Holy of Holies contained nothing at all. Lastly, Tacitus, relating the entrance of Pompey into the temple, uses the emphatic words, "Inde vulgatum nullas intus domus effigies; vacuum sedem et inania arcam" (*Hist.* 5.9). How the ark disappeared will be considered presently (see next §). Suffice it to add here that the *sepher torah* or 'Book of the Law' succeeded to the undivided reverence of true Israelites, and is still, with its embroidered mantle and ornaments, the most sacred object in every synagogue.

When, then, and how did this holy thing, which, according to Jer. 36, was by many so painfully missed, pass

8. Its fate.

8. **Its fate.** — out of sight? We have accounted for one strange gap in our historical notices respecting the ark, — how shall we explain the still longer and stranger hiatus which extends from (say) 690 to 850 B.C.? Why is it that neither the historians nor the prophets of this period (so far as we possess their works) refer to the fortunes of the ark or to the popular reverence for it in their own time? Three answers seem possible. — 1. Soon after 690 the ark may have been captured by an enemy, — calamity which was deliberately suppressed by the king, — just as they suppressed the

destruction of the temple of Shiloh—Giesebrecht and Cornill have pointed to the invasion of Judah by Shishak (Sheshank I.), king of Egypt, about 628, as the occasion of this (see 1 K. 11. 6). The objection is that Shishak's campaign, as the bas-reliefs at Karnak appear to prove,¹ was against Israel as well as Judah, and that, Egypt being too weak at that time to think of permanent conquests, the expedition must have been simply due to vainglory and to greed. If Shishak took away from Palestine anything in the nature of an idol, it must have been the 'golden calves' of Jeroboam, and not the outwardly unattractive wooden chest in the sanctuary of the temple of Rehoboam. Besides, Rehoboam and his priests would never have allowed the capture of the ark to become known—they would certainly, in the interests of the temple, have substituted a new chest, for which provisions for the supposed discoveries of Babylonian kings mentioned by Tiele (*B. H.* 461) may perhaps furnish a parallel. (2) The ark may have been carried away with the temple treasures in 785, by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 11. 14), who would hardly have omitted to reclaim the long-lost treasure of the Ephraimite sanctuary at Shiloh. The objection to this is that the ark had long ceased to be the special possession of a tribe, and that events had proved that Joash could well dispense with the ark, while to have carried it away would have been an offence against the great hero of united Israel—David. (3) The ark (which was probably renewed by the priests, when, decayed from age) may have retained its place till the great catastrophe in 586, and precisely to this may have lost much of its ancient prestige owing to the growing sense of the inconsistency of identifying such an object as the ark with the great God Yahweh, and perhaps also to discourses of the prophets against a superstitious reverence for the ark which have been lost, or even suppressed by editors. This view—which is in the main that adopted in 4 *I. d.* 10. 2, and implied by the legend in 2 Mace. 2. 3 (see below, § 15), that Jeremiah² hid the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense in a cave—is by no means an improbable one. The only obvious objection to it can easily be met. The assertion in Dent. 10. 4 that the ark was simply the repository of two inscribed tables of stone need not imply that D, like P, is an archaeologist, and that the object which is thus wrongly described no longer existed. It is more natural to suppose that—like the other fashions to which this writer is so vehemently opposed, the sacred stones which (as we shall see) were the objects venerated of old in the ark still held their place, concealed from view but secure. The Deuteronomist, speaking in the name of Moses, could not help assuming the sanctity of the ark and its contents. In the interests of piety, however, he transformed (as far as words could do it) the nature of the objects in the ark. That venerable enter was not, he meant to say, in any sense the dwelling of the deity, whom no temple could hold (1 K. 8. 27): it simply contained a perfect written embodiment of the fundamental demands of Israel's righteous God.

This leads us to consider the origin and affinities of the ark. For the ark of the Deuteronomist (and of 1

9. Real nature.

9. Real nature. With its two inscribed tables, no parallel has been found. Prof. Sayce indeed refers to Mr. Rassam's discovery of a coffer with two inscribed alabaster tablets in a little temple at Balawat, near Mosul;² but the coffer (which was not placed in the sanctuary) also was of alabaster, and with its contents corresponds to the chests containing sacred books which were among the regular appurtenances of Egyptian (and probably of Syrian) temples, but were not meant to be carried. For the ark known to the earliest Hebrew traditions, however, there are many monumental

¹ I was just not clear here that it is *ark*, which states, according to MT, that 'As often used to see the ark before David' i.e. in his campaigns. The right reading is, not **ark*, but **ark*' (*ark*)! (cf. S. ...). It is quite somewhat different from MT (S. first time ...).

1. St. G. 11, 12; WMM, 1s, n, Eur. 166, 169.

ark of the Father (Hebrews, 120) it is Josiah who hides the ark of the Father's sacred objects, including the pot of manna (see Hebrews, 9:4).

³ Sayre, *Hilbert Lectures*, p. 10; Pinches, *ASB* 763.

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parallels. In Egypt, for instance (from which Rezan too hastily derives the Israelite ark), no festival procession could be sculptured or painted without them.¹ The arks, with their images, were placed on boats, which were ornamented at the ends with heads of the deities within, the king himself, being divine, also had his ark boat. Such an ark boat, too, is referred to in the strange story of the daughter of the king of Babylon,² where an image of the god Honsu is said to have been transported to Syria, to deliver a princess from the spirit that oppressed her. These shrine boats must originally have had their parallels in Babylonia, the constant expression for the sacred arks in the cuneiform texts is *elip-pu*, i.e., 'ships'. Within the best known historical periods, however, it was in simple arks or coffers that the images of the gods were borne in procession at the Babylonian (and Assyrian) festivals.

Thus it appears that two things were essential in a sacred ark: that it should be of a size and material which would permit it to be carried, and that it should contain a representation or mystic symbol of a deity. The ark known to David and Solomon doubtless complied with these conditions. It was a simple wooden box, such as the ancestors of the Israelites had used in their nomadic state for their few valuables,³ without either the cladding of gold or the cherubim with which the reverence of a later writer provided it. As to its contents, the inscribed 'tables of stone,' which we should never have expected

10. Contents

to find in the Holy of Holies, were but a substitute of the indignation for some mystic symbol or representation of Yahwe. Of what did that symbol consist? We are, of course, bound to do what we can to minimise the fiction or error of the Deuteronomist; but we must not deviate from the paths of historical analogy. Those duties are reconciled by the supposition that the ark contained two sacred stones (or one).⁴ This view, no doubt, implies a survival of fetishism; but there are traces enough of fetishism (on which see FOOTNOTES, § 1) elsewhere in Hebrew antiquity to justify it. The stones (or stone) must have been ancient in the extreme. They (or it) originally had no association with Yahwe; they represented the stage when mysterious personality and power were attached to lifeless matter. Being portable, however, they were different from the sacred stones of Bethel, Beth-shehem, Shechem, and En-rogel, and are most naturally viewed as specimens of those fetters, animated stones, which, according to Sancho-mathon, were formed by the heaven-god, and were presumably meteorites. They may have belonged originally to the tribe afterwards called Ephraim; and when the several tribes united in worshipping Yahwe, the God of Moses, the Ephraimitish ark with its contents may have been adopted as the chief sacred symbol of Yahwe. The earliest narrators (see above, § 3, end) viewed the ark (which was virtually one with what it contained) as a substitute for the immediate presence of Yahwe, the son of the 'Golden Calf' at Sinai having proved the Israelites to be unripe for direct or immediate privilege. The primitive Israelites, however, who knew nothing of the story referred to, must have regarded it, not as a substitute, but as the real presence itself.

The portableness of the Israelitish ark did not, it is true, lead to its being carried about in processions. The reason is that, to the Israelite, the object within the ark was much more than an

1 See the procession of the arks of Amen-Ré, Mût, and Honsu (the Theban triad) in the second court of the temple of Ramesses III. at Medinet Hâbû (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 320), and Plate V. in Naville's *Festivals of Osorkon*, 2 (pp. 13).

2 Def. *Isr. HVB* sv. *elip-pu*. On the processional arks in Babylonia, see Tiele, *Z 12* 170 ff.; C. J. Ball, *ISB* 144.

3 Cp. Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1227.

4 Cp. Vatke, *Die Rel. des A T* 121, St. *GPT* 457 f.; Beninger, *Hebr. Arch.* 37 s. There were and still are two sacred stones, a black and a white, built into the wall of the Ka'ba at Mecca (WRS, *Kin.* 297 f.).

idol. It is not merely one of a class of objects, each of which contained a portion of the magical virtue of the deity whom it represented.⁵ It was the only object with which Yahwe was so closely connected that the ark (for reverence forbade mention of the stones) and Yahwe were practically synonymous terms. It was, therefore, too sacred to be moved for a slight reason. Worshippers would rather make a procession round or before the ark (cp. 2 S. 6:14) than bear it in procession themselves. The reverence implied in the story in 2 S. 6:7 may represent the feeling of an age later than David's, but in instances had long been leading up to that extreme exaggeration. The higher the conception of Yahwe became, the greater was the awfulness which encompassed the ark,⁶ until (it appears probable) by a natural reaction the nobler Israelites rejected the fetishistic conception of the ark and its contents altogether. Thus we get one great distinction between the ark of the Israelites and other sacred arks: it was not subservient to idolatry. The only occasions on which it left its resting-place were times of war. Then, indeed, it was carried with the host into the fray, just as the Philistine images were carried into battle by the Philistines (2 S. 5:10), not to speak of Arabian and Artabanian parallels.⁷ It was not specially a 'warlike palladium,' however, except for the periods when war rather than peace was the normal state of the people,⁸ and we have found even David, at a great crisis in his life, deciding to put his trust in his God with out the presence of the ark.

The notices of later writers are valuable mainly for the religious history of the period of their authors. They show us how, near the close of the pre-exilic (and afterwards in the post-exilic) age, poets and men imagined to themselves the nature and circumstances of the ark. It is, therefore, unsafe to infer with Berthelm, from 2 Ch. 35:1, that the ark was removed from the sanctuary by Manasseh; unsafe, also, to infer, with the old Cambridge scholar Spencer, from P's description of the ark, that it was designedly made like the arks of Egypt, in order that the Israelites might miss no splendour or elegance which had charmed their eyes at Zorn. That Manasseh, with his syncretistic liberality, would have removed the ark is altogether unprobable. Spencer's theory, on the other hand, may contain an element of truth, and is, at any rate, more plausible than the view developed out of P's account by Richm.⁹ It is probable that the priestly legi-lator (P₂), in his description of the ark, did, unconsciously and in no servile manner, take suggestions from the sacred chests of Babylonia and Egypt, which he had seen or heard of. The simple chest of which J and E had doubtless spoken was unworthy (he thought) to be in any sense the symbol of the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Not such an ark could Moses have ordered to be made, for Yahwe was all-wise and must have 'filled' the artificers of the ark and the tabernacle 'with a divine spirit in wisdom and understanding' (Ex. 35:31).

We must not, however, overlook the references to the ark in writings of the Deuteronomistic school. We are told (Dt. 10:1) that Yahwe 'separated the tribe of Levi to bear the ark of the *Erith* of Yahwe,' and in Dt. 31:9 (cp. 25 f.) we find a special title given to 'the priests the sons of Levi,' which is derived from this function (cp. Josh. 3:3). For other Deuteronomistic references to the ark, see Dt. 31:25 f., Josh. 8:33, 1 K. 3:15, 6:19, 8:9, 21.

1 Cp. Maspero, *RP* 2:343, n. 2.

2 Cp. 1 S. 6:20. 'And the men of Beth-shehem said, Who is able to stand before Yahwe, this holy God?'

3 See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2:37.

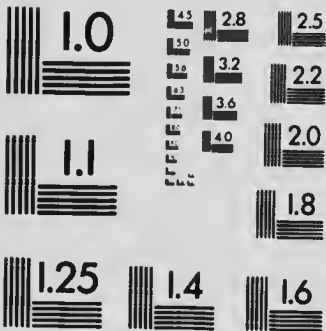
4 Kuntze and Kraelzschmar (see 'Literature') hardly seem to hit the mark. We cannot lay any stress on the titles in 1 S. 4:4, 2 S. 6:2, on grounds stated already (above, § 1).

5 Richm. thinks (*III RP* 2, art. 'Bundeslade') that the ark was constructed in such a way as to show the diametrical opposition between the religion of revelation and the religion of nature worship, the presence of Yahwe (symbolised by the cherubim on the ark) being conditional on Israel's performance of its covenant duties.



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ARMENIA

semi-mythic stories eschatologically interpreted, it becomes a question whether his interpretation of the name of the great battlefield as meaning 'mountains of Megiddo' is correct. The restoration of the original text offered by a writer in *ZfN* 7:170 [87], *וְגִבְרִית יְהוָה יִגְבְּרוּ* 'I will gather them into his fruitful mountain' (i.e. the mountain-land of Israel), does not give a definite locality, which seems to be required in this context. Nor are the attempted numerical explanations quoted by Spitta (*Opuscul.* 402) more probable. Gunkel, therefore, thinks (*Schoff.* 295) that 'Harmagedon' must be a name of mythic origin, connected in some way with the fortunes of the dragon who is the lineal heir of the Babylonian dragon Tiamat, the personification of chaos and all evil (cp CREATION, § 1). On p. 380 of the same work Zimmern communicates a conjecture of Jensen that *μαργαδων* is identical with *μαργαδων* in the divine name *Ἐρεσκιγὰλ*, the husband of *Ἐρεσκιγὰλ* (= Bab. Ereskigal), the Babylonian goddess of the underworld. See *Rhein. Mus.* 1909, where in a magic formula given by Kuhnert from Greek papyri we read, *θεὸς χθονίους Ἐρεσκιγὰλ καὶ αὐτῆς Ἐρεσκιγὰλ* (see also HADAD-RIMMON). The same two (doubtless Babylonian) names occur on a lead tablet from Alexandria, *Rhein. Mus.* 18503, where the former is given as *Ἐρεσκιγὰλ*. It would be natural that the spot where Tiamat was defeated (and was again to be defeated) by Marduk should be called by a name which included that of a god of the underworld.

F. K. C.

ARMENIA (אַרְמֵינִי), 2 K 19:37-38, 37:34 AV, RV ARARAT.

ARMLET (כַּוְכָבִית, *CHALOKION* [BAFL.], so RV for AV TABLET in Ex 28:29 (ΠΕΡΙΔΕΣΙΝ) [BAFL.], Nu. 31:50. It may be doubted, however, whether the word does not mean an ornament for the neck (so RVing, NECKLACE) — perhaps a necklace consisting of a number of little spheres, cp Ar. *kamzani*, a little ball. See ORNAMENTS.

ARMONI (אַרְמֹנִי, 'Palatium?'; ΕΡΜΩΝΟΙ [B], NIEL [A], ΑΛΙ [L]), a son of Saul sacrificed by David to the vengeance of the Gibeonites (2 S. 21:8 ff.). See RIZPAH. Neither he nor Mephioseth [L], the two sons of Rizpah, is mentioned elsewhere.

ARMOUR, ARMS (בְּרִיחַ), 1 S. 17:54. See BREAST-PLATE, 1. HELMET, GLOVES, SHIELD; and cp WAR, and WEAPONS.

ARMOUR-BEARER (נִשְׂאֵה בְּרִיחַ), which happens to occur only with a suffix, נִשְׂאֵה בְּרִיחַ, Judg. 9:54, etc., or in the constr. st., נִשְׂאֵה כָּל יוֹאָב, 2 S. 23:37 (1 Ch. 11:39). Abimelech, Saul, Joab, all had armour-bearers; Goliath's squire is called a shield-bearer (1 S. 17:7). On the use of armour-bearers, cp WRS, *OT* 10:431; Che, *Heb. Crit.* 77 n. 18, 521; נִשְׂאֵה בְּרִיחַ (EV 'Ye that bear the vessels of the Lord') is taken by most commentators (Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Cheyne formerly) to mean 'armour-bearers of Yahweh'; but this is improbable (see Dr. *ad loc.*).

ARMOURY. In Neh. 3:10 הַנְּשִׂיחַ, 'weapons, armory', (G, ἡ συνάπτοις), and in Jer. 50:25 אוֹצֵר 'treasure, store', are probably contractions for בֵּית הַנְּשִׂיחַ, 'house of weapons', and הַבֵּית הַנְּשִׂיחַ, 'house of treasure' respectively. In Cant. 4:4 'thy neck is like the tower of David builded for an armoury' הַתְּלַפִּיחַ is difficult. Vg. renders it *cum propugnaculi*, while G merely translates (θαλασσῶν [BS]) Ἀρα, [A], and Q² 202, 81 has θαλασσῶν - ἐπὶ ἁλῶν ἢ ἐπὶ ἁλῶν. The meaning 'armoury' has no philological basis (see Del. *ad loc.*), and yet it is the only meaning which suits the context. Cheyne (*Exp. Times*, June '98) supposes corruption of

ARMY

the text and reads לְשִׂמְעֵים for the shields. The neck of the Shulamite is compared to the tower of David adorned with small metal plates — i.e., perhaps to the 'house of the forest of Lebanon' in which were suspended the shields and targets of gold. Fancifully the poet represents these shields as suspended on the outside (cp Ezek. 27:11). Biddle and Siegfried agree in placing the 'tower' at Jerusalem.

ARMY (צְבָא, חֵי, מִצְרָה). The main army of Israel, like that of all primitive nations, and, in the last resort, of all nations, consisted of the whole able-bodied adult male population.

1. General levy. In Nu. 1:1-4 (P), twenty is fixed as the age at which a man became a soldier; but it is not probable that any such regulation was rigidly observed in practice. This general levy constituted the fighting force of Israel in the wilderness, at the time of the settlement and under the 'judges,' and remained its chief military resource throughout its national history. Under the 'judges,' the armies mentioned are, for the most part, the levy of the tribes or clans immediately concerned. On special occasions, however, such as the war against Sisera, and Saul's relief of Jabesh-gilead, all the fighting men of Israel were summoned, and their obedience to the summons was represented as a paramount religious duty.

The armies obtained from such levies varied greatly in number and efficiency; a clan, or even a tribe, whose immediate interests were threatened, would readily take the field in its full strength. An appeal for a general levy of Israel would scarcely ever be more than partially responded to; Deborah (Judg. 5) complains of the absence of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher; the national leaders sought to prevent such derelictions from duty by the most solemn appeals to religious sanctions. Deborah curses Meroz (Judg. 5:23), and Saul, when a spirit (or impulse) from God came upon him, threatened to cut in pieces the oxen of all recruits (1 S. 11:6).

When armies were required these national or tribal levies were called together by messenger (צִבְיָה, 1 S. 11:7), sound of trumpet (שֹׁפָר, Judg. 6:1), or erection of standard, or other signal (נֵס, Jer. 46, see ENSIGN); when the emergency was over they dispersed to their homes. They were well suited to carry on or repel border forays, but could not maintain prolonged warfare, especially at any distance from their own territory, or even oppose adequate resistance to any formidable invasion. These levies were composed entirely of infantry (2 S. 18:4 to 154); the Israelite territory, in early times, was chiefly hill-country, where cavalry force could neither be formed nor used. The first Israelite who is mentioned as possessing horses is Absalom, 2 S. 15:1 (cp HORSE, § 3).

Such armies were very loosely organised. As Wellhausen (*III* 439 [85]) points out, 'what there was of permanent official authority lay in the hands of the elders and heads of houses';

2. Command. So Abraham leads the expedition to rescue Lot (Gen. 14), and Jair conquers the 'tent villages of Jair' (Nu. 32:41). Similarly, P describes the 'princes' of the tribes as also their captains in war (Nu. 1:4). Deborah (Judg. 5:4 f.) speaks of the princes and leaders of Issachar and other tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). In practice, however, the hereditary heads of tribes and clans were often set aside on account of the ability and self-assertion of other leaders. Indeed, these hereditary heads of houses play a very small part in the actual history, possibly because history emphasises what is exceptional. The 'judges,' whose main function was to head the Israelite armies in special emergencies, were men called by a kind of divine inspiration. Gideon and Saul are not the heads of their tribes or even clans.

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Gideon's family was 'poor in Manasseh and he was the least in his father's house' (Judg. 6.15), and Saul's family is described in almost identical terms (1 S. 9.21). In the absence of any other widely recognised authority, the priests of the great sanctuaries, and especially of the ark, sometimes assumed the command of armies, when called by ambition or the sense of duty (DUBORAH [7.1], the house of Eli [9.1], SAMUEL [9.1]). When the tribes were partly merged in the kingdoms, and the clans and families were in a measure superseded by the towns and village communities, the levy would naturally follow the new order (Amos 5.1). Probably under the kings the levies did not always assemble by clans, but men were collected by the royal officials from the various districts (cp GOVERNMENT, § 20). In any case, the organisation of the levies was subordinated to that of the standing army, and they were divided into 'thousands,' 'hundreds,' 'fifties,' and 'tens,' institutions which are said by an ancient tradition, Ex. 18.25 (JE), to have originated with Moses.

A second important element of the military strength of Israel, as of all nations at a similar stage of develop-

ment, lay in the personal following of men who made war their occupation. These 'bands' (חֲבִירִים), also used of a division of an army) may be roughly likened to the vassals of feudal chiefs, the 'free companies' of the middle ages, and even to the banditti in unsettled districts. As in the case of England and Scotland, the 'bands' flourished specially on the frontiers; the territory of Israel had a frontier very long in proportion to its area. Such 'bands' could take the field much sooner than a clan-levy, and would be better disciplined and much more expert in warfare. More than once they rendered signal service to the nation. The 'vain fellows' whom that captain of banditti, Jephthah, gathered round him (יְהוֹשָׁפָט, Judg. 11.3) were the kernel of the army which defeated Ammon, and David's following was one chief instrument in the restoration of Israel after Gilead. 1 S. 22.30 gives us a detailed account of the formation, character, and career of such a body (see DAVID, § 4). It was a self-constituted frontier-guard, living on the plunder of the neighbouring tribes and by levying blackmail on their fellow-countrymen, whom they claimed to protect. The warlike services rendered by the 'bands' were accompanied by serious drawbacks. They added to the danger of civil war; they embittered the relations with neighbouring tribes; and they were capable, like David, of taking service with foreigners even against their own countrymen. We do not hear of them after David's time; they would scarcely be tolerated by powerful kings, but were sure to reappear in unsettled times.

As the main function of a king was that of permanent commander-in-chief, a monarchy implied some sort of

4. Army. standing army and permanent military organisation. In time of peace the king kept a bodyguard as the main support of his authority, and this bodyguard formed the nucleus of the army in war (cp GOVERNMENT, § 18). We find Saul 'choosing' 3000 men (1 S. 13.2) and sending the rest of the people to their tents. He did not keep these chosen men as a permanent army, for in 1 S. 24.2 he chooses another 3000 when he wishes to pursue David. Probably he did his best throughout his reign to keep by him a picked force, which was virtually a standing army. He had a permanent commander-in-chief, Abner (חֲבִירִים 1 S. 11.50), and his personal following must have included other permanent military officers (cp GOVERNMENT, § 21). David's band of followers during his exile served as the kernel of a much more complete and extensive military organisation. The office of commander-in-chief remained a permanent institution, and the captains of the host (צְבָאוֹת 2 S. 21.4) also appear as permanent officers. A bodyguard, practically a

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continuation of David's companions in exile, was formed, and its captain is mentioned as one of the great officers of state (2 S. 8.1: צְבָאוֹת וְצָרִיף וְשָׂרֵי צְבָאוֹת). Now, however, the bodyguard had come to consist of foreign mercenaries ('Cherethites and Pelethites,' probably Philistines (see CHERETHITES, PELETHITES). In 2 S. 15.1 we find 600 Philistines from Gath in David's army; צָרִיף וְשָׂרֵי צְבָאוֹת, however, in a doublet, suggests a reading *gibbionim*, or 'Gibbeon men,' for *gibbim*, or 'statutes'. If the latter is the correct reading, the Gibbeonites may have been either part of the bodyguard, or else an independent band of mercenaries (see DAVID, § 11.11). The Cherethite and Pelethites are not mentioned after the death of David; but the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries must have remained a permanent institution. 1 K. 11.7 speaks of the captains of the guard, literally 'runners' (רָצִיף צְבָאוֹת) that kept the palace gates (cp 2 K. 10.25). 2 K. 11.4 speaks of 'the centurions of the Cherites and of the guards' (רָצִיף צְבָאוֹת וְשָׂרֵי צְבָאוֹת), where the Cherites are possibly identical with the Cherethites. If the reading in 2 S. 23.2 is correct, and if רָצִיף צְבָאוֹת (RV 'chief among the captains'; RV 'chief of the captains') is rightly explained as referring to the third occupant of a chariot (צָרִיף צְבָאוֹת [B.M.], Ex. 11.7 15.4, etc.), it may indicate the use of chariots by David, though it is probably used in its later sense of 'captain' (see CHARIOT, § 10).

With the very doubtful exception of these 'Shalishim,' we have no reference to Israelite chariots and cavalry before the end of David's reign.

According to EV of 2 S. 8.4, he reserved horses for a hundred chariots out of the spoil taken from Hadadizer ben Rehob, king of Zobah; B.M. translates 'reserved for himself a hundred chariots.' Reuss and Kautzsch translate 'a hundred chariot horses.' No reference is made to the use of these chariots or horses in war; moreover, the passage probably belongs to the last editor of Samuel.

Solomon, however, established a force of 1,400 chariots and 12,000 horsemen (1 K. 10.26), and accordingly we find mentioned among his officers 'captains of his chariots and of his horsemen' (צָרִיף צְבָאוֹת וְשָׂרֵי צְבָאוֹת, 1 K. 9.22). Occasional references occur in the later history to Israelite chariots and horsemen (2 K. 8.2 13.7). Probably the armies of Israel and Judah were modelled on the army of Solomon till the end of these monarchies; but their main reliance would be on the infantry. Towards the close of the Jewish monarchy a quasi-religious feeling against the use of chariots and cavalry seems to have arisen, and Dt. 17.16 forbids the king to multiply horses (cp. Dt. 20.1 18.31). The references to the houghing of horses by Joshua (Josh. 11.6) and David (2 S. 8.4) are probably due to a Deuteronomie redactor.

Nothing is said about paying soldiers. In earlier times the Israelites who formed the national levy would

5. Maintenance. find their own weapons and provisions, the latter being often obtained from the enemy by plunder or from friends by gift or exaction. Probably throughout the history the general levy was mostly provided for in this way; though, as the royal government became more powerful and more completely organised, it may have done something towards feeding and arming these levies (see GOVERNMENT, § 20).

The bodyguard and the rest of the standing army, including the charioteers and cavalry, stood on a different footing. They were maintained by the government (1 K. 1.7), chariot cities being assigned as a provision for the chariots and cavalry. They were probably paid; certainly the foreigners in the bodyguard did not serve for nothing. The plunder taken from enemies would be an important part of the remuneration of the soldiers, and a principle of division between the actual combatants and the reserve is laid down in 1 S. 30.24. The rules as to exemption from military service in

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Dt. 20 are probably an ideal based on traditional public opinion.

No reliance can be placed on the numbers which are given for Israelite armies. At the same time, the two kingdoms seem to have been populous in prosperous times, and a general levy of able-bodied adults may sometimes have attained very large dimensions.

Under powerful kings the Israelite armies were strengthened by the auxiliary forces of subject allies—e.g., Edom (2 K. 31). Doubtless such assistance was sometimes purchased, after the manner of the narrative in 2 Ch. 25.

The details as to the Levites in the account of the deposition of Athaliah in 2 Ch. 23 (cp. 2 K. 11) were probably suggested by the institutions of the Chronicler's own time (c. 300 B.C.).

6. Levitical guard.

These details seem to show that the Levitical guard of the Temple was then in existence. As this guard is not provided for in the Priestly Code, it was probably formed after the time of Ezra. Possibly the *προστάτης τοῦ λευοῦ* [VA] in 2 Mace. 34 may have been the captain of this guard. If so, however, it is difficult to suppose that the present text is correct in ascribing him to the tribe of Benjamin (see, however, BENJAMIN, § 7 end). The captain of this guard, under the title of *στρατηγός*, is mentioned by Josephus in his account of the time of Claudius Caesar (*Ant.* x. 62), and of the destruction of the Temple (*J.* vi. 53), and in Lk. 22.42 and Acts 1.5426. Probably the officers, *ἐπημεταί*, who assisted in the arrest of Jesus (*Jn.* 18.3, cp. 7.45) belonged to this body.

In the post-exilic period, under the suzerainty of the Persians, and of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, the Jews could scarcely be said to have an army. The Book of Nehemiah

clearly shows that they had to trust to their own energy and courage for protection against hostile neighbours; but they fought as a city militia rather than as a peasant levy.

The revolt of the Maccabees made Judaea a military power. The long wars not only habituated the bulk of the people to arms, but also produced a standing army, which soon included many foreign mercenaries. Jewish soldiers also received pay (1 Mace. 14.22), probably, however, only picked bands that formed the standing army and ranked with the other mercenaries. Josephus (*J.* 25) tells us that Hyrcanus I. (135-107 B.C.) was the first Jew who maintained foreign mercenaries (*ἐξωτερικοὶ*). Alexander Jannaeus (106-79 B.C.) employed Padian and Cilician mercenaries, and at one time was at the head of a mercenary army of 1000 horse and 8000 foot, in addition to 10,000 Jews. These mercenaries are styled 'Greeks' (*J.* i. 135, cp. 54). As the Jews had long been subjects of the Greek kings of Egypt and Syria, their armies would be equipped and disciplined after the Greek fashion.

When the East fell under the supremacy of Rome, the Herods, as clients of Rome, formed their armies on the Roman model. Indeed, Herod the Great was at times in command of Roman forces, and Jewish and mercenary 'cohorts' (*σπεῖραι*) are spoken of as fighting side by side with the Romans (*J.* i. 156-162). Herod's army consisted largely of mercenaries drawn chiefly from the Teutonic subjects and neighbours of the empire—Thracians, Germans, and Gauls (*J.* i. 339).

The insurgent armies in the Jewish war were very heterogeneous. The national government appointed military commanders for the various districts, among whom was Josephus. He tells us that he organised an army of 100,000 on the Roman model, including 1500 mercenaries, a body-guard of 600, but only 250 horsemen; a typical Hebrew army in its constitution. The garrison of Jerusalem is said to have consisted of 23,400 men, including Idumaeans and bands of Zealots. They seem to have possessed some organisation and dis-

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cipline, but were divided into adverse factions (*J.* v. 61).

The armies of the other states of Syria did not differ essentially from those of Israel. From the first, however, they made use of chariots and cavalry, and throughout the history, except during the reign of Solomon, the Syrians

were superior to the Israelites in these arms (*Josh.* 11.4-17.16 *Judg.* 1.10-4.7 *1 S.* 13.5 *2 S.* 8.4 *1 K.* 20.1-25 *22.31*, etc.). On the other hand, the great military empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon possessed a much more extensive and effective military organisation. They had corps of chariots, light-armed and heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, together with archers and slingers and engineers. Their armies included large forces of mercenaries and tributaries. For military purposes these great empires stood to the Syrian kingdoms in about the same relation as that of a first-class European power to the smaller Asiatic states.

It is not necessary to notice the Persian army, and of the armies of the Ptolemies and Seleucides we need say only that they were modelled on the Macedonian armies of Philip and Alexander, with some modifications due to Oriental influences. For example, they employed elephants (*1 Mace.* 1.17, etc.).

The Roman army is incidentally alluded to in the NT. The legion (*Mt.* 26.53 *Mk.* 5.9-15 *Lk.* 8.29) varied considerably at different times in numbers and in constitution; during the early empire it was a composite force, consisting

10. Roman army.

of about 6000 legionary infantry, together with cavalry, light-armed auxiliaries, and military engines. The legionary infantry, or legion proper, were divided into ten cohorts. The 'band' (*σπεῖρα*) which took Jesus (*Mt.* 27.27 *Mk.* 15.16 *Jn.* 18.13) was probably a cohort (so RV¹⁸⁸¹) forming the Roman garrison in Jerusalem. The same cohort is mentioned in Acts 21.1. In Acts 10.1 we read of the Italian band, and in 27.1 of the Augustan band. The Italian band may have been an independent cohort of Italian volunteers (*Schür.* *OT* 1.366). The 'Augustan band' (*σπεῖρα Σεβαστεῖος*) may have been part of the Sebasteia—i.e., Samaritan auxiliaries, who, according to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 87), formed a large part of the Roman garrison of Palestine. The name might be, and doubtless was, understood as 'Augustan' as well as 'Sebasteia' (the title 'Augustan' was borne by some of the Roman legions). See further, CORNELIUS, § 1. The officers of the legion were the tribunes and centurions. Six tribunes were attached to a legion and were associated in command. We frequently find a tribune holding independent command of a cohort or larger force; the 'chief captain' (*Jn.* 18.12 *Acts* 21.25), *καταρχος*, commanding the cohort at Jerusalem was a tribune. Each cohort contained ten centuries or bodies nominally consisting of a hundred men; these were commanded by centurions. As the independent cohorts were organised on the model of the legions, it is probable that the cohorts, tribunes, and centurions of the NT belonged to the auxiliary forces. Mommsen says of the Roman garrison in Palestine that it consisted, as elsewhere in provinces of the second rank, of a moderate number of cavalry and infantry divisions, in this case of Samaritans and Syrian Greeks—subsequently one ala and five cohorts or about 3000 men. The province, therefore, did not receive a legionary garrison. A small force under a Roman commandant occupied the citadel at Jerusalem. During the time of the Passover this was reinforced by stationing a stronger division of Roman soldiers in one of the temple buildings (*Proc. Rom. Emp.*, ET, 2.130).

W. H. B.

ARNA (*ARNA*) b. Ozias, in the genealogy of Ezra (4 *Esd.* 12), apparently = ZERATHAN in Ezra 7.4

ARNAN (אַרְנָן; אֲרָנָא [BA], אֲרָנֹון [L]). According to MT of 1 Ch. 3.4, the 'sons of Arnan' occur in the

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genealogy of Zerubbabel. **Q**, Vg. and Syr., however, make Arnan the son of Replath. The name might mean 'noisy'; but ארנן elsewhere, as a personal name, being corrupt (see ARNAN), and the names of the other descendants of Hananiah (see RV) being compounded with -nah, it seems plausible to correct to ארני (Arni), which may have been abbreviated ארנ (Arn) (whence, by corruption, ארנן or ארנן). T. K. C.

ARNI (ארני) [Heb. after NBLXI], Lk. 3:3; RV, is the reading to be preferred to AV ARAM. See RAM, 1.

ARNON (ארנון), Nu. 21:1; see MOAB.

AROD (ארוד, ארודי [U], ארודא [C], [B⁹AE], ארודא [L], Nu. 25:17 = Gen. 46:19, **Arodi** (ארודי, ארודיח [A], אגאריח [U], ארודיח [L], for which the gentilic form **AR** in Nu. 25:17 has **Aredite**. A name in genealogy of GAD (Gen. 46:19). Cp. ARKEL.

AROER (ערוער, ערוער, in Judg. 11:5 שרעויר; *i.e.*, 'bushes of dwarf juniper' [Lag. *Semit.* 1:30]; ארוער [BAL]; gentilic **Aroerite**, ערוערי, see HORTHAM, 2).

1. A city 'on the edge of the torrent-valley of Arnon,' see MOAB (Dt. 2:36 etc.); cp. *OS* 2:12 (86:12, *ἐπ' ὄρους τοῦ ὄρους, in vertice montis*); the descriptions agree with the position of the ruins of 'Ar'ir, on the edge of the precipitous N. bank of the ravine of the Arnon (Barekhardt, *Syria*, 37:2; Tristram, *Moab*, 129-131). The spot is about 11 m. from the mouth of that river. Aroer marked the S. limit of the Remenite territory and of the Israelitish possessions eastward of the Jordan, Nu. 32:33; Dt. 2:36-37; Josh. 12:1 (ארוער [B], 13:16 2 S. 24:5 (ארוער [B], 2 K. 10:33; cp. Judg. 11:5 (ארוער [A], om. L); 1 Ch. 5:8. In Jer. 48:16 (post-exilic) and in the inscription of Moshai (l. 29, ערוער) it appears as Moabish. The Moabites had in fact possessed it before the Israelites, in succession to the Amorites (cp. Nu. 21:29). That Aroer on the Arnon is meant in 2 S. 24:5 is now generally admitted (see Dr. *TBS* 285 f.). The expression 'the cities of Aroer' in Is. 17:2 is geographically difficult; there is no doubt a corruption of the text (see C and cp. *SLOT*).

2. A place E. of Rabbath-Ammon, Josh. 13:25 (ארארא [B], ארארא [A] Jud. 11:14; not identified. Jer. 49:29 96:5) says it was on a mountain 20 R. m. N. from Jerusalem.

3. A place in the far south of Judah, 1 S. 30:3 (mentioned after Jattir), and probably Josh. 15:2 (mentioned after Dimnah). Identified by Rob. with the ruins of 'Ar'ara, 3 hrs. ESE. from Beersheba. (The *ארארא* of *Q* is, in 1 S. is perhaps from *ארארא*; see ADADAH.) T. K. C.

AROM (ארום [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:16. See HATHUM.

ARPACHSHAD (ארפכשד), Gen. 10:22 RV; see below, ARPHAXAD, 1.

ARPAD, AV twice (in Is.) **Arphad** (ארפד, ארפדא [BAL], ארפדא, Ass. *Arpadda*, 2 K. 18:4 (ארפדא [B], ארפד [A], 19:1 (ארפד [B]), Is. 10:9 (not in *Q*), 36:19 and 37:33 (ארפד [B⁹AD (Q)], Jer. 49:23 (ארפד [A], ארפד [S*]). Of these passages Is. 10:9 is the most important, because we can unambiguously fix its date and authorship. Isaiah, writing in 711 B.C., makes the Assyrian king refer to the recent capture of Hamath and Arpad (reckoned by the Assyrians to Hatti-Land) as a warning to Jerusalem. Arpad had been frequently captured by the early Assyrian kings, but was finally subjugated and Assyrianised by Tiglath-pileser III. in 740. From this time it takes its place among the Eponym cities. Its importance probably lay in its command of a Euphrates ford, though it was not on that river. We find that a city Nibiru ('the ford') was reckoned to belong to the governor of Arpad. Arpad is now *Tell-Rifai*, 13 m. from Aleppo to NW. C. B. W. J.

1 'Aroer' is an Arabising 'broken plural' of *'ar'ār*, 'dwarf juniper,' a plant which abounds in rocky localities (see HATHUM).

ARPHAXAD

ARPHAXAD, RV *Arpachshad* (ארפכשד; ארפכשדא [BAL]; -Δηκ [Jos.], the third son of Shem, Gen. 10:22-24; cp. Gen. 11:10-11 (all P), 1 Ch. 1:17 f. (*Q*) omits these two) 24. The name has been much discussed.

Hochart and many after him (e.g. Luzzatto, Kautzsch in *HWB*, and N. S. Zohar, *ibid.* 1:2 f.; *Menorah*, *ibid.* 20) identify it with the Arpachlitis of Ptolemy (vi. 12), a region on the Upper Zab, NE. from Nineveh. On this theory, however, *Arpachshad* (as we can hardly write it) would have to be the Arpachlitis (as we can hardly write it), on the other hand, long ago identified Arpachshad with the Chaldeans (Gen. 10:9), and Ges. (*ibid.*, *Sch.* 6:1 f.; 1 Ch. 1:17, Sayce (*ibid.*, *Men.* 147), adopting this view, treated the *ארפכשד* as compounded of an assumed noun *ארפכ*, 'boundary' (Ar. *arfa*), and *שד* = *שדן*, 'Chaldean'.

Two things at least are certain; we cannot dispense with Babylonia in this context, and in Gen. 11:27 Arpachshad is represented as the source of the Tenthite family to which Abraham belonged. The latter part of the name *ארפכשד* must, therefore, be *שדן* = *שדן*, Chaldean. It is equally clear, however, that the Assyrian province of Arbaha (which may, or may not, be the Arpachlitis of Ptolemy) would be very appropriately introduced after Ashur, and that, apart from the last syllable (*shad*), Arpachshad has received from the earlier writers no explanation that is even plausible, except that of Hochart and Noldeke.

Putting these facts together, the present writer suggested (*ibid.*, Feb. 1897, pp. 145 ff.) the following theory. Arpachshad, or at least *ארפכשד*, is really not one word but two words. Arpach (*ארפכ*) and Chesed (*שדן*). The former is the Heb. name of the Assyrian province of Arbaha or (*KB* 2:2 f.) Arabaha, which, according to Winckler, is not Arpachlitis, but a district N. of the Tigris, S. of the Median Mountains, and W. of Elam. The latter is Chaldean (see CHALDEAN, Gen. 10:9), therefore, upon this theory, originally ran, 'The sons of Shem; Elam and Ashur and Arpach' = Chesed and Land and Aram. Verse 24, as E. Meyer and Dillmann agree, is an editorial interpolation (cp. 11:27 ff.). The form Arpachshad in 11:27 ff. will be due to the editor, who misunderstood *ארפכשד* in 10:22, and it will not be too bold to restore *ארפכ* = *ארפכ*, Chesed. The alternative² is to suppose the original reading to have been *ארפכשד* = *ארפכ*, Arpach Chesed, which the scribe, through an error of the ear, changed into Arpach Chesed (*ארפכשד*).

Hommel, however (*ibid.*, 17th Oct. 1896; *MTT* 212, 264-268), prefers to explain the word as Arpachshad, an 'Egyptian variant' for the Heb. Ur-kasdim, *ur* being taken as the Egyptian article; he compares the old (?) Egyptian-Helwan name Putel, and the Semitic-Egyptian *putel-ur-kasdim* (WM. *ibid.*, *ibid.* 304). If only we had sure evidence that there was an Egyptian mania in early Palestine similar to the Semitic mania of the Egyptians of the Middle Empire, and could also think that P had access to records of extreme antiquity, fairly accurately preserved, this explanation would at once become plausible. A comprehensive study of the names in P, however, does not compel us, indeed it scarcely permits us, to make the second of these assumptions. PUTHEL (*putel*) is distinctly an artificial name, and if Arpachshad should really be read Ur-kasdim we should on this analogy be inclined to regard it as artificial too. In it, if a reference to Ur-kasdim would no doubt be admissible, since this place or district is referred to by P (11:27) as well as by J₂. It is chiefly the presence of *ur* in *ארפכשד* that

¹ Prof. Jensen informs the writer that he has independently formed the same opinion as to the origin of Arpachshad, but that he prefers to identify Arpach with Arpachlitis (mod. *Arpach*). This view has occurred to the writer also.

² The transition from *ur* (Arbaha) to *ur* in *ארפכשד* has not then to be accounted for. On the former theory, the Priestly Writer, who was not indebted either to a cuneiform record or to a Babylonian informant, received the name in a slightly incorrect form, the final *h* having been softened in pronunciation to *ch*.

ARROW

prevents us from reading Ur-Gasdm (written אר קסד) in Gen. 10:22 between Asshur and Lud.

The name given in Isai. i. to the king of Media who was formerly identified with Deioces the founder of Ecbatana, or with Phraortes, his son. The name, however, has been borrowed to give an air of antiquity to the narrative, and, as in the cases of Hecataeus, and others in this book, stands for some more modern personage, probably Mithradates. See Isai. ii. 10, 11.

ARROW, see WEAPONS, DIVINATION, § 2111.

ARROWSNAKE in Gen. 49:17 אֲרֻנָּה [עֲרֻנָּה] (epitaphos, ΕΡΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΟΣ [ΕΡΑΔΗ]) (see SERPENT, § 1, no. 10), and in Is. 31:4 קֶשֶׁן [קֶשֶׁן] (ΕΙΧΙΝΟΣ [ΕΙΧΙΝΟΣ]), AV GRV AT OWL (q.v.), 21; see SERPENT, § 1, no. 5.

ARSACES (ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ [AR. -σακ Nonce V]), 'king of Persia and Media, by whom Demetrius Nicator (Dimitrios [2]) was defeated, and made a prisoner in Mace. 11:2 f. 15:22. See PERSIA.

ARSARETH, RV ARZARETH (so Lat. *arsareth*, also *arsareth*, *arsary*; AV^{mg} ARARATH) אֲרָרָת (cp Dt. 2:27 [28] Jer. 22:30) 'the other hand,' 'the region, a journey of one year and a half beyond the Euphrates, where the exiled tribes were supposed to be settled (q. v. 13:45); cp 7:43. This belief in the 'Lost Tribes' is found already in Jos. 4:12, vi. 5, 23.

ARSIPHURITH (ΑΡΣΙΦΟΥΡΙΘ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:16, RV; see JOKAII.

ARTAXERXES (אַרְתַּחְשֶׁרֶשׁ, Ezra 4:7, or אֲרֻחְשֶׁרֶשׁ, Ezra 4:7b, or אֲרֻחְשֶׁרֶשׁ, Ezra 4:7c 17:14 St. Neh. 2:1 5:14 13:6, Baer's text; ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ [B]; ΑΡΘΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ [A]; ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΗΣ [N^o 1] (Artauerxes) [N^o 2] (Artauerxes) [N^o 3] (Artauerxes) [N^o 4] (Artauerxes) [N^o 5] (Artauerxes) [N^o 6] (Artauerxes) [N^o 7] (Artauerxes) [N^o 8] (Artauerxes) [N^o 9] (Artauerxes) [N^o 10] (Artauerxes) [N^o 11] (Artauerxes) [N^o 12] (Artauerxes) [N^o 13] (Artauerxes) [N^o 14] (Artauerxes) [N^o 15] (Artauerxes) [N^o 16] (Artauerxes) [N^o 17] (Artauerxes) [N^o 18] (Artauerxes) [N^o 19] (Artauerxes) [N^o 20] (Artauerxes) [N^o 21] (Artauerxes) [N^o 22] (Artauerxes) [N^o 23] (Artauerxes) [N^o 24] (Artauerxes) [N^o 25] (Artauerxes) [N^o 26] (Artauerxes) [N^o 27] (Artauerxes) [N^o 28] (Artauerxes) [N^o 29] (Artauerxes) [N^o 30] (Artauerxes) [N^o 31] (Artauerxes) [N^o 32] (Artauerxes) [N^o 33] (Artauerxes) [N^o 34] (Artauerxes) [N^o 35] (Artauerxes) [N^o 36] (Artauerxes) [N^o 37] (Artauerxes) [N^o 38] 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splendour and dignity—men of Arvad, he says, rowed its ships (1 K 10) and named its walls (1 K 11) and likewise mentioned (1 K 10), the only Syrian place named in the list of nineteen places in 1 Macc 15:22 (see MACE 10:18, 15:22, § 30). Arvad was the most northerly of the great Phoenician cities, antecessor, with Sidon and Tyre, of Tripoli, which lies some thirty miles farther south.

Built on an island (*la habal t. amir*, K 41:108, l. 26 f.), about half a mile long N. to S., and a little over a quarter of a mile broad, lying slightly less than two miles from the mainland, it dared to resist Thutmose III, when apparently most of the other Phoenician cities yielded without notice (see his Annals in Briggs, *Hist. of Egypt*, 1:11, 296 f.); and Tiglath-pileser I. tells how he embarked on ships of Arvad and sailed on the Euxine Sea. It was still independent in the ninth century B.C., and in the time of Sargon II and Tyre and Gebal were the really important Phoenician centres. (Cp also ASUR-RAVI-EM, § 4, end.)

In the days of Ezekiel it was subordinate to Tyre; but in the Persian age it regained its ancient importance, and in the time of Alexander exercised control over quite an extensive district on the mainland.

In the first half of the second millennium B.C. there must have been more equality between the Arvadites of the mainland and those on the island, if W. Max Müller is right in believing that the Egyptian name corresponds to a plural form *arwz*. The ruins of the gigantic wall that once surrounded the island on three sides (see Pictorial, as below, and esp. Renan, *Pl. n. 7*) prove that the Arvadites knew other things besides rowing. Euseb. *Chron.*, *Armenia*, ed. Anheir, 2:172, records that Arvad was founded in 700 B.C., and Strabo (xvi, 2:137) states, although only with a *causa*, that it was founded by fugitives from Sidon. We cannot, of course, assign to the eighth century the real founding of Arvad or even what Dillmann (art. Gen. 10:12) seems to suggest. The founding of the smaller town distinguished from a settlement on the mainland (cp the later Antaradus, mod. Tartus [see Euseb., above]). The words of Assyriologists quoted above (cp *AT* 25:2-22) preclude this. The Egyptian inscriptions show that in the second millennium B.C. Arvad was one of the most important Phoenician cities (see *Encyclop.*).

Literature: Strabo (*Geog.*); Ptolemy (*Geog.*); Renan, *Arvad*, 40; WMM, *Ar. n. Eur.*, 156 f.; *COF* 1:27 ff.; Renan, *Arvad*, 40; *Ar. n. Eur.*, 156 f.; G. J. Chester, *Suez, West, East, Suez, Suez*, 75-78; see further ref. in Vigouroux; a map of island in Admiralty Charts No. 2765, or W. Allen, *The Dead Sea*, 1, end.

ARZA (אֲרָצָה: אֲרָצָה [B], אֲרָצָה [V], אֲרָצָה [L]). King Baasha's prefect of the palace at Tirzah, and doubtless Zimri's accomplice in the assassination of the king (1 K 16:11), see ZIMRI. The form of the name appears to be somewhat uncertain.

ARZARETH (אַרְזָרֶתְחִי, 4 Esd. 13:45, RV; AV ARSARETH).

ASA (אָסָה, § 51 אֲסָה [BAL],² perhaps short for אֲסָהִי, i.e., 'Yahweh healeth'; cp Aram. and Ar. *asā*, 'to heal'; Ass. *asān*, 'a physician'; a title applied to the god [cp Del., *Is. II/77*]; the name may express a pious wish that Yahweh would heal; i.e., restore prosperity to—his people; cp Hos. 7:11 f.).

c. Son of Abijah and third king of Judah (first half of 9th cent. B.C.; see CHRONOLOGY, § 32). Of Asa's long reign but one event is handed down to us on the best authority (1 K 15:16-22), and it speaks in favour of the royal annals that they have not buried such an action of the reigning king in oblivion. The subject of the narrative is nothing less than the purchase by Asa of help from the king of Damascus against Judah's northern brethren. All the silver and gold that was still to be found in the royal treasury, Asa, we are told, sent to Benhadad, king of Aram, to bribe him to transfer his covenant of friendship from Israel to Judah. Thus it was to Judah that the first Aramæan invasion of Israel was due, and we can believe the statement of the Chronicler that Asa's conduct did not pass without prophetic rebuke (2 Ch. 16:7-9) on the details no stress can be laid. The situation of Asa was, it is true, difficult. By pushing his frontier to Ramah, Baasha threatened to

reduce the kingdom of Judah to vassalage, for Ramah was only 4 m. from Jerusalem. The diversion caused by the Aramæan invasion removed this danger. Asa summoned 'all Judah' to the task of pulling down the fortifications erected by Baasha at Ramah, and with the material fortified Geba and Mizpah, the one a little to the NE. the other to the SW., of Ramah. It is quite another writer who tells us that Asa 'did then which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, like David his father' (1 K 15:11). To the Deuteronomistic compiler matters affecting the cultus were more important than was political morality; a later writer, the Chronicler, has a much more complete justification of it (it was but trustworthy for his religious eulogy of Asa). The details of 1 K 15:12-24 are dealt with elsewhere (see BAASHA, BENHADAD, § 2 (1), etc.).

Three other points alone, in the compiler's own statements, need to be referred to. The name of Asa's mother is given (1 K 15:1) as 'Maacah' (מַאכָה), and she is called the daughter of Meshalem, whilst in 2:2 Maacah is the name of the mother of Abijah. Most probably 'Meshalem' in 2:2 is a mistake for 'Uriel' (see 2 Ch. 13:2); but it is not altogether impossible to hold with Wellhausen that Abijah and Asa were brothers (cp MAACAH, n. 4).

The second point is that in his old age, according to the compiler, Asa had a disease in his feet (1 K 15:23). The Chronicler accepts this (doubtless traditional) statement, but gives it a new colour, partly by changing the date of the war between Asa and Baasha (cp CHRONICLES, § 8, and WRS, *OTJ* 197), partly by the remark (cp MOUTRIEN) that 'he sought, not to Yahweh, but to the physicians' (2 Ch. 16:12). Whether the assumption that there was a class of physicians who treated diseases from a non-religious point of view is just or not may be questioned.

The third point is a tantalising mention (1 K 15:14) of 'all Asa's warlike deeds' (כָּל מַעֲשֵׂי מִלְחָמָה). Is this, as Klostermann supposes, an allusion to the victory over that Cushite king, who, according to 2 Ch. 14:6-15, invaded Judah with a huge force, and came as far as Maresah (see ZERAH, § 2)? Or does not the compiler make the most of the achievements to which Asa, it is probable, could legitimately lay claim (cp 1 K. 15:23), not always with much benefit to his reputation?

2. Father of BERECHIAH, 2; 1 Ch. 9:16 (אֲסָה [B]); omitted in Neh. 11:17.

ASADIAS (אַסַּדְיָהוּ [B] אֲסַדְיָהוּ [A], *asadi*), an ancestor of Banihabbar, 10; cp. HASABIAH.

ASAEI (Tob. 11, אֲסַיָּה [BNA]; Itala, *Asahel*; Eth. *Asahel*; Heb. versions אֲסַיָּה, אֲסַיָּה, a name occurring in the genealogy in Tob. 11. The genealogy is omitted by the Aram. version, but given in a very regular form in the Heb. text, Neubauer, *Itala*, and S. The Greek texts, however, mark off Asahel from the other names by saying *ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος* 'Asahel', a distinction preserved in Vg. 'ex tribu et civitate Nephthali', though the word 'Asahel' is omitted. They are, therefore, probably right also in their orthography, since, according to Gen. 16:24 Nu. 26:4 [A], etc., אֲסַיָּה is a Naphtalite (see JAHZIEL). If this is so the name is אֲסַיָּה.

ASAHIEL (אֲסַחִיָּהוּ, § 31; אֲסַחִיָּהוּ [BNA]; acc. [L], but 1 Ch. 11:20 as in B); אֲסַחִיָּהוּ Jos. 1, youngest (22 S. 21) son of Zerah David's sister, and brother of Joab and Abishai. He was renowned for his lightness of foot (*ib.*). As in the case of his unfortunate cousin, almost all we know of him is the story (2 S. 21:25) of his death at the reluctant hands of Abner (7:7). 'There lacked of David's servants but unquiet men and Asahel' (7:30); such is the statement of David's loss in the battle of Gibeon. With this special mention agree the fact that his name stands first in the list of the 'thirty' heroes in 2 S. 23 and 1 Ch. 11 (but cp AMASAI). It is true, another account is given in the new version of the battle of

¹ It has been supposed (e.g. Ges. *Thes.*) that the name Arvad means 'Refuge'.

² Mr. Burkitt argues that *Arabah*, *Asaph*, 'was once the rendering of the LXX' for *Asa*, as *ασαφ* is for *אסא* Sira (*Cambridge University Reporter*, March 1877, p. 609 f.). Cp. ASAPH, 4.

ASAHIAH

heroes in 1 Ch. 27 (v. 7), where we find Asahel commander of a division of David's army. The incompleteness of this statement with his death before David became king of Israel was obvious. The present text, accordingly, adds 'and Zebadiah his son after him, for which (B) has 'son and of Adadapha, to which (C) adds *δυναστεύοντες*.

2. An itinerant Levitical teacher temp. Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. 17 (17:17) (B.V.) Azara (L.).

3. A 'corcor of chambers in the temple temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:1).

4. Father or ancestor of JONATHAN (L.), temp. Ezra, Ezra 10:11 (A) (B), temp. (R.), R.V. as in (1) 1 Esd. 9:14, Azara (A) (B).

ASAHIAH (אֲסַחִיָּה), 2 K. 22:14 (L.), RV ASAHIAH, 2.

ASAIAH (אֲסַיָּה), § 31, 'Yahwe bath made'; אֲסַיָּה (BAL.).

1. One of the Simeonite chieftains who dispossessed the Meninim (see RV), 1 Ch. 4:11 (A) (B).

2. King's servant, to Josiah, 2 K. 22:12, AV ASAHIAH (אֲסַיָּה) (M.), אֲסַיָּה (L.), 14 (אֲסַיָּה) (B.V.) אֲסַיָּה (L.) 2 Ch. 31:10 (A) (B), אֲסַיָּה (L.).

3. A Merarite family, 1 Ch. 6:35 (L.) (A) (B), 156 (A) (B), אֲסַיָּה (L.), 11 (אֲסַיָּה) (L.).

4. A Shilohite family, 1 Ch. 9:3 (A) (B), probably same as (3), but cp Macc. 1:1, 13 (Neh. 11:2).

ASANA (אֲסָנָה) (B), 1 Esd. 5:1 = Ezra 2:50, ASANAH.

ASAPH (אֲסַפִּי), an abbreviated name, § 50, אֲסַפִּי (BAL.).

1. The father of Joah, the recorder, 2 K. 18:18 (אֲסַפִּי) (B.V.), אֲסַפִּי וְיֹאחָז (L.), 37 (אֲסַפִּי) (B) = Is. 36:1, but (C) suggests the reading 'Shaphat' or 'Shaphat'.

2. The keeper of the royal 'paradise' or forest (probably in Palestine), Neh. 2:3 (אֲסַפִּי) (L.), אֲסַפִּי (L.).

3. The eponym of the Asaphite guild of singers, Ezra 2:43 (L.), Neh. 7:41 (L.) (only R.V. in (C) 22 (אֲסַפִּי) (B.V.) 1 Ch. 25:1, and elsewhere, who is represented by the Chronicler as a seer (2 Ch. 29:30) and as a contemporary of David and Solomon, and chief of the singers of his time, Neh. 12:46 1 Ch. 15:17 (A) (B) 16:5 (אֲסַפִּי) (L.) 2 Ch. 5:12, etc. On the later equation of Asaph with the Ar. Lokman and Gk. Esop, cp *Story of Asaph*, xxvii, f. Complicated as the history of these guilds is, we are able to see from Ezra 2:41 that at one time the terms 'b'ne Asaph' and 'singers' were identical, and that the singers were kept distinct from the Levites. The guilds of the b'ne Asaph and b'ne Korah were the two hereditary choirs that superintended the musical services of the temple. They do not seem to have been very prominent before the Exile. More important, however, was the triple division. This comprised the three great names of Asaph, Heman, and Ethan (or Jeduthun), which were reckoned to the three Levitical houses of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (1 Ch. 6:1; see PSALMS). A still older attempt to incorporate the name among the Levites may, according to WRS, *OTC* 204, n. 1, be seen perhaps in the occurrence of the name ANTASAPH (q.v.), the eponym of the Asaphite guild; a clear example may be seen in Neh. 12:4 where Hashabiah, Sherebiah, and Jeshua, the chiefs of the Levites, are appointed to praise. Similarly, in Neh. 11:17 three singers are mentioned: Mattaniah, Abda, and Bakbukiah. Mattaniah and Abda are descendants of Asaph and Jeduthun. 'Bakbuk' we should correct to 'Bukkiath', a son of Heman. Thus, each of the three great guilds finds its representative. See EPHRAIM, 2, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN.

The name Asaph occurs in the titles of certain Psalms (see PSALMS).

4. The best supported reading in Mt. 17 (אֲסַפִּי) (L. WH.), cp RV¹⁹⁰²; on this reading see ASA, footnote).

1 In 2 Ch. 31:15 (B.V.) has אֲסַפִּי for אֲסַפִּי.

2 In 1 Ch. 26:1 (B) reads אֲסַפִּי, which corresponds very nearly to 1 Ch. 26:1 (C) אֲסַפִּי. In 2 Ch. 29:13 (B) reads אֲסַפִּי.

ASCENT OF THE CORNER

where TR and EV have Asa. See GENERALITIES OF JESUS, § 2 b.

ASARA (אַסָּרָה) (B.V.), 1 Esd. 5:1 RV; AV AZARA.

ASARAMEL, a name occurring in the inscription set up in honour of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14:21). The writing begins as follows: 'On the 18th day of Ithul in the 172nd year, this is the third year of Simon the high priest *εὐσπαρευ* (A) (B), whence AV SARAMEL, *εὐσπαρευ* (B.V.), *εὐσπαρευ* (L.) in a great congregation etc. It has long been recognised that this expression is a transliteration of some Hebrew word which stood in the original, as is the case with the difficult *εὐσπαρευ* in the title of this book (see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 11). By some it is taken to represent a place, e.g., it might be a corruption of Jerusalem (Castellon) or to represent the Heb. אֲסָרָה, 'the court of the people of God' (L.), the great court of the temple (Kell); cp Lw. *Ges. d. H.* 1412) or אֲסָרָה, the court of Millo (Grotius), or אֲסָרָה, 'the gate of the people of God'. It is better, however, to see in this expression an honorary title. From 1 Macc. 13:42 we see that contracts were dated from the first year of Simon 'the great high priest, and captain and leader of the Jews' (cp the titles given him in 11:47 and 15:1), and it seems natural that in an inscription written in honour of Simon we should find more than the simple title 'high priest.' (cp the Pesh. אֲסָרָה, 'leader for "great one" in Israel'). Hence Asaramel is taken by many (Wernsdorf, Scholz, Grünm, Zuckler, etc.) to represent אֲסָרָה, 'prince of the people of God.' The great difficulty would then be in the presence of the preposition *εὐ*. This, however, may have been inserted by a copyist who supposed that the word was the name of a place not of a person. Possibly *εὐ* is an integral part of the word, and we should read אֲסָרָה, 'the sprout (cp Is. 11:1) of the people of God, or better, אֲסָרָה, 'protector of the people of God' (cp 7:47).

ASAREEL, or, better, RV Asarel (אֲסָרְאֵל, § 67; cp אֲסָרְאֵל, and see ALAN, § 4, n. 5; אֲסָרְאֵל (B), *εὐ*, [A] אֲסָרְאֵל, [L] which adds *καὶ ὠρα* (L.), 'son' of (the unknown) Jehaleleel (1 Ch. 4:10) and 'brother' of Zipp (q.v.), 2), Ziphah and Tina.

ASARELAH (אֲסָרְאֵלָה) (B.V. Ginsb.), § 73; cp אֲסָרְאֵלָה; אֲסָרְאֵלָה (B), אֲסָרְאֵלָה (L.), 'son of Asaph' 1 Ch. 25:2; called Jesarelah, EV JESHARELAU (אֲסָרְאֵלָה); אֲסָרְאֵלָה (L.) in 7:14.

ASBACAPHATH (אַסְבַּאֲכַפָּאֶת) (L.), in Pesh. the name is אֲסַפִּי (L.), 1 Esd. 5:60 RV¹⁹⁰², AV (16:11) **Asbazareth**, RV **Asbasareth** (אַסְבַּאֲכַפָּאֶת) (L.), the name answering in 1 Esd. 5:60 to the Esarhaddon of 1 Esd. 4:2 (which is reproduced by (C), *αχσορδαν*). The right reading is *ασβαφαθ*, which represents אֲסַפִּי. This is evidently an alternative to the reading אֲסַפִּי of Ezra 1:6, and it suggests that the writer of the gloss in Ezra 1:6 (see 'Ezra' in *SBOT*) found, not אֲסַפִּי, but אֲסַפִּי in his text of Ezra 1:2. So Marq. (*Fund.* 56); but, in connection with the difficult theory that the name originally given in Ezra 1:2 was אֲסַפִּי = אֲסַפִּי, Sargon; see ASAPHAR.

ASCALON (אַסְכַּלֹּן), 1 Macc. 10:36, etc., RV ASIKELON (q.v.).

ASCENT OF THE CORNER (עֲלִיַּת הַכֹּרֶן): אֲסַפִּי

1 The prefixed *εὐ* is explained by Schürer (*GH* 1:107, n. 17) as a corruption of *σπερ* (שֶׁפֶר), which corresponds to the Gr. *σπερματός*. Renan's suggestion (*Hist. d'Isra.* ix, cap. 1 *ad fin.*) that *εὐσπαρευ* is a corruption of some *εὐσπα*, may be mentioned; in his view the expression is similar to those which Arabian authors often add to the names of persons.

the Ashdodites (cp 'Gath of the Philistines,' Am 6:2, and for a wider use of Ashdod see below). Others (Del. *Proc.* 289 f., W. 1) have read as two names, and explain the latter as אֲשֶׁדּוֹת, the port of Ashdod (cp note 1, below).

Ashdod soon regained its power, and in the following century the great city of Syria (Herod 2:157) was besieged by Antiochus for twenty-nine years, an allusion to which is seen in Jer 25:22 (less probably also Zeph 2:4; see ZEPHANIAH, n. 3). Further evidence of its independence may be seen in the mention of Abimilk, king of Ashdod, temp. Esarhaddon (K 17¹⁰ 355:12).

The Ashdodites were allied with the Ammonites and the Ammonites against the Jews of Jerusalem (Neh. 4:7 [1]), and Nehemiah, denouncing the foreign marriages, mentions the women of Ashdod (also of Ammon and Moab), whose offspring speak a degraded dialect called אֲשֶׁדּוֹתִי (Neh. 13:24, אֲשֶׁדּוֹתִי [cf. BSM]). cp the allusion in Zeph. 9:6. The use of Ashdod in these passages is peculiar, and, it genuine, suggests that the name Ashdod comprised also the surrounding district (cp Schrader's explanation of *asduddumma* above).

Ashdod and its neighbourhood was ravaged by Judas (1 Macc. 5:68, cp 4:18), and in 117 B.C. his brother Jonathan defeated Apollonius there and burnt the temple of Dagon (1 Macc. 10:77 ff., cp 11:4). John Hyrcanus burnt the towers in the surrounding fields after defeating Gedeonians (1 Macc. 16:1). In the time of Alexander Jannaeus it belonged to Judaea (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 154); but it was separated from it under Ptolemy (Jos. *Ant.* 7:7). In the N.E. it is mentioned only once, in connection with Philip's return from Gaza to Caesarea (Acts 8:40). See Schür., *GTZ* 267 f., W. *GTZ* 1223 f.; and cp PITT-RIVERS.

ASHDOTH-PISGAH (אֲשֶׁדּוֹת פִּסְגָּה) is uniformly translated, in RV, 'the slopes (image or springs) of Pisgah' (Dt 3:27-4:4 [here also W.]). Jos. 12:1 [p. 100 mng. note] 13:1; for G's readings see PISCATH. In like manner, the Heb. אֲשֶׁדּוֹת, rendered 'springs' in Josh. 10:43-12, is in G's slopes. The declivities or shoulders of a mountain plateau, where it sinks sharply into the plain, are meant. The word is perhaps derived from אֲשַׁךְ, in the sense of 'pouring out';² the explanation usually given is that the Ashdodites are the line on the mountain-side where springs break forth. See PISCATH.

ASHER (אָשֶׁר: אֲשֶׁר [B.M.], אֲשֶׁר [A.N. 7:7], אֲשֶׁר [B. Jos. 17:14]; Jos. אֲשֶׁר: gentile אֲשֶׁר).

1 Name and origin. Asherite, the eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. Important for the history of Israel, it is traced by the Yahwist to Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen. 30:12 f.), this tribe, perhaps more than the other Zilpah and Bilhah tribes (see ISRAEL, § 5), raises questions difficult to answer. Is the popular etymology (Gen. 30:13, probably also alluded to in the 'Blessings') correct, or does the name not rather point to some deity – in which case it is natural to connect it with the root אֲשַׁךְ ('to be propitious,' whence the name of the Assyrian God Asur²³). In what relation is Asher, stand to a once somewhat important state called *Aseru*,

Ashurru, which occupied W. Galilee in the time of Seti I and Ramses II (WMM, *Is. n. 1* 236-9)? Did that ancient people to some extent throw in their lot with the invaders from the wilderness (cp HANANIER), or is Asher in the O.T. simply a geographical name for some Israelites who settled in a district already long known as Asher? Hommel (1881 228-237) thinks that the Asherites were one of several Isachthian tribes which, before the time of Moses, had encamped in the district between Egypt and Judah (cp STUTTGARTER) and that they are the Habiri referred to in the Amarna letters as having burst into Palestine from the south. Lastow, on the other hand, inclines to identify the Habiri with the Asherite clan Heber (see below, § 4) and to connect the Asherite clan Malchiel with the followers of Malki, the writer of several of the Amarna letters, while G. A. Barton suggests that the sons of Abi-asita (Abi-Isa-Asa), of whom we hear so much in the letters of Kile-Addi of Gaba, may have become an important constituent part of the O.T. tribe of Asher, so that it inherited their name in abbreviated form. That the O.T. Asherites were at all events not

2. Earlier references. very closely bound to Israel is proved by our earliest historical notice of the tribe, according to which it took no interest in the rising against Sisera: 'Asher sat still at the shore of the sea, and abode by his creeks' (Judg. 5:17).¹ Moreover, that they were somewhat mixed up with older inhabitants appears clearly enough in Judg. 1:2. Whilst, therefore, the fertility ascribed in the 'Blessings' of Jacob and Moses to the district where Asher dwelt, although it at once suggests the popular etymology (see above), is known to have been really characteristic of the part of Galilee in question (see ref. in Dr. on Dt 33:14, and cp BRZATH), we can hardly say how far the distinctness from the Phoenicians of the coast, apparently implied in 7:23 of the later Blessing, was an actual fact. On the other hand, the writer of the account of ISRAEL (7:7-11) seems to have thought Asher worth mentioning as included in the Benjaminite claim (see ASHURITES, GUTHRIE, 1). It is not surprising in view of the prevailing vagueness, that the 'Blessing of Jacob' speaks of ZEBULUN in almost the same words that the Song of Deborah had applied to Asher, and that the 'Blessing of Moses' then associates ISRAEL with Zebulun. Definite boundary there can hardly have been, whilst the distribution of the population must have changed somewhat from age to age. We need not wonder that the account of Asher's territory

3. Boundaries. which the priestly compiler has given us in Josh. 19:24-31 (in which some scholars have found traces of JE) is unusually vague. Not many of the places can be identified with certainty. ALAMATH (Wady el-Melek), JIMATH (Jefat), KAMATH (Kadab), KANAN (Kana) have probably been identified, and possibly also ELAM (A. 100, A. 100, 1) and HANATH, (C. 100, 100). UMMATH should probably be read Acher, SAMATH (7:7) may perhaps be the Nahr ez-Zarka, MISATH and HOSATH (7:7) are probably to be recognised in Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions.

That Acher or Achizib or Sidon was ever included in an Israelite tribe Asher, is a purely ideal conception, and the same is clearly true (Judg. 1:31) of other cities in the list. For indications of an Aramæan element in the population (2 S. 10:6) see ARAM, § 5.

The tribe to the S. of Asher was Manasseh. In Josh. 17:11 we have a Yahwistic passage which is commonly interpreted as declaring that Dor lay within the limits of territory ideally assigned to Asher, although it really belonged to Manasseh. This interpretation gives support to the hypothesis that Sihor-Labnath (Josh. 19:26) is to be taken as the southern boundary of Asher, and to be identified with the river Zarka, which enters the sea almost midway between Dor and Caesarea. If Asher really moved northwards from an earlier home

¹ On the statement in Judg. 6:35-7:23, that Asher took part in the conflict with Midian, see Moore, *ad loc.*

¹ So in 1 Macc. 14:34 Gazara (in reality 17 m. to N.E.) is 'upon the borders of Amos'; cp also (doubtfully) 2 Ch. 28:18. ² Delitzsch compares the Ass. *adu*, pl. *adû*, the 'base' of anything (*Proc.* 107; cp Dr. on *Deut.* 3:17).

³ Aacle long ago wrote, 'Asher, like Gad, is a god of good fortune, the consort of Aserah' (*Verdicht. Gesch. von der Egypt. zu Mesopotam. Götterwelt*, 1877, p. 542), and both parts of this statement may still be defended. So Che. *Geogr.* 7, (4) 1, 100 (on Is. 17:4). Cp Del. *Acc.* 117R 143. G. A. Barton (*Proc.* 13174-13175) suggests a connection with the divine name implied in the name Abi-asita referred to towards the end of § 1 (see ASHURITE, § 3). Jensen (*Witter u. Armenier*) offers proof that the name of the consort of the goddess Asera was Hadad or Kammân, the storm-god. Had he also the title ASIR? Lastly H. Skipwith (*Proc.* 11241 f.) even suggests a connection between אֲשֶׁר and Osiris (the father of Horus; cp HANANIER 1).

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in S. Palestine (see above, § 1), traces or at least memorials of it may have long survived (see SHILOH-LEVIATHAN). This would make it not quite so difficult to understand the account of P. even if it is a fact that he really brings Asher farther S. than Carmel (Josh. 19:26).

The linguistic peculiarities of the verse Josh. 17:11 support the suggestion of Tufanau (*loc. cit.*) that all that follows the word 'Asher' except the three heights 'belongs really to 17:12, taking the place there of the words 'these cities' (6 p. Judg. 1:29). But we do not know what the three heights are though they certainly might include 'the heights of Dor' (cp. Josh. 11:12-13). There is, however, little historical importance to the question whether Dor is represented as belonging to Asher, since, as a matter of fact, it and the cities mentioned with it remained in the possession of the Canaanites or Philistines.

On the other three sides the territory of Asher is even less defined. According to Josh. 19:27, it was contiguous with Zebulun on the E., while according to 7:14 it stood in the same relation to Naphtali. It is difficult to bring it into relation with Issachar. In general, Asher must be regarded as the north-western-most district connected with Israel, and as stretching indistinctly W. and N. and losing itself gradually amongst the Philistines of the coast.

(1.) P.'s genealogy of Asher given twice (Nu. 26:44, probably the more original, Gen. 49:17), which is reproduced in almost identical form by the Chronicler (1 Ch. 7:1-7), is very simple, consisting probably of (primarily) the three clans, the limits (perhaps really Jamin, so G¹ in Nu. and perhaps G² in 1 Ch. 7:1), Shives (phonetic), and Herites.

With the last mentioned are associated as secondary clans the Herites (known as a Kenite name)² and the Malchielites (known as a personal name in the Amarna letters from S. Palestine) as 'sons', and Sorah (perhaps an Aram. name; not found in Hebrew) as sister. There is no earlier mention, however, of any of these names in connection with Asher, though the first and third are well known in the central highlands of Palestine.

(2.) To this simple genealogy the Chronicler appends (1 Ch. 7:6-9) a remarkable list of one Malchielite and over thirty Herites—remarkable because the names are not of the distinctive type that abounds in the Chronicler. The list, if we remove certain textual corruptions,³ looks as if it were meant to be schematic (e.g., 3 sons and 17 grandsons, followed by some seventeen in the fourth, fifth, and sixth generations); but we cannot reach a text that inspires confidence. It must be remembered, however, that many of the names may well be foreign. Haraphier has been referred to above. The affinities of some of the names are worthy of note: note, e.g., the remarkable groups Heber, Ithran, Jether; so also Beria, Shiesh=Shilsha of 7:37 (Shilsha? cp. Sh²), Shual.

Lk. 2:6 speaks of a certain Anna as being of the tribe of Asher (but see GENEALOGIES, i, § 8).

2. Tob. 12 RV, AV ASER. See HAZOR, 1.

R. W. H.

ASHER (אָשֶׁר; ACHP [BAL]), a town on the southern border of Manasseh, mentioned in Josh. 17:7 (RV) in the following terms:—'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethath which is before [i.e., E. of] Shechem.' After this we are told that 'the border went along to the right hand [i.e., to the S.] unto the inhabitants [i.e., the district] of Entappuah.' These statements must be taken in connection with the description of the N. border of Ephraim in 16:6, where the names which correspond to Asher and Michmethath are Michmethath and Tamath-Shiloh, and Tamath-Shiloh is stated to be E. of Michmethath. On the assumption that Entappuah is SW. of Shechem (see TAPPUAH, 2), Asher must lie somewhere to the E. of Shechem, between Michmethath and Tamath-Shiloh. Thus far we have proceeded on the

¹ 'Dor' in Judg. 1:31 G¹ has no objection, for it does not fit the context, and is probably simply an insertion based on the passage in Joshua.

² Note that for Jehubkath (1 Ch. 7:34) G² reads κ. ωδασ. *loc. cit.* H. B. H.

³ Ashi in 7:13 should certainly be 'his brother.' Probably Hothan (7:13) is a miswritten Helem (cp. 7:35), in which case 'sister' (*ibid.*) in 7:32 may be a duplicate of Hothan. Ulla (7:36) as it ought to resume some name already mentioned, may be a corruption of Shual, which we should perhaps restore for Shua in 7:12.

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theory that RV's reading is correct—it is in fact that of most scholars, including Dillmann and Knutson. The rendering seems, however, to need revision. Concerning that Michmethath (7:13) stands in 17:11 in close proximity to Asher (without any connecting words) and that it would be natural to distinguish these Asher from the better known one (with which indeed Ken in *ETP-Qa St.*, 1877, p. 15, actually confounds it by adding the name of the district in which it was (cp. Kedesh, Naphtali), it seems probable that Michmethath is the name of a district and that we should render against the accents and Lutz, but in accordance with G¹, 'And the border of Manasseh was from Asher of (other) Michmethath,' the starting-point alone being mentioned in the opening clause (as in 15:10) (see Reiland, J. Schwarz, Conder). The description in 17:7 will then exactly correspond to that in 16:6 in so far as Michmethath is the first point mentioned on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh. 'Asher of the Michmethath' might be some place in the N. of the district called 'the Michmethath.' If this district is the plain of *el-Makhsa*, two ruined places at once suggest themselves, now called the upper and the lower *Makhsa* respectively (Garin, *S. m.*, 1:39 f.). Here, however, no villages preserve any traces of the ancient name. Lutz and Jer (1882, 222-23, 234 f.) suggest another identification. They refer to a village called Asher, 15 K. m. from Naphtali on the road to Sythopolis, a description which points to *Ἰσχυρία*, 1 K. m. N. of Thaboz, where the 15th K. milestone has actually been discovered (Sperduti, *Rev. de l'É.*, 1885, p. 617 f.). *Ἰσχυρία* is now a mud hamlet, but it succeeds a place of some importance. Rock-cut sepulchres abound (Garin, *S. m.*, 1:39 f.). It is not probable, however, that Lutz and Jer had a clear or correct view of the boundary line, and the transition from Asher to *Ἰσχυρία* is not an easy one. (The latter name seems to be the plur. of *ἰσχυρία*, inf. 2 conj. of *ἰσχυράω*. So Kamptzmeier, *ZDPV* 16:2.) T. K. C.

ASHERAH, plur **Asherim**, the RV transliteration of the Heb. אֲשֵׁרִים (pl. אֲשֵׁרִים; in three late passages אֲשֵׁרִים, a word which AV, following G¹ (אֲשֵׁרִים [BAE]), and Vg. (*lucina*), renders *grove, groves*. That this translation is mistaken has long been universally recognised. RV avoids the error by not translating the word at all; but, by consistently treating the word as a proper noun, it gives occasion to more serious misunderstanding.

The *āshērā* was a wooden post or mast, which stood at Canaanite places of worship (Ex. 31:17 Judg. 6:25 and frequently), and, down to the seventh century, also, by the altars of Yahwe, not only on the high places, or at Samaria (2 K. 13:6) and Bethel (2 K. 23:15), but also in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 23:6). The *āshērā* is frequently named in conjunction with the upright stone or stile (*masōbā, hamman*; see MASSEBATH and TROT ATRY, § 4). The pole or post might be of considerable size (cp. Judg. 6:25 f.); it was perhaps sometimes carved (1 K. 15:13),¹ or draped (2 K. 23:7), but the draping especially is doubtful. The shape of an *āshērā* is unknown. Many Cypriote and Phoenician gems and seals representing an act of adoration show two (more rarely three) posts, generally of about the height of a man, of extremely variable forms,² which are supposed by many archaeologists to be the *āshērā* and *masōbā* of the OT (see PHOENICIA). This is not improbable, though direct evidence is thus far lacking; but in view of the

¹ 'A shocking thing (Jewish tradition, *phallos*) as an *āshērā*;' on 2 K. 23:7 see below.

² See E. J. G. *Culte de Mithra*, 1917 f.; O. Neufeldt-Richter, *Kypros*, 1881, where a great many of these pieces are collected. Similar figures are found on Assyrian reliefs, and on Carthaginian *cippi*. We may compare the Egyptian *dédu-colum* (at Bastri), the Indian sacrificial post (Obenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 90), the so-called 'totem-posts' of the N. American Indians, etc. See in general Lippert, *Kulturgeographie*, 2: 376 ff., and Jevons, *Iran, Hist. Rel. Cult.*

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Much more difficult is the question of identifying any of these sites, or the two Ashtaroths of the *OS*, with the

ASHTAROTH (עֲשֵׁתְרוֹת)—*i.e.*, Ashtoreth in her different representations: אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [BA], אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [13] Josh. 9:4, אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [A] Josh. 13:4; the adjective is **Ashterathite**, עֲשֵׁתְרָתִי, אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [ε] [BA], אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [13], אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת [13], 1 Ch. 11:20. **Ashteroth Karnaim** (עֲשֵׁתְרוֹת קַרְנַיִם): אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת kapnain [A], אֲשֵׁת־אֶשֶׁת kapnain [13]—*i.e.*, 'Ashteroth of the two horns'? 'Ashteroth of (near) Karna'im'?) in Gen. 14:3, and **Be-eshterah** (בְּעֵשֶׁתֶּרָה, *i.e.*, בית עֲשֵׁתְרָה, or 'house of

1. References. *Ashtarim*: Βοκόφαν [B], -ppa [L], Βεε-
θαπα [A] in Josh. 21:27, but עֲשְׁתָּרִית
simply in Dt. 14 Josh. 9:10 12:13 12:21, where it appears,
along with Edrei, as a chief city of Og, king of Bashan;
and in 1 Ch. 6:50 [71] (Ἀσχροῦθ [B]) Ραμουθ [A] as a
Levitical city. Then, in Am. 6:1 (Gritz's restored
reading) we have Karnam as the name of a city E.
of the Jordan taken by Israel, and in 1 and 2 Mac.
Karnani or Karnion as a city in Gilead with a temple
of ΑΒΑΓΑΡΙΣ [2:71] attached to it. The lists of
Thames III. (*Annales* 1950 ff.) contain an 'As-tira-ty
(*RP*² 54; WMM, *As. a. Exc.* 162, 313; cp *Ashtarim*,
Beard and Budge, *Tell el-Amarna Papyri in First Mu.*
43, 64). Whether these names represent one place or
two places is, on the biblical data, uncertain.

It is significant, however, that Eusebius and Jerome

¹ For example, Halevy compares Pers. *akānā*, 'hospitium' (*Id.* 1.1.1¹, 2.1.1²); Noy *et al.* explain 'hospes' from the Aramaean (*Id.* 1.1.3³). Föl. Del. and Schm. offer no explanation.

² It can be seen from the form $\gamma\gamma\gamma\gamma$, a slight difference to the summation will be the result.

³ Here it is described as the abode of the Rephaim at the time of the invasion of the Amorites. 'O were there two neighbouring cities? Kanaan, Babel, and Siegf. read 'Ashtaroth and Karnaia' claiming 'the city of their sin'. Probably, however, the right reading is *Arazaad* (see *ibid.* [sic] (see Nestle, *ibid.*). Moore explains 'the Ashtaroth of the two-peaked mountain'; see especially 1. 1. Moore, *IBL* 156 ff. 157 ff. and cp. col. 39, n. 3.

3. **OT sites.** with the corresponding names of OT. Names in this part of Palestine have always been in a state of shift. That Tell 'Ashdath is the 'Ashteroṯ Karnaim of Gen. 11:5 or the 'Asharoṯh of other texts has in its favour, besides its name, the existence of a sanctuary, even though this has been transferred in Christian times to Job. On the other hand, Mizreṯh must have been of too great importance not to be set down to some great place-name of the OT; and its accessibility from Edrei suits the association, frequent in the OT, of the latter with Asheroṯh. As to the Karnaim of 1 Mac. 5:26 (which, of course, is the same as the Karnaim of Am. 6:1), it cannot have been Mizreṯh, as Buhl contends, for in such a case the lake would certainly have been mentioned in connection with the assault of Judas upon it (a lake is mentioned near Caspis or CASPION [q.v.] to which Judas took previously); and in 2 Mac. 12:21 Karnaim is said to be difficult to get at διὰ τὴν πάντων τῶν τοπιῶν στενότητα. This does not suit Mizreṯh, or Tell 'Ashdath, or Sheikh Sa'el. Further, therefore, has suggested for Karnaim *Karn or Gen.*, the Agnena of the Romans, in the inaccessible *Lep.* Tell the various sites have been dug into and the ancient name of Mizreṯh is recovered, however, we must be content to know that there was an 'Ashteroṯh Karnaim near Tell 'Ashdath, and that possibly there was a second site of the same name in the same region in OT times.

On the whole subject see especially *DDP*, xiii, xiv, and xv; Schumann, *l. c.*; also the *Forar* (203, 210), and Pohl, *Stad. zur Forstg.*, *As. u. Stationen*, in *Inden*, 13 ff., *Pal.*, 248-250; also Moore, *DDP*, 6155 ff., and, for an Egyptological explanation of the name 'Asinoreth' of the two horns, WMM, *As. u. For.*, 31.

ASHTORETH (עֲשִׁתֶּרֶת), a goddess of the Canaanites

1 *Sub* Arr. Kapraev. 2 *Sub* Kapraev. The double peak of the southern summit of *Tell-el-Yisari*, formed by the depression running from N. to S., would make the appellation of Karnion, or "double-headed," extremely appropriate" (*Lebanon Journal*, 208). In a Talmudic discussion as to the constructions for the Feast of Booths it is said that Asheroth Karnion was situated between two mountains which gave much shade (*Sukca*, 54; cp. *Nerub. Giga*, 24b). Many of these statements are purely imaginative.

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and Phoenicians. The Massoretic vowel pointing, which

is followed by EV, gives the word the vowels of *h sheth* 'scandalous thing' (cp Melech for Melek); the true pronunciation, as we know from the Gr. *Ἀσθάρτη* (so even *Ἀσθάρ*), alongside of *Ἀσθάρη* [BAI.] and from Augustine,¹ was 'Ashtart'. In the OT the name in the plural (the *Ἀσθάρη*) is coupled with the Baals, in the general sense, 'the heathen gods and goddesses,'² a usage with which the Assyrian *ilani uštarati* is compared. Solomon is said to have built on the Mt. of Olives (1 K. 11.5, cp 7) for the Phoenician 'Ashtart a high place, which was destroyed more than three centuries later by Josiah (2 K. 23.13).

Of the character of this goddess and her religion we learn nothing directly from the OT. Her name does

not occur either in the prophets or in historical texts in any other connections than those cited above; it is nowhere intimated that the licentious characteristics of the worship at the high places were derived from the cultus of Astarte. The weeping for Tammuz (Ec. 8.14, which Cyril of Alexandria and Jerome identify with the Phoenician mourning for Adonis (so *Ἀδωνίς*), was more probably a direct importation of the Babylonian cult.³ This is doubtless true also of the worship of the 'Queen of Heaven' (Jer. 7.18 [*Ἡ βασίλισσα ἡ ἀρπαρὶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*], 14.7 ff.), whatever the name may mean (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN). The law which forbids women to wear men's garments, or men women's (Dt. 22.5), may be aimed at obscene rites such as obtained in the worship of many deities in Syria and Asia Minor, but need not refer specifically to the cult of Astarte.

Many inscriptions from the mother-country and its colonies, as well as the testimony of Greek and Latin

writers, prove the prominent place which the worship of Astarte had among the Phoenicians; Egyptian documents place the 'Ashtart of the Hittite country' by the side of the 'Sutech of Heta,' the principal male divinity; the Philistines deposited Saul's armour as a trophy in the temple of 'Ashtart' (1 S. 31.10 [*τὸ ἀσθάρτη*]), perhaps the famous temple at Ashkelon of which Herodotus writes (1.105);⁴ the stole of Mesha, king of Moab (6th cent. B.C.), tells how he devoted his prisoners to 'Ashtar-Chemosh; a city in Bashan often mentioned in the OT bears the name Ashteroth (cp also Ashteroth Karnaim, Gen. 14.5, and Beeshterah, Josh. 21.27; see ASHTEROTH). 'Ashtart was worshipped in Babylonia and Assyria under the name Istar (considerable fragments of her myth have been preserved); in Southern Arabia as 'Athtar (masc.); in Abyssinia as 'Astar; in Syria as 'Astar or 'Athar (in proper names: e. g. ATARGARTIS, 9.7); in Deréto. The Arabs are the only Semitic people among whom we do not find this deity; and even here it is possible that al-Lat and al-'Uzza were originally only titles of Astarte. The normal phonetic changes in the word show that the worship of Astarte did not spread from one of these peoples to the others, but was common to them before their separation. The fem. ending is peculiar to the Palestinian branch of the race, and, as has been observed, in Southern Arabia 'Athtar was a god, not a goddess.

Unlike Baal, Astarte is a proper name; but under this name many diverse divinities were worshipped. The Istar of Arbela was recognised by the Assyrians themselves as a goddess different from the Istar of

¹ *Quest. 16 in Isid.*, Istar, Ashtar. Confirmatory evidence is given by the Egyptian transcription.

² *Isid.* 2.13.10; 1 S. 7.1 (*Ἀσθάρ*); 12.10 (*Ἀσθάρ*); all belonging to the later Elohistic (Eg.) or deuteronomistic school.

³ The identification of Tammuz with Adonis is found also in Melito (c. 400 A.D., *Op. 23*). The connection of the myths is unquestioned. See TAYLOR.

⁴ It is, of course, not to be inferred that the Philistines worshipped Astarte before they invaded Palestine. The temple was an old Canaanite sanctuary.

⁵ Halevy's discovery is confirmed by the recent publication of the Aramaic inscriptions.

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Nineveh; the Istar of Agade from the Istar of Uruk (see ASSYRIA, § 6, BABYLONIA, § 26). The inscription of Eshmunazar shows that more than one 'Ashtart had a temple in Sidon; and we know many others. Whether those differences are only the consequence of natural divergence in the worship of the primitive Semitic deity, in the immense tract of time and space, or, as is altogether more probable, in great part due to the identification of originally unconnected local *ashtara* with Astarte, the result is the same; there were many Astartes who were distinguished from one another by character, attributes, and cultus. A class of goddesses rather than a single goddess of the name.²

Astarte was often the tutelary divinity of a city, its 'prophetess' (*Ἀσθάρη*), and then, of course, its protectress and champion, a warlike goddess.

On the other hand, she was a goddess of fertility and reproduction, as appears strikingly in the myth of the descent of Istar. These two characters might be attributed to different Astartes, as among the Assyrians (cp the Aphrodites); but they might also coexist in one and the same goddess, and this is doubtless the older conception.

The figures from Babylonia and Susiana, as well as from Phoenicia and Cyprus, which are believed to represent Astartes, express by rude exaggeration of sexual attributes the goddess of generation.³ That the cultus-images of Astarte were of similar types is not probable. At Paphos she was worshipped in a conical stone, and many representations show the evolution from this of a partially acorned lot.

In the astro-theology of the Babylonians the planet Venus was the star of Istar. It is a common but ill-founded opinion that in Palestine Astarte was a moon goddess. The name of the city, Ashteroth Karnaim, is often alleged in support of this theory. Even if the translation, 'the horned Astarte,' be right, however, it is a very doubtful assumption that the horns represented the crescent moon. It is quite as natural to think of the horns of a cow or a sheep, or of an image of the goddess made after an Egyptian type (see EGYPT, § 131);⁴ and it is a still more unwarranted assumption that Astarte was elsewhere in Palestine represented in the same way. It would be a much more logical inference that the horns were the distinctive attribute of this particular Astarte.⁵ The other testimony to the lunar character of Astarte is neither of an age nor of a nature to justify much confidence (*De dea Syr.* 3; Herodotus, v. 64). The point to be insisted on is that the widely accepted theory that Astarte was primarily a moon goddess, by the side of the sun god, Baal, has as little foundation in the one case as in the other.

In Dt. 7.13 'the *Ἀσθάρη* of the flocks' are parallel to the 'offspring of the herds,' from which it has been ingeniously argued that among the nomadic Semites Astarte was a sheep-goddess (WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 310, and 460 ff.); but this also seems hazardous.

Of the cultus of Astarte we know comparatively little. Religious prostitution (Hdt. 1.109; Strabo XVI.1.5;

Ep. Jerem. 42 f. [*Bar.* 1.4 f.]; *De dea Syr.* 6, etc.) was not confined to the temples of Astarte, nor to the worship of female divinities.

Nr. 25.1-5 connects it with Baal-peor; Am. 27 Dt. 23.13 (17), etc., show that in Israel similar practices infected even the worship of Yahwé. There is no doubt, however, that the cultus of Astarte was saturated with these abominations.

¹ In the period from which most of our monumental evidence comes, still another cause must be recognised: syncretism with the Egyptian religious (see EGYPT, § 10).

² This use predominates in Hebrew, which has, indeed, no other word for 'goddess'; but, as has been remarked above, it is found in Assyrian also.

³ Henze, *Rev. Archéol.* xxxix, 1880, p. 1. *Op.* 23; Oltendörff-Richter, *Agyptos*, etc. On the origin of this type see, however, S. Reinach, *Rev. Archéol.* 1895, p. 207 ff.

⁴ Cp the representation of Baal of Byblos, 1881, Pl. 1.

⁵ On Ashteroth Karnaim see *Isid.* 16.1.12.

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Phalaris, *Psalidium*, *Solidago*, *Dr. De Sprée*, syn. in ch. 2; Mövers, *Phalaris*, I, 159 ff., S. 80, *Waldstätt und Zuccarissen bei den alten Hebräern*, 1767, p. 1, Handlissin, art. *Aarte and Aschera, in *FZ* 1702-147-109, 1703, p. 1, lit. in full may be found; Rasthen, *Betr. zur semit. Kelt.*, 1803, I, 1, Meyer, art. *Aarte, in Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*, 1803, II, 1, Meyer, art. in part corrected by his art. *Bach, Dr. 287 f.; Rosen, *Aph. 195*; Roth and her folium in the OF, *IBL*, 1973, 12; The Semitic Lexicograph, *The Journal*, 1913-195 10 174. See also Driver's very comprehensive article in Hastings, *DB*.

ASHUR (אַשּׁוּר), 1 Ch. 24 AV, RV ASHUR.

ASHURITES, THE אַשּׁוּרִי, תֹּנָה אַשּׁוּרִי [B],
 Ἀσσυρίων [M] (cp I 1; Jezreel follows), are mentioned
 in a Sam. 24 among various clans subject to the
 authority of Ishbaal. Pesh. Vg. read אַשּׁוּרֵי, the
 Gosharites, which is accepted by some (see GOSHURI),
 while others (Kamph. Ki. Klo. Gr.) follow the Targ.
 אַשּׁוּרֵי דְבָא, cp Q and read אַשּׁוּרֵי (cp Judg. 12)
 = i.e., 'the Asherites,' whose land lay to the W. of Jordan
 above Jezreel, which is mentioned next, the enumeration
 proceeding from N. to S.

ASHVATH (אֲשֵׁוֹת; אֲשֵׁוֹת [BA], -ασηαθ [L]), in a
 generalty of ASHER (Gen. 48:16; 1 Ch. 7:33).

ASIA (H. ACIA [T. W.]). Great uncertainty prevailed during the apostolic period as to the usage of the names of the districts of Asia Minor. The boundaries of several of the districts had long been uncertain—those between Mysia and Phrygia were proverbially so (Strabo, 50 p.). This confusion arose from the fact that the names denoted ethnological rather than political divisions, and belonged to diverse epochs. They are like geological strata, which are clear enough when seen in section, but impossible to disentangle when represented on a single plane. A further complication arose when the Romans imposed upon the country the provincial system. The official nomenclature was applied without any account being taken of the older history or of ethnical facts or popular usage. In the case of Lycia, Bithynia, or Pamphylia there was no distinction of any moment between the old and the new usage; but in the case of Galatia and Asia the difficulty of distinguishing the precise sense of the names is very great.

The province of Asia was formed in 133-130 B.C. when Attalus III. of Pergamum left his kingdom by will to Rome; the name Asia had early come into use because there was no other single term to denote the Asian coast lands. The area of the province was subsequently increased, first by the addition of Phrygia (116 B.C.); we are, therefore, confronted by the difficulty of distinguishing whether, in any given case, the word Asia is restricted to the coast or extended to the entire province—in other words, whether it includes Phrygia or not.

In Acts 21, Asia indicates the towns of the highly-civilised coast land, for the enumeration is popular and Greek in style, as is proved by the mention of Phrygia *alongside* Asia; according to the Roman mode of speaking, Phrygia was included in Asia, with the exception of that small part round Antioch (Phrygia Galatica) which fell to the province Galatia. Such names as Phrygia, Mysia, or Lydia were to a Roman without any political significance, being merely geographical terms denoting parts of the province of Asia, used in occasion to specify exactly the region referred to by the speaker (Cic. *pro Clu.* xxvii § 65; Asia vestra et statim ex Phrygia, Mysia, Cilicia, Lydia). Such use can be paralleled from the NT. In Acts 16:7 *καὶ τὴν Μυσίαν* [i. e. W.] is used to define rigidly the point reached by the apostles, when warned from Bithynia. In Acts 19, a decision is more difficult, as the Jews who 'disputed' with Stephen were probably those educated in the schools of Smyrna or Pergamum; but we cannot on *proof* grounds decide that some of them did not belong to Phrygia. Here, therefore, Asia may or may not be used in its Roman sense. So also in Acts 21:27-28:48.

ASIARCH

The whole question of the sense in which geographical terms are used by the writer of Acts centres round Acts 16, where the apostles are forbidden to preach in Asia (*κωλυόμενους . . . λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* [Ti. WII]). Those interpreters (e.g., Con. and Hows. 1324) who take the preceding words (*διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* [Ti. WII]) to express the opening up of new ground by missionary enterprise N. of Antioch in Pisidia are compelled to restrict the prohibition of preaching in Asia to the coast land—in other words, to take Phrygia, Galatia, and Asia in their popular non-Roman sense—for all Phrygia N. of Antioch belonged to Asia in its Roman or administrative sense. Yet we must ask if the simple *διήλθον* ('AV 'gone throughout') can be taken to imply preaching. If, however, the apostles did not preach in their passage through the district called here *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα*, there appears to be no necessity for giving a popular meaning to the geographical terms here used, unless in the interests of what Ramsay calls the N. Galatian theory (see GALATIA, §§ 7-30, especially §§ 9-16). On this view, then, the words indicate such parts of Galatic Phrygia as had not been traversed at the time of receiving the prohibition (or, more probably, that part of Phrygia which belonged to the province Asia, together with Old or North Galatia. In favour of this is the fact that the part *κωλυόμενους* must be prior in time to, i.e. contain the ground of, the action denoted by *διήλθον*, 'they traversed . . . because they had been forbidden.' If, in face of the difficulties of the N. Galatian view, we fall back upon the S. Galatian theory, the district *ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα* must be regarded as partly identical with that called *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* in Acts 18:23 (which can hardly be other than that of the S. Galatian churches); and also it must already have been traversed wholly or in part *before* the prohibition to preach in Asia (Rams. 1720c, May 1895, p. 302; *Church*, 5 ed. p. 75). Ramsay consequently attempts to interpret the words *διήλθον κωλυόμενους* as—*διήλθον καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν* (*διελθόντες ἐκωλύθησαν*, or on purely subjective grounds adopts, with Lightfoot, the reading *διελθόντες* *δε* from inferior MSS (*St. Paul*¹⁰, p. 192). It seems better to take *διήλθον* *δε* as resumptive and as summing up the previous verses, with an ellipse—'so then they traversed . . . (neglecting Asia) having been forbidden'; in which case, here, as elsewhere throughout the narrative of Paul's journeyings, the word Asia is used in its technical, Roman, sense.

This sense is clearly the best in the following passages:— during Paul's residence in Ephesus, 'all they which dwell in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19:10; see also for Asia (Acts 20:4); other instances in the same chap. are 27:16, Ephesus was virtually capital of the province) and 18. In 27:2, *Karya tpe Arxou romos* [Ti. Will], there is nothing in the Epistles, the technical sense is required, e.g., Rom. 16:5, Epaphroditus, the first-fruits of Asia (RV); 1 Cor. 16:19, the churches of Asia; 2 Cor. 18, (probably) alluding to the riot at Ephesus, or the dangerous illness there; 2 Tim. 1:15, the Roman province is meant also in 1 Pet. 1, where the enumeration Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia (= Bithynia-Pontus) sums up all Asia Minor within the Taurus. Finally, in Rev. 14, the seven churches of Asia are those established in the chief cities of the Roman province. In 1 Macc. 8, 'Antiochus, the great king of Asia', the word is used in a wider sense = Asia Minor, with Syria (so also 11:13, 'the diadem of Asia'; 12:19, 13:12, 1 Macc. 8:3; cf. Jos., *Ant. xii. 8* [13:47]). In 2 Esd. 15:46, 'Asia, that art partaker in the beauty of Babylon', the sense is still wider = Persian empire (16:1; cf. Herod. i. 69, 177; Jos., *Ant. xi. 8*).

ASIARCH (of ἀσιάρχαι [Ti. VII], AV 'the chief of Asia'; RV 'chief officers of Asia'). An officer

¹ See Acts 15:11, διηγήσασθαι, but with ἐπιστηρίξαι added; 16:4, διεπορεύεσθαι, but with παραδίδωκεν added. On the other hand we have 13:44, διαβαίνετε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡερῶς – no preaching on the road; and 17:1, διευδαντίζετε τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν [Fl. WH], where also there was no attempt at evangelisation, so far as we can tell. (But see Rams. *Ερῶς*, May 1895, p. 385 f.)

ASIBIAS

heard or only once in the NT—viz., in the account of the riot made by 'Demetrius and the craftsmen' at Ephesus (Acts 19, c). The annual assembly of civic deputies (*κοινὸν Ἀσίας*), over which he presided, was combined, in Asia, as in other provinces, with an annual festival in honour of the reigning emperor and the imperial system.

Soon after the victory of Actium, in fact as early as 29 B.C., Augustus had allowed temples to himself and Roma to be dedicated in Pergamum, the *de jure* capital of Asia, as well as in Nicomedia and Smyrna, the capitals respectively of Bithynia and Galatia (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 37-4). This blending of a religious with an administrative institution became a leading line of the imperial policy; but, as regards the pomp of the festivals and the civic rivalries excited, the institution nowhere developed as it did in Asia. Naturally, the conduct of the games and festival in honour of the emperor fell to the president of the provincial Diet.

As the Asiarch bore most of the expense, though some was borne by voluntary subscription or apportioned to the several towns, this politico-religious office was open only to the wealthy—the prosperity of Tralles, for example, was shown by its continuous series of Asiarchs¹—and the title was retained after the expiration of the year of office. To find Paul counting friends among the Asiarchs—*i.e.*, among those who then head or who previously had held the office—throws, therefore, a valuable side-light upon the attitude adopted towards Christianity by the upper classes of the provincials; it was in Asiarch, Philip, who at Smyrna resisted the cry of the mob to 'let loose a lion on Polycarp' (Ius. *HE* 115, § 27).

It would be a mistake, then, to imagine that the Asiarch, as such, had any connection with the Ephesian worship of *Artemis*.

In fact Ephesus, like Miletus, was expressly rejected by Titus as a claimant for the honour of an imperial temple, probably because of the risk of Caesar's worship being overshadowed by the local cult (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 55-6). It would naturally, however, have the right to put forward a candidate for the Asiarchate. We hear of similar officers in other provinces—*e.g.*, a Galatarch, a Bithynarch, a Syriarch, and a Lycarch. The last of any rate is clearly originally a political officer—the head of the League (Strabo, 663).

There was thus, at first, but one Asiarch in office at a time in all Asia—the president of the Diet at Ephesus; but as temples dedicated to Caesar multiplied in the province,² and each of them became the centre of an annual festival, the chief priests at such temples performed the functions discharged at the festival at Ephesus by the Asiarch, and finally the presidency of the festival even at Ephesus was taken from the chairman of the Diet and given to the chief priest. The Diet and its civil functions thus fell into the background, and the name Asiarch came to mean the priestly provider of a popular festival in connection with the worship of a dead or reigning emperor. With the growing importance of this worship the religious influence of the priestly Asarchs extended; and as the worship of the emperor became the outward sign of loyalty to the empire, it was through the provincial chief-priesthoods that the old and the new faith came into contact. Hence Julian writes to the Galatarch as the proper medium for his anti-Christian propaganda. (See Mommsen, *Provinces*, 1344 fol. ET, Rams. *Class. Rev.* 3174. A different view in a long article by Brandis in Pauly's *R. Enc.* new ed. 3, 71.) W. J. W.

ASIBIAS (Ἀσιβίας [B], Ἀσιβίας [A], μελιχίος [1.]), in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i, § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9:26 = Ezra 10:25 (αἰβία [S], α. [A], B om.). See MALCHIJAH 5. Asibias is probably a Graecised form of HASHTABIAH.

ASIEL (Ἀσιήλ, § 31; Ἀσιήλ [BAL]). 1. A name in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Ch. 4:35).

¹ καὶ ἀεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ ἠρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν (Strabo, 649).

² Already in 26 A.D., for example, a temple was erected in Smyrna to Tiberius, jointly with his mother Livia, and the Senate (Tac. *Ann.* iv, 154-503).

ASNAPPER

2. A scribe, 4 Esd. 14:24 (ASHTT).

3. Tob. 1: RV, AV ASML (q.v.).

ASIPHA (Ἀσιφά [A]), 1 Esd. 5:29 = Ezra 2:43. HASUPHA.

ASKELOS (Ἀσκελός), Judg. 1:13 AV, RV ASHELOS.

ASMODEUS, RV **Asmodæus** (Ἀσμοδαῖος [B], Ἀσμοδαῖος [S], Ἀσμοδαῖος [A]), called 'the evil demon' (1 Job. 2:3, 17). Considering (1) the close connection of the story of Tobit with Media, (2) the affinity of the seven archangels in Tob. 12:15 to the seven Mazdean Amesha Spentas, and (3) the impossibility of deriving Asmodeus or Asmodai (or the later Hebrew forms, on which see below) from אָשָׁמ, 'to destroy,' we are obliged to look for an arch-demon of similar name and attributes in Mazdean demonology. The Asmodeus of Tobit has two attributes: he is lustful (like a satyr), and has the power to slay those who oppose his will (1 Job. 3:1-6). Now, it is true that there is no demon in Mazdeism of similar name who has exactly these characteristics; but one of the seven arch-demons who are opposed to the seven Mazdean archangels is called Aeshma, and as the impersonation of anger (the primary meaning) and rapine. So constantly is he mentioned in the Avesta beside Angia Manyu or Manu (with his weapon 'the wounding spear') that we could not wonder if he became naturalised in the spirit-world of the Jews in the Persian period. Once adopted, he would naturally assume a somewhat different form; his attributes would be modified by the sovereign will of the popular imagination. This was actually the course of history, as modern critics hold. By the time the Book of Tobit was written Aeshma had already a well-defined form, and, though vindictive as ever, had exchanged the field of battle for less noble haunts. The Asmodeus of Tobit is, in fact, the counterpart of LILITH (q.v.), and in still later times divided with her the dominion of the *shedim* or demons. Asmodai, *o.*, as his name is written in Targ. and Talmud, אָשְׁמַדַּי or אָשְׁמַדַּי, was as dangerous to women as Lilith was to men, though he also had him represented in a less odious character as a potent, wise, and sometimes even pious elf (see Gittin, 68a, in Wunsche's *1 or 2 bib. Lit.* 217-18). The second part of the name Asmodeus is of uncertain origin. Most connect it with the Zend *asmo*, 'demon'; but, though the combination *Aeshma asmo* is not impossible, it is nowhere found in the texts. Kohut's explanations (*Jud. Angelologie* and *Aruch*, s.v.) are precarious.

Cp *Zendavesta and Pahlavi Texts* in SBE; Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, 213 f.; Grünbaum, *ZDMG* 31:204, etc.; Kohut's *Jud. Angelologie*, 72, etc.

T. K. C.

ASNAH (אֲשָׁנָה, 'thornbush'; אֲשָׁנָה [B], אֲשָׁנָה [A]; *asna*). The Bne Asnah, a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 9), Ezra 2:50 = 1 Esd. 5:11, ASANA (אֲסָנָה [B], אֲסָנָה [A]) = Neh. 7:52 (A), following BNA, om.).

ASNAPPER, RV **OSNAPPER**, better **Āsenapper** (אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס; אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס [A], אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס [B], אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס [S], אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס [A]), 1 Esd. 4:9 f. To the great and noble Āsenapper is ascribed the transplanting of several nations into Samaria from beyond the Euphrates. The two epithets naturally suggest that an Assyrian king is referred to, and, as Bosanquet in G. Smith's *Hist. of Assyriology*, 394 [71], suggested, the king can only be the conqueror of Susa—Āsur-huni-pal (אֲסֻר-חֲנִי-פָּל) from אֲסֻר-חֲנִי-פָּל = אֲסֻר-חֲנִי-פָּל.¹ This view is confirmed by the discovery (due to Marq. Fund. 50) of a various reading for אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס which underlies the impossible ASHAPPHATH (q.v.) of 1 Esd. 5:6, viz. אֲסֵנַפֶּרֶס. The two readings supplement each other, and are explained by a common original אֲסֻר-חֲנִי-פָּל, which is clearly Āsur-huni-pal. This great king's name must have stood both in Ezra 4:

¹ An explanation, in the form which Gelzer gave to it (*ÄZ* 75 ff. (75)), now widely accepted. Cp, however, Halévy, *REJ* ix, 12.

ASOM

'Ešarhaddon' being an ignorant scribal's alteration) and in the source from which the statement in Ezra 4:2 is derived (perhaps 2 K. 17:24, which at present merely refers to 'the king of Assyria'). See further, ASUR-BANI-PAL.

ASOM (אסוֹם [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:33 = Ezra 10:33, HANANIM.

ASP (אֶסֶף, *petent*; אֶסְפִּיע [BAL]) in Dt. 32:33 Job 29:10 (ΔΡΑΚΩΝ [BNAC]) Is. 11:8 AV, in Ps. 58:4 (11:13 AV) (ΒΑΚΙΛΙΚΟC [BNARF]), and in Rom. 3:14; probably some species of viper (cp ADDER, 2), see SERPENT, § 1, n. 5.

ASPALATHUS (ΑΣΠΑΛΑΘΟC [BNA]; *balsamum*) is associated with cinnamon and other perfumes in the Praise of Wisdom (Eccles. 2:15). Theophrastus (*Hist.* 9:7) mentions it along with various spices, etc., used in making unguents, and in Pliny (*HN* 22:24) it is '*radix unguentis egyptiacae*'. Fraas, the most recent writer on classical botany (*Synopsis Plantarum Florae Classicae*, 49), refers it conjecturally to *Genista acanthochala*, D.C., a native of Greece and the Greek archipelago; but the most that can safely be said is that it seems to have been a prickly shrub, probably leguminous, with a scented wood or root. The ante-LXXian commentaries devoted much attention to it, but with no more definite result. It has evidently been lost sight of since classical times, and supplanted by other perfumes. W. T. T. D.

ASPATHA (אֶסְפָּתָה, פֶּאֶסְפָּה [BNA], פִּיאָפָּה [N^{vid}], פֶּאֶ, [A], פֶּאֶסָה [L]), one of the ten sons of HAMAN (7:7) Est. 9:7. Pott and Bentley explain the name as the Pers. *aspadata*, 'ab equo sacro datus' (cp Be.-Rys.); but the MT reading is too insufficiently supported.

ASPHAR, אֶסְפָּה POOL (ΑΣΚΚΟC, ΑΣΦΑΡ [NV; Jos.], Α. ΑΣΦΑΛ [A], *Asphar* [Vg.]), in the wilderness of Tekoa, is mentioned in connection with the struggle of Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees with Bacchides (1 Mace. 9:11; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12). The Be'er Asphar is probably the modern *Bir-Selhub*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, 6 m. WSW. of Engeledi, and near the junction of several ancient roads (described by Rob. *BR* 2:202); the hills around still bear the name *Safra*, an equivalent of Asphar. A less probable identification is that with the ruins and cistern, *es-Za'feranich* to the S. of Tekoa (Buhl *Pal.* 158). G. A. S.

ASPHARASUS (ΑΣΦΑΡΑCOC [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:8 = Ezra 2:2, MIZPAR.

ASRIEL (אֶסְרִיֶּל, § 67, ΕCPIHΛ [BAI]; the patronymic is *Asrielite*, אֶסְרִיֶּלִּית, A[el] [BAF], *cepi* [L]), a Gileadite family, descended from Manasseh through Machir, Josh. 17:2 (ΕCZEIΛ [B], *epi* [A]), Nu. 26:31 (*cepi* [L]). In 1 Ch. 7:14-19 (ΑCΕPΕIΛΛ [B], AV ASRIEL; see MANASSIIM), a very different Manassite genealogy, the name is probably dittography of the syllables immediately following (אֶסְרִיֶּל; cp also text of G¹¹); read, 'The sons of Manasseh whom his concubine the Aramitess bare' (cp Gen. 46:20 G¹¹). The name may be old, though it comes to us from late writers.

ASS (אֶסֶס, fem. אֶסְסָה, ² ΟΝΟC [BAL]; *asinus*, *asinus*, *Wild Ass* (אֶסֶס or אֶסְסָה = Chald. אֶסְסָה, ⁴ ΟΝΟC *argyros*; *onager*), and *Young Ass* (אֶסְסָה, *πῶλος* [BAL]).

The following are the passages: (a) for 'ass' Gen. 12:16 22:3 40:11 14 (G¹¹ το καλόη), Ex. 13:13 Nu. 22:28 Dt. 22:10 Judg. 5:10 (υποδύον [A]), 15:15 2 K. 6:25 Is. 21:7 Zech. 9:9 (G¹¹ υποδύον) Mt. 21:2 1 K. 13:15 etc.; (b) for 'wild ass' Job 6:5 11:12 (G¹¹ ονός ερημικής) 24:5 (G¹¹ ονός) Ps. 104:11 (G¹¹ οναγγοί) Is. 32:14 Jer.

¹ The usual rendering of אֶסֶס or אֶסְסָה in G¹¹.

² Root אֶסֶס 'to be red.' On the form cp Lag. *Ubers.* 11, Barth. *AB* 1:20.

³ The Ar. verb *atana* = 'contracto brevique gressu incessit'; but this may be denominative. אֶסְסָה has of course no connection with *asinus*; see Lag. *Form.* 817.

⁴ L¹² derives אֶסְסָה from *arada*, 'he threw a stone far,' referring to the effect of the animal's trampling hoofs (*Ubers.* 38 f.). אֶסְסָה seems to be connected with the notion of swift flight.

ASSAPHIOTH

2:24 (G¹¹ ΕΑΛΑΤΥΡΟC) 14:6 Dan. 5:21 (G¹¹ οναγγοί) Hos. 8:9 (G¹¹ om.) Gen. 16:12 RV (G¹¹ οναγγοί); there was perhaps originally a reference to the wild ass (as in 1 S. 24:14 [15] 26:29, where MT now reads אֶסְסָה. FLEA [p. 31]). (c) For 'young ass' Is. 30:6 (G¹¹ ονός), 21 (G¹¹ βοεC), EV 'colt' Gen. 49:11 32:16, EV 'colt' Zech. 9:9 and (G¹¹ ονός) Job 11:12, EV 'ass colt' Judg. 10:4 12:14.

A comparison of the passages in which אֶסְסָה and אֶסְסָה respectively occur shows that the former was more used for carrying burdens and for agriculture, the latter for riding. Hence some have thought that אֶסְסָה denotes a superior breed and not simply 'she-ass'; but this opinion is now given up. We must conclude that she-asses were preferred for riding. As the name אֶסְסָה shows, the Eastern ass is generally reddish in colour; ¹ white asses are rarer, and, therefore, used by the rich and distinguished. This explains the reference in Judg. 5:10.²

The אֶסְסָה (young ass, colt, foal; in Ar. specifically wild ass; see Hommel, *Saugethiere*, 127 ff.) was used variously for carrying burdens (Is. 30:6), for agriculture (17:24), and for riding on (Zech. 9:9). On Judg. 10:4 12:14, see J. VII. On the place of the ass and on its employment among the Jews see generally Jos. *c.* 1 p. 27.

The ass has been from the most ancient times a domesticated animal, and probably, in Egypt at any rate, preceded the horse as a servant of man. It is even questioned whether the wild stock from which it was derived survives at the present day, some authorities holding that the flocks of wild asses met with in various parts of Asia and Africa are but the descendants of those which have escaped from the domesticated state.

The domestic ass, *Equus asinus*, is believed to be descended from the wild ass of Africa, *E. asinus*, of which there are two varieties, *Africanus* and *Somalicus*; and the strong disinclination to ford even narrow streams which these animals show, and their delight in rolling in the dust, are regarded as indications that their origin is from some desert-dwelling animal. In former times this species seems to have extended into Arabia.

In the East the ass plays a large part in the life of the people, and has received a corresponding amount of care at their hands. Much trouble is taken in breeding and rearing the young. Darwin distinguishes four different breeds in Syria: 'first, a light and graceful animal (with an agreeable gait, used by ladies; secondly, an Arab breed reserved exclusively for the saddle; thirdly, a stouter animal used for ploughing and various purposes; and lastly, the large Damascus breed, with peculiarly long body and ears.'

The wild asses which roam in small herds over a considerable part of Asia are sometimes regarded as belonging to one species, the *Equus hemionus*; sometimes to three, the *E. hemippus* found in Syria, the *E. onager*, the Onager of Persia, Beluchistan, and parts of Northern India, and the *E. hemionus* of the high table-lands of Tibet. Sven Hedin describes the last-named as resembling a mule. Living at such high altitudes it has unusually large nostrils. These are artificially produced by the Persians, who slit the nostrils of their tame asses when about to use them for transport purposes in mountainous districts. The Syrian species or subspecies rarely enters the N. of Palestine at the present time. Wild asses congregate in herds, each with a leader, and are said to migrate towards the south at the approach of winter. They are so fleet that only the swiftest horses can keep pace with them, a fact recorded both by Xenophon and by Layard; and they are so suspicious that it is difficult to approach within rifle-shot of them. They are eaten by the Arabs and the Persians. N. M.—A. E. S.

ASSABIAS (ΑΣΑΒΙΑC [L]), RV SABIAS, 1 Esd. 19:2 = 2 Ch. 35:9, HANABIAH, 6.

ASSALIMOTH (ΑΣΑΛΙΜΟΘ [really -ΑΣC CAA, A]), 1 Esd. 8:36 AV = Ezra 8:10, SHELUMITH, 4.

ASSANTIAS, RV *Assamias* (ΑΣΑΜΙΑC [B]), 1 Esd. 8:54 = Ezra 8:24, HANABIAH, 7.

ASSAPHIOTH (ΑΣΑΦΕΙΩΘ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:33 RV = Ezra 2:55, HANAPHETHIL.

¹ Cp Plutarch's statement that the Egyptians execrate the ass διὰ το πύδον γεγονότα τοις Τυφύρτα, και ἀνισθῆναι τῆς χροῆς (quoted by Bochart).

² מִצְרַיִם, not strictly white, but white spotted with red, as the same word means in Arabic, where it is specially applied to the she-ass.

ASSASSINS

ASSASSINS, the RV rendering of *ציקאיון* [Ti. VII]. *starii* — i.e., 'daggersmen': Acts 21:38 (AV murderers). They are so called from the *sica* or small curved sword, resembling the Persian acinaces (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 810), which they carried under their cloaks. Though used generally without any political meaning (cp Schür. *GT* 1430, note), the term *starii* came to be employed to denote the baser and more fanatical associates of the zealots, whose policy it was to eliminate their antagonists by assassination. See ZEALOT.

ASSEMBLY (עֲדָה) is frequently used, especially in post-exilic literature, to denote the theocratic convocation of Israel, the gathering of the people in their religious capacity. It thus becomes synonymous with *ἐκκλησία* (so generally *ἑ*; in Nu. 20:40-42 συναγωγή), so I. k. 4 1314, which in the NT is used of the Christian church, in contrast to the Jewish *kahal* of the Mosaic dispensation. See CHURCH, § 1. Closely allied in meaning and usage is *קָהָל* (from *קָהַל*, 'to appoint': a company assembled together by appointment), employed to denote the national body politic, Mosaic Israel encamped in the desert (cp Kue. *Leit.* § 15, n. 12). Both, *עֲדָה*, include the *qer* (cp for *q* Ex. 12:16, for *q* Nu. 15:15; see STRANGER AND SOJOURNER), but are sometimes interchanged (cp Nu. 16:40 ff. [17:10 ff.] 201). The distinction between the two, which was doubtless always observed, is clearly seen, e.g., in Lev. 14:1 f. (if the whole congregation of Israel shall sin, and the thing be hid from the eyes of the assembly . . . when the sin therein is known then the assembly shall offer . . .), where the *kahal* is composed of the judicial representatives, the picked members of the *עֲדָה* (cp also Dt. 23:1 f. where certain classes of the people — i.e., the *edah* — may not enter into the *kahal*). See SYMBOLOGY.

Apart from their occurrence in the more secular meaning of 'multitude, number, swarm,' both *עֲדָה* and *קָהָל* occur only rarely in pre-Deuteronomian literature.

עֲדָה (1) Ex. 'assembly': cp 1 S. 16:3; Lev. 4:12 ff. and Jer. 26:17 (סυναγωγή) 509 (γῶμα) 1 S. 22:4 (ἀγλος), etc. (2) Ex. 'congregation': 1 K. 8:14 65 123 (see KINGS, § 3) Ezra 10:6 (of the *golah*) Pr. 9:14 Mt. 25. (3) AV 'congregation,' RV 'assembly': Nu. 15:12 16:47 [17:12] Dt. 23:1 ff. 31:30 Jos. 8:35; Judg. 21:5 (see 1 S. 16:3, § 13) Job 30:28 Ps. 89:5 [6] 107:2. The collocation 'day of assembly' Dt. 9:10 104 (ἑορτή) 18:6, refers to the day on which the law was given upon Sinai. For its more secular meaning cp Gen. 35:11 (P² Ex. 17:17 (ἑορτή) Ex. 10:6 (of the *golah*) Gen. 23:2 48:4 (P² Nu. 22:4 (ἑορτή) 2 AV 'multitude,' RV 'company' (in Ex. 16:40 23:46, ἑορτή, RV 'assembly'). Cp also 1 S. 17:47; the assembly of Israel present at the light between David and Goliath (1 S. 17:47; see SAMUEL, § 4). The earliest occurrence is probably Gen. 49:6 (ἑορτή) the *kahal* of Simon and Levi (parallel to *עֲדָה*). Closely related is *עֲדָה* 'assembly,' Neh. 5:7; cp Dt. 33:2 (AV 'congregation'), and 1 S. 19:20 (after *עֲדָה*; cp *ḥad* *ad hoc*). The passage is Midrashic. The verb *עֲדָה* (עֲדָה, *עֲדָה*, *עֲדָה*) is equally rare in pre-exilic literature; cp Jer. 26:9 Dt. 4:10 31:12 28 also 1 K. 8:17 12:21 (see KINGS, § 4) Judg. 20:1 (see JUDGES, § 13) Ex. 32:1 (ἑορτή) (συναστάναι) 16:40 (παρεμβολή) and 2 S. 20:14 (E² cp under *SUBBA*).

קָהָל, 'congregation' (ἑορτή usually συναγωγή) EV Ex. 16:1 ff. Nu. 20:11, etc. EV 'assembly,' Ps. 22:16 [17] Pr. 5:14; but RV 'congregation,' Lev. 8:4 Nu. 8:9 10:2 f. 16:2 20:8 Ps. 86:14. In pre-exilic literature cp Nu. 20:11 (R²); Jer. 6:18 (ἑορτή) and Hos. 7:12 (ἑορτή) (in both corrupt) 1 K. 8:5 (ἑορτή) (cp above) Judg. 20:1 21:13 16 (cp above). In a wholly secular sense, cp Judg. 14:9 swarm (of bees), Ps. 68:30 [31] multitude (of bulls).

'Assembly' also represents the following:—

1. *עֲדָה*, *עֲדָה* *ḥadrah*, *ḥadrah*, apart from Jer. 9:2 [1]

2. *קָהָל* (to call) = Ar. *kāla* (to speak); cp Syr. *kāla* to call, collect; *kāla* *ḥadrah*. The change from 'calling' to 'assembling' is easy; cp use of Heb. *קָהָל*. The relation between *קָהָל* (assembly) and Ar. *kāla* is analogous to that between *קָהָל*, council, etc., and Syr. *qāwāḥā*, talk, conversation (in Gen. 49:6 they are parallel). *קָהָל* finds an interesting parallel in Sab. *qāwāḥā*, the assembly of 'Ahtar (Ashoreth). On the usage of *kāla* see Holzinger, *Z. A. W.* 9 105 f. [30].

3. In these passages *ḥadrah* has *ḥadrah*.

4. From *קָהָל* to press, restrain; cp *קָהָל* 'detained' (1 S. 21:1 Jer. 36:5); perh. *qāwāḥā*, *tempus clausum*; cp WRS, *Sem.* 436, who notes the proverbial *קָהָל* 'one under a taboo and one free.' Cp Ass. *qāwāḥā*, to bind, enclose; *qāwāḥā*, magical spell, constellation (Muss-Arnolt).

ASSHURIM

where it is used of a 'band' of evil doers (συνεδοσ, EV 'assembly'; Che. emends to *קָהָל*, *QQA*, July 1898), is a technical term for some public religious convocation imposing restraints on the individual (EV, SOLEMN ASSEMBLY); cp 2 K. 10:1 in honour of Baal, *ἡμεῖς* [B.A.], *θεοῦ* [L.], Joel 1:4 2:15 (ἡμεῖς *ḥadrah* parallel to *עֲדָה*, *ḥadrah*, *θεοῦ* [L.] = *קָהָל*), Am. 5:21 (parallel to *עֲדָה*, *ḥadrah*, *θεοῦ* [L.] = *קָהָל*), and Is. 1:11 (ἡμεῖς *ḥadrah*, and see Jastrow, *Amer. J. Theol.* '98, p. 330; *ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*, *ḥadrah*).

Technically, *ḥadrah* is used almost wholly in post-exilic writings (ἑορτή invariably ἑορτή, finale, close; cp *ḥadrah* title Ps. 28 [29]), of (a) the assembling upon the seventh day of unleavened cakes, Dt. 16:21 (RV⁹⁸ CROSSING FESTIVAL); (b) the eighth or supererogatory day — in ecclesiastical language the octave — of the Feast of Booths, Lev. 23:36 Nu. 29:35 (RV⁹⁸, see above) Neh. 8:12; similarly 'the eighth day at the close of Solomon's dedicatory festival' (2 Ch. 7:9), and (c) the Feast of Weeks, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 106 (*ἑορτή*) and in the Mishna.

2. *קָהָל*, *ḥadrah* (Nu. 16:21) *ḥadrah*, famous in the congregation, RV, preferably 'called to the assembly'; *ḥadrah*; cp also 1 S. 7:18 (RV⁹⁸ EV synagogues, *ḥadrah*). The locution *קָהָל* *ḥadrah*, 'tent of congregation' (RV 'meeting') (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*), occurs frequently in P. also Ex. 33:7 Nu. 12:4 Dt. 31:14 (E² Nu. 11:16 [1]); and outside Hex. in 1 S. 22:2 *ḥadrah*; but *ḥadrah* (1 K. 8:4) *ḥadrah* *ḥadrah* (see KINGS, § 5). Cp also CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF; SYNAGOGUE; and see TABERNACLE.

קָהָל is properly an appointed time or place (like *קָהָל* from *קָהָל*; cp Gen. 18:14 (ἑορτή), etc.; Lam. 2: (ἑορτή), etc.; hence used of a sacred season or set feast (Hos. 9:5, *ḥadrah*, etc.), probably also one set by the moon's appearance (cp Gen. 1:14 *ḥadrah*). In designating feasts it is employed in a much wider sense than *קָהָל* (see FEASTS, § 6, DANCE, § 3). It is used not only of the year of Release (Dt. 31:10 *ḥadrah*), and of the Passover (Hos. 12:9 [10] *ḥadrah*), but also of the Sabbath, New Year, and Day of Atonement (cp Lev. 23 *ḥadrah*).

3. *קָהָל*, *ḥadrah*; Is. 1:13 *ḥadrah*, the calling of assemblies (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*); cp Is. 4:15 (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*). 'The locution *קָהָל* *ḥadrah*, 'holy convocation' (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*, or *ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*), only in P (Ex. 12:16 Lev. 23:2 ff. Nu. 28 18:25 f. 29:17 12:1).

4. *קָהָל*, *ḥadrah*, Jer. 6:11 (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*) 15:17 (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*); Ps. 89:7 [8] 111:1, RV 'council,' *ḥadrah*; also in Ez. 13:9, AV⁹⁸ RV 'council,' RV⁹⁸ 'secret,' *ḥadrah*. See COUNCIL, 3.

5. *קָהָל*, *ḥadrah*, *ḥadrah*, Eccl. 12:11 (*ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*), masters of assemblies, a reference to the convocations of the wise men (cp Ph. *ḥadrah* *ḥadrah*, 'member of an assembly'); RV⁹⁸ 'collectors of sentences'; Tyler, 'editors of collections'; Haupt, 'verses of a collection'; Che. 'framers of collections' — i.e., *ḥadrah* (*ḥadrah*, *ḥadrah*, 182).

6. *ḥadrah* (cp above) Mt. 16:13 18:17 Acts 19:32 39 41 Heb. 12:21; see CHURCH.

7. *ḥadrah* (cp above) Ja. 2:2 AV, RV⁹⁸; RV SYNAGOGUE (p. 7).

ASSHUR. See ASSYRIA.

ASSHUR, CITY OF. See TELASSAR.

ASSHURIM (אַשּׁוּרִים, *ashurim* [A]; *ashurim* [D]; *ashurim* [E]), the first born of DEBAN (Gen. 25:23). The name is enigmatical. Hommel (*MT* 239 f.) thinks that we should read Ashurim, not Asshurim, and that Ashur is the fuller and older form of SHUR. In a Minæan inscription (Glaser, 1:155; cp Wi. 10:28 f. and see ZDMG, 1893, p. 527) Egypt, Ashur and 'The Naharûn are grouped together (see EBLER). The same territory, extending from the 'River of Egypt' (?) to the country between Beersheba and Hebron, may perhaps be meant in Gen. 25:18, where the gloss 'in the direction

1 The only pre-exilic occurrence of 'y' in a technical sense; but note that according to St. *GT* 1:658, 27, 1-4 5-8 are doubtful; cp Nowack, *Arch.* 2:154 note.

2 We, however (*KL Proph.* 60), reads *קָהָל*, and Now. *קָהָל*.

ASSIDEANS

of אַשּׁוּר ('Ashur') was misunderstood by the authors of the vowel-points. The reference intended was, according to Hommel, to Ashur in S. Palestine; he proposes to read Ashur, not Asshur, also in Nu. 21:22-24. The latter view, at any rate, is very improbable (see BALAAM, § 6). Cp. also GISHUR, 2.

ASSIDEANS, RV 'Hasideans,' RV⁹²: 'that is Chasidim' (חַסִּידִים [ANV]), is a transcription of the Hebrew *hasidim*, 'pious ones' (AV, generally, *saints*). It is often used of faithful Israelites in the Psalms (17 times in plur., 5 times in sing.), and sometimes unquestionably of the so-called Assideans (e.g., 116:15 119:50). In 1 Macc. the name appears as the designation of a society of men zealous for the Law (1 Macc. 2:42—according to the correct text as given by Fritzsche), and closely connected with the scribes (1 Macc. 7:12 f.). It is plain from these passages that this society of 'pious ones,' who held fast to the law under the guidance of the scribes in opposition to the 'godless' Hellenising party, was properly a religious, not a political, organisation. For a time they joined the revolt against the Seleucids. The direct identification of the Assideans with the Maccabean party in 2 Macc. 1:46, however, is one of the many false statements of that book, and directly contradictory to the trustworthy narrative of 1 Macc. 7, which shows that they were strictly a religious party, who scrupled to oppose the legitimate high priest, even when he was on the Greek side, and withdrew from the war of freedom as soon as the attempt to interfere with the exercise of the Jewish religion was given up. We are not to suppose that the Assidean society first arose in the time of the Maccabees. The need of protesting against heathen culture was doubtless felt earlier in the Greek period. The 'former *hasidim*,' as a Jewish tradition (*Nedarim*, 10a) assures us, were ascetic legalists. Under the Asmonean rule the Assideans developed into the better known party of the Pharisees, and assumed new relations to the ruling dynasty. It appears, from the *Psalter of Solomon*, which represents the views of the Pharisees, that the party continued to affect the title of 'pious ones' (חסידים), but less frequently than that of 'righteous ones' (דיקאים). Indeed, the third Jewish party of the Asmonean period had already appropriated the former name, if we may adopt Schürer's derivation of ESSENE (q.v.). See We. *Ph. u. Sadd.* 74, p. 76 ff., whose results WRS adopted, and cp. Schür. *II st. ET* 1:12; Che. *OPS*, 56 (on the use of 'Assideans'), and other passages (index under *hasidim*). W. R. S.—T. K. C.

ASSIR (אַסִּיר, 'prisoner'; but perhaps rather אֲסִיר = Osiris; 1 ep IIUR).

ASSYRIA

1. (In Ex. אַסּוּר [BF], אַסּוּר [AL]; in 1 Ch. אַסּוּר, אַסּוּר, אַסּוּר [B], אַסּוּר [V], אַסּוּר אַסּוּר [L]; *Assir*). The eponym of one of the families or divisions of the Korahite guild of Levites; Ex. 6:24 [L]. Cp. 1 Ch. 6:22 f. 37 [7 f. 20], and for the interpretation of these disreputable genealogies see KORAH.
2. Son of Jeconiah (1 Ch. 3:17, אַסּוּר [BAL]). So AV, following a Jewish view that Assir and Shebriel are the names of two different sons of Jeconiah (*Sanhedrin*, 37a; Midrash *Tanpura*, par. x.; Midr. *Shur hashirim*, on 86; so Kiuchi); but the best texts (B¹, G¹, G², G³) make 'Jeconiah-Assir' the name of one man. Kau. *HS* and *SROT* rightly restore the article before Assir (the preceding word ends in *n*). Render, therefore, 'Jeconiah the captive' (so RV). Cp. SNEALTIE.

ASSOS, or **ASSUS** (Ἀσσοῦ [Ti. WH]), Acts 20:13, a town and seaport in the Roman province of Asia; now *Behram Kalasi*. Strabo, who ranks Assus and Adramyteum together as 'cities of note,' pitifully describes the former as lying in a lofty situation, with splendid fortifications, and communicating with its harbours by means of a long flight of steps (610, 614). So strong was the position that it gave rise to a pun by the musician Stratomenus, who applied to it the line

ἄσσον ὦ, ὅς κεν θάσσον δαέθρου πείραθ' ἔλθαι.
'Come anigh, that anon thou mayest enter the toils of death' (Hom. *Il.* vi. 143). The joke lay in reading ἄσσον ὦ = 'Come to Assus.' The town was always singularly Greek in character. Leake observes that its ruins give 'perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists.' The material is granite, which partly accounts for their immunity from spoliation. One of the most interesting parts is the Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, extending to a great distance to the NW. from the gate of the city. It is bordered by granite coffins, some of them of great size. In Roman times, owing to its supposed power of accelerating the decay of corpses (Pl. *HA* 2:93 36:27), the stone of Assus received the name *sarcophagus*. Paul must have entered the city by the Street of Tombs on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:14). The apostle had landed at Troas and walked or rode the 20 m. thence to Assus in time to join his companions, who had meanwhile sailed round Cape Lectum.

A good account of Assos is given in Fellows, *Asia Minor*, 52; Murray's *Handbook of A. M.* 64; for its inscriptions see *Report of the American Expedition*, 1882. W. J. W.

ASSUERUS (Ἀσούρος [B] etc.) Tob. 14:15† AV, RV AHASUERUS (q.v., no. 3).

ASSUR (אֲשּׁוּר) Ezra 4:2 Ps. 83:8 AV, 4 Esd. 2:8 EV (*Assur* [ed. Bensly]) Judith 2:14 etc. AV, RV ASSHUR; elsewhere RV ASSYRIA (q.v.).
2. (Ἀσσυρία [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:31 = Ezra 2:51, HARKUR.

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Assur, the name of the country known to us as Assyria, was written in Hebrew אַשּׁוּר, EV ASSHUR, or more fully אֲשּׁוּר אַשּׁוּר, in the LXX.

1. **Names.** Ἀσσυρία and Ἀσσυρίοι (sometimes Ἀσσυρία) by Josephus and the Greek historians; Ἀσσυρία, in the Greek of the Alexandrian epoch; Ἀσσυρία, and in Aramaic *Athur*, *Athuriya*, in which form the name survived as that of a diocese of the Nestorian Church.

Other forms occurring once in *OT* are: -אֲסּוּר in E and in A; אֲסּוּרֵי in D, in A, and in L respectively; -אֲסּוּר in E; אֲסּוּרֵי in L.

1 Nestle, *Eigenamen*, 111; Che. *Proph. Is.* 3:2 144 300, and on Is. 10:1 in *SROT*; see also NAMES, § 82.
2 For literature see BABYLONIA, § 19 ff.

in A¹; אֲסּוּרֵי in A; אֲסּוּרֵי in B²; אֲסּוּר in B³ אֲסּוּרֵי a, b, c, 1 (and twice in A); אֲסּוּר in K².

By the Assyrians themselves the name of their country was written phonetically אֲשּׁוּר or אֲשּׁוּר אֲשּׁוּר, or (combining the two) אֲשּׁוּר אֲשּׁוּר, the signs אֲ and אֲ being determinatives respectively for 'land' and 'place.' Subsequently, the two signs that formed the word, אֲ (= a) and אֲ (= sur), were run together and the name was written אֲשּׁוּר אֲשּׁוּר.

1 In 20:13 Vg. translates ἀπαρτες ἄσσον (Ti. WH) by *cum sustulissent de Asson*, taking the word (incorrectly) as the name of the city.

name

² On this see SVRJA.

4. Description. E. and W. Assyria and divides Assyria into an E. and a W. district. That part of Assyria which is situated on the E. or left bank of the Tigris, though the smaller, has always been much the more important. The country on that side of the river consists of a continuous plain broken up by low detached ranges of limestone hills into a series of shallow valleys through which small streams run. All the main tributaries, too, that feed the Tigris rise in the Kurdish mountains, and flow through this E. division of the country. The E. Khābūr, the Great or Upper Zab, the Little or Lower Zab, the Arhem, and the Diyālā join the Tigris on its left or E. bank. Being therefore so amply supplied with water, this portion of the country is very fertile, and well suited by nature for the rise of important cities. On the other hand, W. Assyria, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, is a much drier and more barren region. The fall of the two rivers between the point where they issue from the spurs of the Taurus and the point where they enter the Babylonian alluvium—a distance of six hundred or seven hundred miles—amounts to about one thousand feet, the Tigris having the shorter course, and being, therefore, more rapid. The country between the rivers consists of a plain, sloping gently from the NW. to the NE. In its upper part this region is somewhat rugged; it is intersected by many streams, which unite to form the Beḥdī and W. Khābūr. The rivers flowing S. join the Euphrates, and the district through which they pass is watered sufficiently for purposes of cultivation. In the SW., however, the supply of water is scanty, and the country tends to become a desert, its slightly undulating surface being broken only by the Sinjar range, a single row of limestone hills. The district

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S. of these hills is waterless for the greater part of the year; the few streams and springs are for the most part brackish, while in some places the country consists of salt deserts, and in others vegetation is rendered impossible by the nitrous character of the soil. It is true that on the edges of this waterless region there are gullies from one to two miles wide which present a more fertile appearance. These have been hollowed out by the streams in the rainy season, and, being submerged when the river rises, have in the course of time been filled with alluvial soil. At the present day they are the only spots between the hill-country in the north and the Babylonian plain in the south where permanent cultivation is possible. It has been urged that this portion of the country may have changed its character since the time of the Assyrian empire, and it is possible that in certain districts extensive irrigation may have considerably increased its productiveness; but at best this portion of Assyria is fitted rather for the hunter than for the tiller of the soil. The land to the left of the Tigris is, therefore, much better suited for sustaining a large population, and it is in

5. Cities.

this district that the mounds marking the sites of the ancient cities are to be found. Asur, the earliest city of Assyria, is indeed situated to the west of the Tigris, near the spot where Kāfāt Sherkat now stands; but its site is within a short distance of the river, and it was the only city of importance on that side of the stream. Apart from its earliest capital, the chief cities of Assyria were Nineveh, Calah, and Dar-Sargina. Nineveh, whose foundation must date from a period not much more recent than that of Asur, was considerably to the N. of that city, opposite the modern town of Mosul (*Marāṣīṭ*), on the E. bank of the Tigris, at the point where the small stream of the Khosr empties its waters; its site is marked by the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yūnus (cp NINEVEH). Calah, founded by Shalmaneser I., corresponds to the modern Nimrud, occupying a position to the S. of Nineveh on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the Upper Zab with the Tigris (cp CALAH). Dar-Sargina, 'the wall of Sargon,' was founded by that monarch, who removed his court thither; the site of the city is marked by the modern village of Khorsabad, to the NE. of Nineveh (cp SARGON). It will be seen that there was a tendency throughout Assyrian history to move the centre of the kingdom northwards, following the course of the Tigris. Other cities of importance were Arbā'il or Irbā'il (Arbēla) on the E. of the Upper Zab; Ingur-Bēl (corresponding to the modern Tell-Balawān), situated to the SE. of Nineveh; and Tarbis, its site now marked by the village of Sherif-Khan, lying to the NW. of Nineveh.

From the above brief description of the country, it may be inferred that Assyria presents considerable differences of climate. E. Assyria was the most favoured region, possessing a good rainfall during winter and even in the spring, and having, in virtue of its proximity to the Kurdish mountains and its abundant supply of water, a climate cooler and moister than was generally enjoyed to the W. of the Tigris. In this latter region the somewhat rigorous climate of the mountainous district in the N. presents a strong contrast to the arid character of the waterless steppes in the centre and the S. The frequent descriptions of the extreme fertility of Assyria in the classical writers may, therefore, be regarded as in part referring to the rich alluvial plains of Babylonia. Not that Assyria was by any means a barren land. She supplemented her rainfall by extensive artificial irrigation, and thus secured for her fields in the hot season a continual supply of water. Her cereal crops were good. Olives were not uncommon, and the citrons of Assyria were famous in antiquity. Fruit trees were extensively cultivated, and, although the dates of Assyria

6. Natural resources.

were much inferior to those of Babylonia, olives, pomegranates, apricots, mulberry, vine, and figs were grown successfully. The tamarisk was exceedingly common shrub; oleanders and myrtles in the eastern district; but, except along the river on the mountain slopes, trees were scanty. The however, included the silver poplar, the dwarf oak, plane, the sycamore, and the walnut. Vegetables as beans, peas, cucumbers, onions, and lentils grown throughout the country. Though Assyria not compete with Babylonia in fertility, her supplies of stone and minerals far exceeded that of the south. Dig where you will in the alluvial soil of the south, you come upon no strata of rock or stone reward your efforts. In Assyria limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate rock were common, as were gray alabaster of a soft kind, an excellent material for sculpture in relief, abounds on the left bank of the Tigris; hard basaltic rock and various marbles also accessible in the mountains of Kurdistan. Copper, and lead were to be found in the hill country not far from Nineveh, while lead and copper obtained from the region of the upper Tigris in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Darbeker. Sulphur, alum, salt, naphtha, and bitumen were also common. Bitumen was extensively employed, in place of mortar or cement, in building (cp BRIT MUSEUM). Of wild animals of Assyria the lion and the wild bull are those most often mentioned in the historical inscriptions as affording big game for the Assyrian kings. Less ambitious sportsmen might content themselves with the wild boar and the deer, the gazelle, ibex, and the hare; while the wild ass, the bear, the jackal, the wild cat, and wild sheep were to be found. The most common of the birds were the eagle, the vulture, the bustard, the crane, the stork, the wild goose, wild duck, teal, tern, partridge (red-legged), the sand grouse, and the plover. We know from the monuments that fish were common. Of domestic animals of the Assyrians the principal were camels, horses, mules, asses, oxen, sheep, and goats. Dogs, resembling the mastiff in appearance, were employed for hunting. From the fact that heavy stone weights carved in the form of ducks have been found it may be assumed that the duck was domesticated.

The Assyrians belonged to the northern family Semites, and were closely akin to the Phœnicians, the Arameans, and the Hebrews. Their robust physical proportions and facial characteristics are well known from their monuments, and tally with what we know of their character from their own inscriptions and the writings of the Hebrew prophets. Is. 33:19 describes the Assyrians as 'a fierce people'—an epithet that fits a nation whose history is one perpetual warfare. The dividing line between courage and ferocity is easily overpassed, and in a military nation, such as the Assyrians were, it was but natural that there should be customs which to a later age seem barbarous. The practice of impaling the defenders of a captured city was almost universal with the Assyrians; the torturing of prisoners was common, and the practice of beheading the slain, whilst adding insult to the vanquished, was adopted as a convenient method of computing the enemy's loss, for it was easier to count heads than to count bodies. The difference in character between the Assyrians and the milder Babylonians was due partly to the absence of that non-Semitic element which gave rise to and continued to influence the more ancient civilisation of the latter (see BABYLONIA, § 7), partly, also, to differences of climate and geographical position. The ferocity and the courage of the Assyrians are to a great extent absent from the Babylonian character. It has been asserted that the Semites never make great soldiers, yet there have been two prominent exceptions to this generalisation—the Assyrians and the Carthaginians. The former indeed not

ASSYRIA

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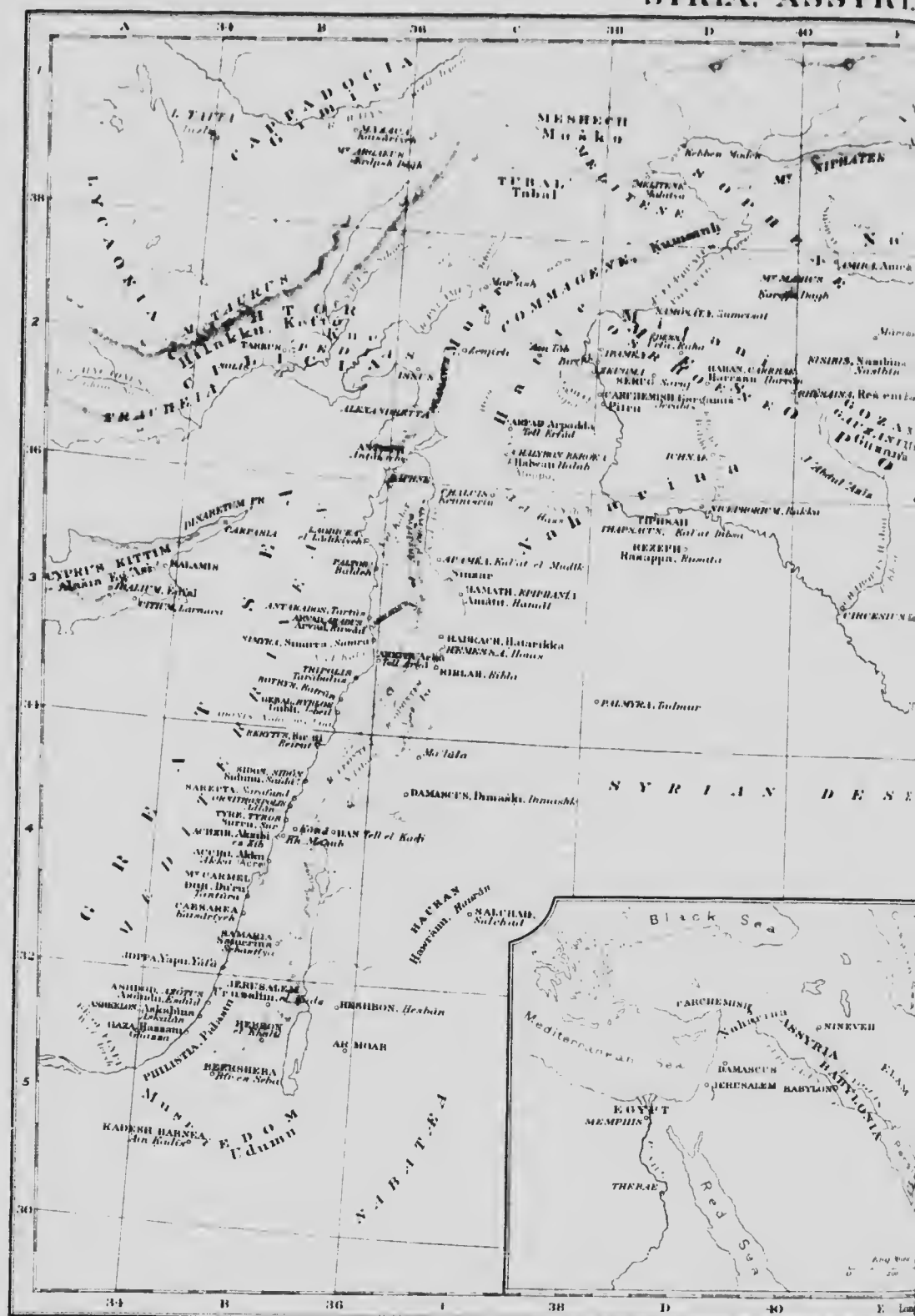
MAP OF SYRIA, ASSYRIA, AND BABYLONIA

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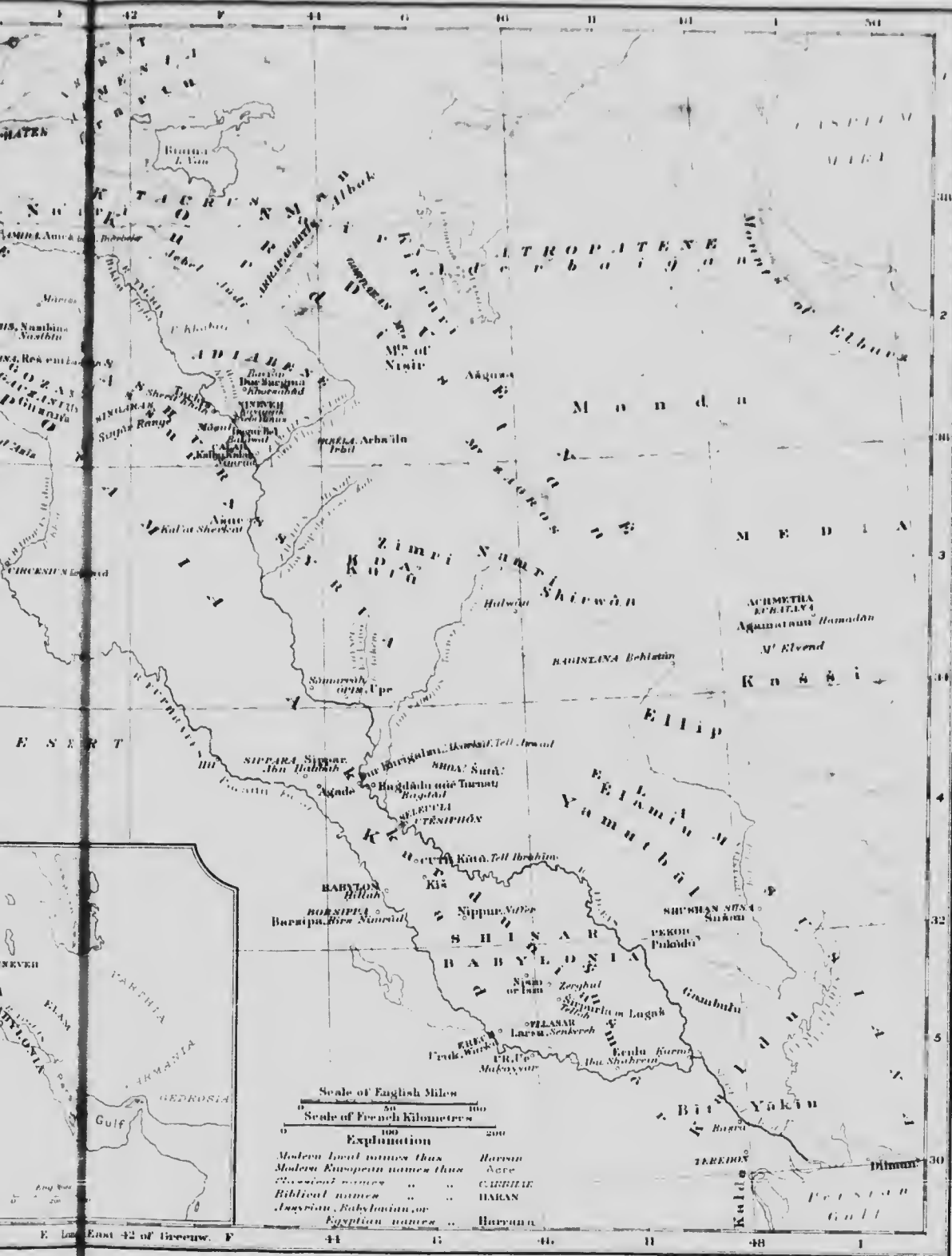
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SYRIA. ASSYRIA.



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SYRIA AND BABYLONIA.



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only displayed the energy of conquest, but also combined with it a great power of administration by which they organized the empire they had acquired. It was, however, the foundation of the Greek barbarism, and afterwards of the Roman, to regard the Assyrians as a singularly luxurious and sensual nation. Their riches, from the borders of the empire down to the kingdom which held the throne, were described as given up to luxury. It is possible that as regards the latter empire this tradition contains a substantial truth, for the growing luxury of Assyria may well have been one of the causes that brought about her fall. For the earlier and the middle period of Assyrian history, however, the statement is proved to be untrue both by the records of Assyria herself and by the negative evidence of the Hebrew prophets. These contemporaries of Assyria, who hated her with the bitter hatred which the oppressors of Israel always feel for their oppressors, truly, if ever, denounced her luxury. It was her violence and robbery that oppressed her victims. In the language of prophecy the nation is pictured as a lion (Nah. 2:9), and it is not as a centre of vice that is "the bloody city" that Nahum foretells the destruction of her capital city.

8. Language, etc. The Assyrians spoke a Semitic language, which they inherited from the Babylonians, a language that was more closely allied to Hebrew and Aramaic than to Arabic and the other

8. Language,
etc.

characters of the S. Semitic group. They wrote a non-Semitic character, one of the varieties of the cuneiform writing (see BABYLONIA § 4.7). Like their language, this system of writing came to them from the Babylonians, who had themselves inherited it from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. The Assyrians, although retaining the Babylonian signs, made sundry changes in the formation of them, and in some it is possible to trace a steady development throughout the whole period covered by the Assyrian inscriptions. The forms of some of the characters in the inscriptions of almost every Assyrian king display slight variations from those employed by his predecessors. Indeed in some few cases the forms used at different periods differ more widely from one another than they do from their Babylonian original. The literature of the

then Babylonian original. The literature of the Assyrians was borrowed. In a sense they were without a literature, for they were not a literary people. They were a nation of warriors, not of scholars. In this they present the greatest contrast to the kindred in the S. Possessed of abundant practical energy, they were without the meditative temperament which fostered the growth of Babylonian literature; and, although displaying courage in battle and devotion to the chase, they lacked the epic spirit in which to tell the tales of their enterprise. The majority of the historical inscriptions which they have left behind them are not literature; they are merely lists of conquered cities, catalogues of captured spoil, and statistics of the slain. Though not original, however, the Assyrians were far from being illiterate. They took over, root and branch, the whole literature of Babylonia, in the copying, the collection, and the arrangement of which they displayed the same energy and vigor with which they prosecuted a campaign. It was natural that the priests and scribes, whose duty it was to copy and collate, should attempt compositions of their own; but they merely reproduced the matter and the methods of their predecessors. In a word, the Assyrians made excellent librarians, and it is to their powers of organisation that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian literature. Since, therefore, the language, the system of writing, and the literature of the Assyrians were not of their own making, but merely an inheritance into which they entered, the description of them in greater detail falls more naturally under the article BABYLONIA (see § 19 ff.).

The religion of the Assyrians resembles in the main that of the Babylonians, from which it was derived. The ear's colonists from the south carried with them the

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goals of the country which they were helping to attain. In the very first three weeks after the invasion, some 100,000 soldiers

9. Religion.

countryman and leader given a high position in the party. The party has a number of prominent leaders who were formerly in the army and navy, and who were formerly in the government. The party has a number of prominent leaders who were formerly in the army and navy, and who were formerly in the government. The party has a number of prominent leaders who were formerly in the army and navy, and who were formerly in the government.

Assyria is sometimes termed "the land of Ashur" and Nineveh, the city of Ashur. Her title, "the great," was not inconsistent with Ashur's supremacy. He was "the king of all the gods," and his national successes were regarded as the result of his initiative. It was Ashur who marked out the kings of Assyria from their birth, and in due time called them to the throne. It was he who invested them with power and gave them victory over their enemies, listened to their prayers, and ordained the policy they should pursue. The Assyrian army was "the troops of Ashur," the national war was Ashur's enemy, and every expedition is stated to have been undertaken only at his direct command. In fact, the life of the nation was consecrated to his service, and its energies were spent in the attempt to vindicate his majesty among the nations that surrounded them. His symbol was the winged circle in which was frequently enclosed a draped mitre, figure wearing a head dress with three horns and with his hand extended; at other times he is represented as holding a bow or drawing it to its full extent. The symbol may, perhaps, be explained as a visible representation that Ashur's might had no equal, his influence no limit, and his existence no end. This symbol is often to be found on the monuments as the accompaniment of royalty, signifying that the Assyrian king, as Ashur's representative, was under his special protection; and we find it not only symbolical above the king's image, but also carved on his seal and even embossed on his garment. It is possible that we may trace Ashur's exaltation of the god Ashur the Semitic tendency to monotheism, the complete vindication of which he effected, and express it in the Hebrew prophets. It may be supposed, however, that the new duty stood in only opposition to the older gods, and should by Ashur's side, not so powerful, it is true, but retaining considerable influence and leading them and without prejudice to the advancement of the nation's interests.

The spouse of Asur was Belti—that is, 'the Lady' *par excellence*—and she was identified with the goddess E-tar (see especially 3 R. 24, 80; 53, n. 2, 367) and, in particular with E-tar of Nimech. Another goddess who enjoyed especial veneration in Assyria was E-tar of Arbēl, who has been particularly prominent under Sennacherib and his successors, and was generally mentioned by the side of her namesake of Nimech. She was especially the goddess of battle, and from Assurbanipal we know the conventional form in which she was presented. 'This monarch, on the eve of an engagement with the E-lamites, feeling far from confident of his own success, appealed for encouragement and guidance to E-tar of Arbēl. The goddess answered the king's prayer by appearing that night in a vision to a certain son while he slept. On recounting his dream to the king, the seer described the appearance of the goddess in these words: 'E-tar, who dwells in Arbēl, entered, on the left and the right of her luring quivers; in her hand she held a bow; and a sharp sword that she draw for the waging of battle.'

Besides Asur and Ishtar, two other gods were held in particular respect by the Assyrians—Ninuth, the god of war, and Nergal, the god of the chase. Almost all

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the Assyrian kings, however, had their own pantheons, to whom they owed especial allegiance. In many cases the names constituting the pantheon occur in the king's inscriptions in a set order that does not often vary.

Such were the principal changes which the Assyrians made in the pantheon of Babylonia, the majority of whose gods they inherited, with their functions and attributes to a great extent unchanged. It is true that our knowledge of Babylonian religion, like that of Babylonian literature, comes to us mainly through Assyrian sources; but though it passed to them, its origin and development are closely interwoven with the history of the older country. The cosmology of the Assyrians and their conception of the universe were entirely Babylonian (see BABYLONIA, § 25); their astrology (*ib.* § 34); their science of omens (§ 32); their system of ritual and their ceremonial observances (§ 20*f.*) were an inheritance from the temples and worship of the south.

Though in language, writing, and literature Assyria so closely resembles Babylonia, in her architecture she presents a striking contrast. The alluvial plains of the southern country contained no

10. Architecture.

stone, and the Babylonian buildings were, therefore, mainly composed of brick. The resources of Assyria were not so poor; the limestone and the alabaster with which her land abounded stood her in good stead.

The palace was the most important building among the Assyrians, for the principal builders were the kings. It was erected, usually, on an artificial platform of bricks or earth; in which fact we may possibly see a survival of a custom of Babylonia, where such precautions against inundation were necessary. The platform was generally faced with stone, and was at times built in terraces which were connected by steps. The palace itself was composed of halls, galleries, and smaller chambers built round open courts, the walls of the former being ornamented with elaborate sculptures in relief. It is only from their foundations that our knowledge of the Assyrian palaces has been obtained. From these remains a good idea of their extent can be gathered; but there is no means of telling the appearance they presented when complete. Their upper portion has been totally destroyed; it is a matter of conjecture whether they consisted of more than one story. The paving of the open court was as a rule composed of brick; but sometimes stone slabs, covered with shallow carving in conventional patterns, were employed.

The temple was subordinate to the palace. Our knowledge of its appearance is based mainly on its representation on the monuments, from which it would appear that the Assyrians inherited the Babylonian *zikkurratu* (temple-tower), a building in stages which diminish as they ascend (see BABYLONIA, § 16, *beg.*). Unmistakable remains of a building of this description were uncovered on the N. side of the mound at Nimrud. Another type of building depicted on the monuments has been identified as a shrine or a temple; it was a single storied structure, with a broad entablature supported by columns or pilasters.

The domestic architecture of the Assyrians has perished. The dwellings of the more wealthy must have resembled the royal residence. On the bas-reliefs are to be found villages which bear a striking resemblance to those of modern Mesopotamia; and, having regard to the eternal nature of things eastern, we may regard it as not unlikely that the humbler subjects of Assyria were housed no better nor worse than the villagers of to-day.

It was to adorn their palaces and temples that the Assyrians employed the sculptured slabs and bas-reliefs with which their name is peculiarly

10. Sculpture.

associated. The majority of these have come from the palaces of Asur-nisir-pal, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Asur-bani-pal. The work of the earliest of these kings is distinguished from that of his successors by a certain breadth and grandeur of treatment; but the constant repetition of his own figure, accompanied

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by attendants, human or divine, becomes monotonous. The work of Sargon presents a greater variety of subject and treatment; but it is in the sculptures of Sennacherib and Asur-bani-pal that the most varied episodes of Assyrian life and history are portrayed. It was natural that battle-scenes should chiefly occupy the sculptor; yet even here the artist could give his fancy play. Whilst he was bound by convention to depict the vulture devouring the slain, he could carve at the top of his slab a sow with her litter trampling through a reed-bed. Armies in camp or on the march, the siege of cities or battles in the open, the counting of the slain and the treatment of prisoners—all are rendered with absolute fidelity. When an army crosses a river and boats for transport are not to be had, the troops are represented as swimming over with the help of inflated skins—a custom that survives on the banks of the Tigris to the present day.

Though the sculptures of Sennacherib and Asur-bani-pal have much in common, as regards both their matter and the method of their treatment, each king had his own favourite subject for portrayal on his monuments. Sennacherib liked most to perpetuate his building operations; Asur-bani-pal, his own deeds of valour in the chase. Sennacherib erected two palaces at Nineveh—the one at Nebi Yünüs, the other at Kuyunjik—but it is only at Kuyunjik that the palace has been thoroughly explored. On the walls of this latter edifice he caused to be carved a series of scenes in which his builders are represented at their work. Stone and timber are being carried down the Tigris upon rafts; gangs of slaves are collecting smaller stones in baskets, and piling them up to form the terrace on which the palace is to stand; others are wheeling hand-carts full of tools and ropes for scaffolding, or transporting on sledges huge blocks of stone for the colossal statues. The hunting-scenes of Asur-bani-pal may be regarded as marking the acme of Assyrian art. Background and accessories are for the most part absent. Thus, grotesque efforts at perspective, common to the most of early art, are avoided, with the result that the limitations in the methods of the early artist are not so apparent. The scenes portrayed are always spirited. The figures are all in motion. Whilst the elaboration of detail is not carried to an extreme, action is represented with complete success. This series of hunting-scenes contains pieces of great beauty. It is in striking contrast to the large majority of Assyrian sculptures, which tend to excite interest rather than admiration. Still, even the earlier work has not entirely failed in its purpose—ornamentation. The stiff arrangement of a battlefield has often a decorative effect; and the representation of a river with the curves and scrolls of its water contrasting with the stiff symmetrical line of reeds upon its bank, is always pleasing. Indeed, from a decorative point of view, Assyrian art attained no small success. Traces of colour are still to be found on some of the bas-reliefs, on the hair and beards of figures, on parts of the clothing, on the belts, the sandals, etc.; but the question whether the whole stone-work was originally covered

1 A singular detail may be noticed with reference to the representation of these skins. The soldier places the skin beneath his belly, and by means of his arms and legs paddles himself across the water. Even with this assistance he would need all his breath before his efforts landed him on the opposite bank; but in the sculptures each soldier is represented as retaining in his mouth one of the legs of the inflated skin, into which he continues to blow as into a bagpipe. The inflation of the skin could be accomplished far more effectively on land before he started, and the last leg of the beast could then be tied up so that the swimmer need not trouble himself further about his apparatus, but devote his entire attention to his stroke. This, no doubt, was what actually happened; but the sculptor wishes to indicate that his skins are not solid bodies but full of air, and he can find no better way of showing it than by making his swimmers continue blowing out the skins, though in the act of crossing. This instance may be taken as typical of the spirit of primitive art, which, diffident of its own powers of portrayal, or distrustful the imagination of the beholder, seeks to make its meaning clear by means of conventional devices.

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with paint, or only parts of it picked out in colour, cannot be decided.

Even more famous than their sculptured slabs are the colossal winged lions and human-headed bulls of the Assyrians. They fired the imagination of the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, and they impress the beholder of to-day. These creatures were set on either side of a doorway or entrance, and were intended to be viewed both from the front and from the side—a fact that explains why they are invariably represented with five legs. A very curious effect was often produced by running inscriptions across the bodies of these beasts without regard to any detail of carving or design. Asurnāsir-pal was a great offender in this respect. Not content with scarring his colossi in this manner, he ran inscriptions over his bas-reliefs as well, and displayed a lack of imagination by repeating the same short inscription again and again with but few variations.

Carving in the round was rarely practised. A stone statuette of Asurnāsir-pal, a seated stone figure of Shalmaneser II., and some colossal statues of the god Nebo have been found; but, though the proportions of the figure are more or less correct, their treatment is exceedingly stiff and formal. Modelling in clay, however, was common. A few small clay figures of gods have been discovered, and we possess clay models of the favourite hounds of Asurnāsir-pal. We know, too, that the stone bas-reliefs were first of all designed and modelled on a smaller scale in clay: the British Museum possesses fragments of these clay designs, as well as the rough drafts on clay tablets which the Assyrian masons copied when they chiselled the inscriptions.

In their metal work the Assyrians were very skilful. This we may gather both from the monuments and

11. Metal work.

from the actual examples of the art that have come down to us. A good majority of the originals of the metal trappings, ornaments, etc., that are represented on the monuments must have been cast. The metal weights in the form of lions are among the best actual examples of casting that we possess. In the British Museum, moreover, there is to be seen an ancient mould that was employed for casting. It was found near Mosul, and, although it must be assigned to a period about two centuries subsequent to the fall of Nineveh, it probably represents the traditional form of that class of matrix, and we shall not be far wrong in supposing that such moulds were extensively employed in the Assyrian foundries of at least the later empire. The mould in question is made of bronze, and is formed in four pieces which fit together accurately. Three holes may be observed on the flat upper surface. Into these holes the molten metal was poured. When the mould was opened after its contents had been given time to cool, there would be seen lying within it three barbed arrow-heads.

It was, however, in the more legitimate art of metal-beating that the Assyrians excelled. Much of the embossed work that adorned their thrones, their weapons, and their armour was wrought with the hammer, while the dishes and bowls from Nimrud and the shields from the neighbourhood of Lake Van are covered with delicate *repoussé* work, the design on the upper side being finished and defined by means of a graving tool. The largest and finest examples of this class of work that have been preserved are the bronze sheathings of the gates of Shalmaneser II., which were excavated at Tell-Balawat in 1871 and are now to be seen in the British Museum. The bronze gates of nations in antiquity were not cast in solid metal. They would have been too heavy to move, and metal was not obtained in sufficient quantities to warrant such an extravagance. The gate was built principally of wood, on which plates of metal were fastened; the object being to strengthen the gate against an enemy's assault, and especially to protect its wooden interior from destruction by fire. The metal coverings of Shalmaneser's

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gate consist of bronze bands which at one time strengthened and adorned it. A brief inscription runs round them, while the space is filled with designs in delicate relief illustrating the battles and conquests of the king and in general treatment resembling the bas-reliefs of stone to which reference has been made.

Iron was used by the Assyrians; but bronze was the favourite substance of the metal-worker. Specimens of the bronze employed have been analysed, and it has been ascertained that it consists roughly of one part of tin to ten parts of copper. We know from the jewels represented on the monuments that ornamental work in silver and in gold was not uncommon, and specimens of inlaid work and of work in ivory have been found at Nimrud. Many of the examples we possess, however, betray a strong Egyptian influence, apparent in the general method of treatment and in the occurrence of the scarabæus, the cartouche, and a few hieroglyphs. Thus they must be regarded not as genuine Assyrian productions, but rather as the work of Phœnician artists copying Egyptian designs. Enamelling of bricks was extensively employed as a means of decoration. The designs consist sometimes of patterns, and sometimes of scenes in which men and animals take part. The colouring is subdued, and the general effect is harmonious. The fact that the tones of the colouring are so subdued is regarded by some as a proof that they have faded. Some excellent examples of enamelled architectural ornamentation in terra-cotta have been found at Nimrud. They bear the name of Asurnāsir-pal.

Engraving on gems and the rarer stones and marbles was an art to which the Assyrians especially devoted themselves. There have been found a

12. Seals, etc. few gems and seals that are oval in shape; but the general form adopted was that of a cylinder. Those of cylindrical form vary from about an inch and a half to two inches in length and from about half an inch to an inch in diameter. They were pierced along the centre so that the wearer could suspend them from his person by a cord. The use to which they were put was precisely similar to that of the signet ring. A Babylonian or an Assyrian, instead of signing a document, ran his cylinder over the damp clay tablet on which the deed he was attesting had been inscribed. No two cylinder seals were precisely alike, and thus this method of signature worked very well. As every wealthy Assyrian carried his own seal-cylinder, it is not surprising that time has spared a good many of them. (It may be noticed in passing that the class of poorer merchants and artisans did not carry cylinders. When they attested a document they did so by impressing their thumb-nail on the clay of the tablet. Whether a certain social status brought with it the privilege of carrying a cylinder, or whether the possession of one depended solely on the choice or rather on the wealth of its possessor, is a question that has never been solved.)

The work on the cylinders is always intaglio, the engraver aiming at rendering beautiful the seal impression rather than the seal itself. The subjects represented, which are various, include acts of worship, such as the introduction by a priest of a worshipper to his god, mythological episodes, emblems of gods, animals, trees, etc.; the engravings are generally religious or symbolical. The official seal of the Assyrian kings forms the principal exception to this general rule; it is circular and represents a royal personage slaying a lion with his hands. The character of the work itself varies from the rudest scratches to the most polished workmanship, and it may be regarded as a general rule that the more excellent the workmanship the later the date. The earlier seals are inscribed by means of the simplest form of drill and graver, and the marks of the tools employed for hollowing are not obliterated, the heads of the figures being represented by mere holes, while the bodies resemble fish-bones; it should be noted, however, that

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early Babylonian seals of great beauty have been found at Telloh.

It is strange that the Babylonian and the Assyrian, living in a land of clay, building their houses of brick and writing on clay tablets—in fact, with plastic clay constantly passing through their hands—produced no striking specimens of pottery.

13. Pottery. They employed clay for all their vessels; but the forms these assumed do not show great originality, and ornamentation was but niggardly applied. That the Assyrians were glass-blowers is shown by the discovery of small glass bottles and bowls.¹

The domestic furniture of the Assyrians does not demand a detailed description. All that was made of wood has perished. Only the metal fittings survive; but these, with the evidence of the bas-reliefs, point to a high development of art in this direction.

14. Furniture and embroidery. Perhaps the most sumptuous specimens of Assyrian furniture that the monuments portray are the throne in which Sennacherib is seated before Lachish, the furniture in the 'garden-scene' of Ashur-bani-pal (both in the British Museum), and the chair of state or throne of Sargon on a slab from Khorsabad in the Louvre.

Of the art of embroidery, also, as practised by the Assyrian ladies, the invaluable evidence of the monuments gives us an idea. The clothes of the sculptured figures are richly covered with needle-work, especially on the sleeves and along the bottom of robes and tunics, while the royal robes of Ashur-nasir-pal are embroidered from edge to edge. The general character of the designs, whether consisting of patterns or of figures, resembles that of the monuments themselves.

One other subject must be noted in this connection, — it does not strictly fall under the heading either of art or of architecture, though it is closely connected with branches of both,—the knowledge of mechanics that the Assyrians display.

15. Mechanics. To those who have had any experience in the removal or fixing of Assyrian sculpture, and know the thickness of the bas-reliefs and the weight of even the smallest slab, the energy and skill required by the Assyrians to quarry, transport, and fix them in position is little short of marvellous. Yet all this was accomplished with the aid of only a wedge, a lever, a roller, and a rope. Representations of three of these implements in use are to be seen in the building-slabs of Sennacherib.

Among mechanical contrivances may be mentioned the crane for raising water from the rivers to irrigate the fields, and the pulley employed for lowering or raising a bucket in a well. The ingenuity of the Assyrians is apparent also in their various engines of war and the elaborate siege-train that accompanied their armies. The battering-rams, the scaling-ladders, the shields and pent-houses to protect sappers while undermining a wall—not to mention their chariots, weapons, and defensive armour—all testify to their mechanical skill.

The position of Assyria was favourable for commerce. Occupying part of the most fertile valley of W. Asia, she formed the highway between E. and W.

16. Commerce. Of her two great rivers, the Euphrates approaches within one hundred miles of the Mediterranean coast, yet empties its waters into the Persian Gulf. At the time of the Assyrian empire a highway of commerce must have lain from the Phœnician coast to Damascus and thence along the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. Many important caravan routes

¹ They shine with beautiful prismatic tints. Most glass that has been buried for a considerable period, indeed, whether of Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, or Roman manufacture, presents this iridescent appearance. It is a popular error to suppose that it possessed these tints from the beginning and that the art by which the colouring was attained has perished with those who practised it. The ancients must not be allowed to take the credit due to nature. The earth and the atmosphere acting on the surface of the glass have liberated the silice, and the process of decomposition is attended with the iridescent appearance.

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also lay through Assyria. Nineveh maintained commercial relations with the districts around Lake Urmiah, and with Ecbatana, while to the west the Phœnician traders journeyed by the Sinjar range to Thapsacus on the Euphrates, thence south to Tadmor and through Damascus into Phœnicia; a second western caravan route lay through Harran into upper Syria and Asia Minor, while Egypt's trade with Assyria as early as the fifteenth century is attested by the Amarna tablets. The prophet Ezekiel has borne witness to the presence of Assyrian merchants at Tyre in his time; yet it was the nations that traded with Assyria rather than Assyria with the nations, for the Assyrians were essentially a people who preferred to acquire their wealth by conquest rather than in the market-place. The internal trade of Assyria is represented by the contract tablets dating from the ninth century to the end of the empire, that have been found at Kuyunjik. These tablets—not nearly so many as those discovered throughout Babylonia (*q.v.*, § 10, *beg.*)—deal with the sale of slaves, cattle, and produce, the purchase of land, etc., and bear witness to the internal prosperity of Assyria. They are written more carefully than the majority of those of Babylonia; and the Babylonian device of wrapping the tablet in an envelope of clay on which the contract was inscribed 1 in duplicate, with a view to its safer preservation, was not often adopted.

The form of government in Assyria throughout the whole course of her history was that of a military despotism. The king was supreme. He was Ashur's representative on earth and under the special protection of the gods.

17. Government.

Whatever policy he might adopt was Ashur's policy, and it was the duty of every subject of Assyria to carry out his will. The nation therefore existed for the monarchy, not the monarchy for the nation. The kingship rested on the army, on which it relied to quell rebellion and maintain authority as well as to conquer foreign lands. The army was in consequence the greatest power in the state. Its commander-in-chief, the *tartan* or *tartan*, held a position next to that of the king himself, in whose absence he led the troops and directed operations (*cp* TARRAN). The *saku* was an important lower officer; the *rab-kisir* was his superior; and the *lud-lake* and *rab-lake* were only second to the *tartan* (*cp* RAB-SHAKKI). The titles of many court officers are known; but it is difficult to ascertain their functions. The more important were eligible for the office of the *limmu*, to which they succeeded in order, each giving his name to the year during which he held office (see § 19 and CHRONOLOGY, § 23). In a military state such as Assyria a system of civil administration, it may be said, had almost disappeared. The governors of the various cities in the realm, whose duty it was to maintain order and send periodical accounts to the king, were not civilians. In fact, every position of importance in the empire was filled from the army. Priests and judges exercised a certain authority; but it was small in comparison with that of similar classes in Babylonia.

18. Excavations. It was Assyria that at first attracted the attention of explorers, though within recent years Babylonia has enjoyed a monopoly of excavation and discovery.

In the year 1820 Rich, the resident of the East India Company at Bagdad, visited Mosul and made a superficial examination of the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yûnus. He obtained some fragments of pottery and a few bricks inscribed in cuneiform characters, and he published an account of what he had seen. It was not until 1842 that attention was again attracted to these mounds. Botta, the French Consul at Mosul, then began to explore Kuyunjik. His efforts, however, did not meet with much success, and next year he transferred his attention to Khorsabad, 15 m. to the N. of Mosul. There he came across the remains of a large building that subsequently proved to be the palace of Sargon, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.). The majority of the sculptures that he and Victor Place excavated on this site are to be found in the Louvre; some, however, were obtained for the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

In 1845 Sir Henry Layard explored the mounds at Nimrud

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and Kuyunjik, undertaking excavations at these places for the trustees of the British Museum; these diggings were continued by Loftus, Rassam, and others, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who was then serving as Consul-General and political agent at Bagdad, and they resulted in the discovery of the principal remains of Assyrian art that have been recovered. At Nimrud the palaces of Ashur-nasir-pal (883-869 B.C.), Shalmaneser II. (860-824 B.C.), and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) have been unearthed (cp. CAI, III), and at Kuyunjik (cp. NINEVEH) the palace of Sennacherib (705-681), and that of Ashur-bani-pal (669-625). The bas-reliefs, inscriptions, etc., from that palace are preserved in the British Museum. At Kuyunjik (1852-54) the famous library of Ashur-bani-pal, from which the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature is derived, was discovered. At Kal'at Sherkat and at Sherif Khân excavations were successful; important stone inscriptions and clay cylinders of the early kings were found at Kal'at Sherkat.

The years 1878-79 were times of remarkable discoveries. During this period the 'finds' at Kuyunjik included the great cylinder of Ashur-bani-pal (775), the most perfect specimen of its kind extant; at Nimrud a large temple dating from the time of Ashur-nasir-pal was unearthed, while excavation at Tell-Bakawât resulted in the recovery of a second temple of Ashur-nasir-pal and the bronze coverings of the gate of Shalmaneser II. (cp. supra). Besides the excavators and explorers of Assyria to whom reference has been made, two others should be mentioned—George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge. George Smith, in the years 1873, 1874, and 1875-76, undertook three expeditions to that country, on the last of which he lost his life. The most recent additions to the collection of cuneiform tablets from Kuyunjik were made by Budge in the years 1883 and 1891.

Of the Assyrian antiquities which have been recovered, most of the sculptures—sarcophagi from Khorsabad are in the Louvre; Berlin possesses a stele of Sargon found at Cyprus (cp. SARGON) and a stele of Esarhaddon; a few slabs from the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal have found their way into the museums at Edinburgh, the Hague, Munich, Zürich, and Constantinople, and others from Kuyunjik into private galleries; almost all else is to be found within the walls of the British Museum.

There are four main sources of information for the settlement of Assyrian chronology—the so-called

19. Chronology. 'Eponym lists' (see below), the chronological notices scattered throughout the historical inscriptions (see § 20, beg.), the genealogies of some of the kings give of themselves (see § 20, end), and lastly those two most important documents which have been styled the 'Synchronous History' (§ 21, beg.) and the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (§ 21, end).

The early Babylonians had counted time by great events, such as the taking of a city, or the construction of a canal (cp. CHRONOLOGY, § 2, beg.). This primitive system of reckoning, by which a period or date could be but roughly estimated, gave place among the later Babylonians to the fashion of counting time according to the years of the reigning king.

The Assyrians adopted neither of these methods. They invented a system of their own. They named the years after certain officers, each of whom may possibly have been termed a *limu* or *limmu*, though the majority of scholars agree in regarding this term as referring not to the officer himself, but to his period of office. These officers or eponyms were appointed in a general rotation; each in succession held office for a year and gave his name to that year; the office was similar to that of the archonate at Athens or the consulate at Rome. Lists of the *limmys* have been preserved from the reign of Ramman-nirari II. (911-890 B.C.) down to that of Ashur-bani-pal (669-625 B.C.). Some of them merely state the name of the eponym; others add short accounts of the principal events during his term of office. Now, it is obvious that the dates of all the years in this known succession will be known if there be any of them that can be determined independently. It fortunately happens that there is such a year. From the list we know that in the eponymy of Pur-Sagali in the month of Sivan (May-June) the sun was eclipsed, and astronomers have calculated that there was a total eclipse at Nineveh on the 15th of June 763 B.C. Hence the year of Pur-Sagali is fixed as 763, and the dates of the eponyms for the whole period covered by the lists are determined (see further CHRONOLOGY, § 24, and cp. below, § 32).

For the chronology before this period other sources must be sought. Approximately it can sometimes be

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determined by means of data supplied by the inscriptions of the kings in the form of chronological notices or *reue ks*. For example, Sen-

20. Earlier period. nacherib in his inscription engraved on the rock at Bavian (see A 112 no. 7, i, in recounting his conquest of Babylon (689 B.C.), adds that Ramman and Sala, the gods of the city of Ekallati which Marduk-nadin-ahê, king of Akkad, in the time of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had carried away to Babylon, he now recovered and restored to their place after a lapse of 418 years (cp. below, § 28). According to Sennacherib's computation, therefore, Tiglath-pileser I. must have been reigning in the year 1107 B.C., and from the inscription of Tiglath-pileser himself on his cylinders (cp. below, § 28, beg.) we know that this year is probably not among the first five of his reign (cp. below, § 28). Moreover, Tiglath-pileser himself tells us that he rebuilt the temple of Anu and Ramman, which sixty years previously had been pulled down by Ashur-dan because it had fallen into decay in the course of 641 years since its foundation by Samsi-Ramman (cp. below, § 25). This notice, therefore, proves that Ashur-dan must have been on the throne about the years 1170 or 1180 B.C., and further approximately fixes the date of Samsi-Ramman as about the year 1820.

The date of one other Assyrian king can be fixed by means of a reference made to him by one of his successors. Sennacherib narrates (cp. below, § 27) that a seal of Tukulti-Ninib I. had been brought from Assyria to Babylon, where after 600 years he found it on his conquest of that city. Sennacherib conquered Babylon twice, once in 702 and again in 689; it may be concluded, therefore, that Tukulti-Ninib reigned in any case before 1289 B.C., and possibly before 1302 B.C. We thus have four settled points or pegs on which to hang the early history of Assyria.

Further assistance in the arrangement of the earlier kings is obtained from genealogies. Ramman-nirari I., for example, styles himself the son of Pudil (=Pudi-ilir), grandson of Bêl-nirari, great grandson of Ashur-uballit, all of whom, he states, preceded him on the throne of Assyria. Most of the Assyrian kings of whom we possess inscriptions at least state the name of their father, while in one instance we know the relationship between two consecutive kings from a considerably later occupant of the throne, Tiglath-pileser I., informing us that Samsi-Ramman was the son of Isini-Dagan and that each was an early *patesi* of Assyria. We thus know to a great extent the order in which the kings must be arranged, and in cases where a son succeeds his father we can assign approximately the possible limits of their respective rules.

A further aid is found in the 'Synchronous History' of Assyria and Babylonia. This inscription was an official document drawn up with the aim of giving a brief summary of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria from the earliest times in regard

21. Synchronous history, etc. to the boundary line dividing the two countries. The chief tablet on which this record is inscribed is, unfortunately, broken; but much still remains which renders the document one of the most important sources for Babylonian and Assyrian history. From it we ascertain for considerable periods which kings of Babylonia and Assyria were contemporaries.

Similar information for the period from about 775 to 604 B.C. is obtained from the Babylonian Chronicle.

Now, we know the order and the length of the reigns of a great majority of the Babylonian kings from the Babylonian lists of kings that have been discovered, and the dates of some can be fixed, like those of the earlier Assyrian kings, from subsequent chronological notices (cp. BABYLONIA, § 38). The dates and order, therefore, of the kings of both Babylonia and Assyria can to some extent be approximately settled independently of one another, and each line of kings can be controlled

from the other by means of the bridges thrown across between the two by the 'Synchronous History' and the 'Babylonian Chronicle.'

A further means of control is supplied by the points of contact that we can trace between Assyria and Egypt. Such are the Egyptian campaigns of Asur-āni-pal recounted on his cylinder inscription and the letter from Asur-ahallit to Amenophis IV., recently found at Tell el-Amāriā, and now preserved in the Gizeh Museum. These points of contact are not, however, sufficient to warrant a separate classification; and to go to Egyptian chronology to fetch help for that of Assyria would be to embark on an explanation *ignoti per ignotius* (cp. EGYPT, § 55 f., and CHRONOLOGY, § 19).

Assyrian chronology, therefore, unlike that of early Babylonia, may be regarded as tolerably fixed. The dates of the later Assyrian kings, with the exception of the successors of Asur-āni-pal, can be settled almost to a year, while the dates assigned by various scholars to the earlier Assyrian kings, though differing, do not differ very widely. The data summarised above, which must form the basis of every system of Assyrian chronology, are not elastic beyond a certain point. Thus, whilst no two historians agree precisely as to the dates to be assigned to many of these earlier kings, the maximum of their disagreement is inconsiderable, and the results arrived at by almost any one of them may be considered approximately correct.

With the Semitic races in general and the Babylonians and Assyrians in particular proper names retained their original forms with great persistency. Among these two nations, in fact, many names consist of short sentences, complete and perfectly grammatical; indeed, were it not for the determinatives placed before them to show that they are names (I for males, ♀ for females) the difficulty of reading Assyrian texts would be considerably increased.

The following are translations of some of the names of Assyrian kings the interpretation of which may be regarded as certain. Where the real Assyrian form of the name differs from the form now in common use it is added in brackets:—

Ismi-Dagan	'Dagon hath heard.'
Samši-Rammān	'My son is Rimmon.'
Asur-bēl-nīšū	'Asur is lord of his people.'
Puzur-Asur	'Hidden in Asur.'
Asur-ādīn-ahē	'Asur giveth brethren.'
Asur-ahallit	'Asur hath quickened to life.'
Bēl-nirari	'Bel is my helper.'
Rammān-nirari	'Rimmon is my helper.'
Shalmaneser (Sulmānu-ašaridu)	'Sulman is chief.'
Tukulti-Ninib	'My help is Ninib.'
Bēl-kudur-nur	'Bel, protect the boundary.'
Ninib-pal-Ešara	'Ninib is the son of Ešara.'
Asur-dān	'Asur is judge.'
Asur-rēšā	'Asur, raise the head.'
Tiglath-pileser (Tukulti-pal-Ešara)	'My help is the son of Ešara.'
Asur-bēl-kala	'Asur is lord of all.'
Asur-nāzir-pal	'Asur protecteth the son.'
Asur-nirari	'Asur is my helper.'
Sargon (Sarru-kīnu)	'The legitimate king.'
Sennacherib (Sin-ahē-erba)	'Sin (i.e., the Moon-god) hath increased "brethren."'
Esarhaddon (Ašur-ašiddina)	'Asur hath given a brother.'
Asur-āni-pal	'Asur is the creator of a son.'
Asur-ēil-ilāni	'Asur is prince of the gods.'
Sin-sar-iskun	'Sin hath established the king.'

The beginnings of the Assyrian empire are not, like those of Babylonia, lost in remote antiquity. It is far more recent in its origin. The account contained in Gen 10 11 to the effect that the Assyrians went forth from the Babylonians and founded their own cities is supported by all the evidence we can gather from the inscriptions. It is true that no actual account of this emigration has yet been found among the archives of either nation; but every indication of their origin tends to support the biblical account, for the Assyrians in all that they have left behind them

betray their Babylonian origin. Their language and method of writing, their literature, their religion, and their science were taken over from their southern neighbours with but little modification, and their very history is so interwoven with that of Babylonia that it is often difficult to treat the two countries separately.

The period at which the Assyrian offshoot left its parent stem, though not accurately known, can be set within certain limits. It must have been at least before 2300 B.C. The Babylonian emigrants, pushing northwards along the course of the Tigris, formed their first important settlement on its W. bank some distance to the N. of its point of junction with the Lower Zab. Here they founded a city, and called it Asur after the name of their national god, a city that long continued to be the royal capital of the kingdom.

The oldest Assyrian rulers did not bear the title of king. They bore that of *īšakku*, a term equivalent to the title *patesi*, assumed by many rulers of the old Babylonian cities in the S.

25. Earliest rulers.

The phrase *ī-īshiku* of the god Asur is not to be taken in the sense of 'priest.' In all probability it implies that the ruler was the representative of his god—an explanation that is quite in accordance with the theocratic feeling of the period.

The earliest *īšakkus* at present known to us are Ismi-Dagan and his son Samši-Rammān. The latter built a temple to the gods Anu and Rammān, which, Tiglath-pileser I. tells us, fell into decay; 641 years afterwards Asur-dān pulled it down, and 60 years later it was rebuilt by Tiglath-pileser himself. This reference enables us to fix the date of Samši-Rammān at about 1820, and it is usual to assign to Ismi-Dagan, his father, a date some twenty years earlier, *circa* 1840 B.C. In addition to his buildings at Asur, Samši-Rammān restored a temple of Ishtar at Nineveh. The names of other *īšakkus* are known, although their dates cannot be determined.

Bricks, for example, have been found at Kal'ai-Sherkat, the site of the ancient city of Asur, which bear the name of a second Samši-Rammān, the son of Isur-kapkapu, and record that he erected a temple to the national god in that city. Another brick from the same place is inscribed with the name of Iššun, the son of Hallu, commemorating his dedication of a building to the god Asur for the preservation of his own life and that of his son.

There are no data for determining the relation of Assyria to Babylonia at this period. Whether the early *īšakkus* still owed allegiance to their mother country or had already repudiated her claims of control is a question that cannot be decided with certainty. It is generally supposed, however, that at some period between 1700 and 1600 B.C. Assyria finally attained her independence.

The oldest Assyrian king whose name is known to us is Bel-kap-kapu. Rammān-nirari III., in an obscure

passage in one of his inscriptions, mentions Bel-kapkapu as one of his earliest predecessors on the throne of Assyria. This passage is, however, the only indication we possess of the time at which he ruled. The first Assyrian king of whom we have more certain information is Asur-bēl-nīšū. With this king our knowledge of Assyrian history becomes more connected, and we can trace in greater detail the doings of the various kings and the relations they maintained with Babylonia. The source of information that now becomes available is the 'Synchronous History' (see above, § 21).

From this document we learn that Asur-bēl-nīšū was on friendly terms with Kara-indas, a king of the third Babylonian dynasty, with whom he formed a compact and determined the boundary that should divide their respective kingdoms. These friendly relations were maintained by Puzur-Asur, *circa* 1440. Puzur-Asur, who concluded similar treaties with Burna-Buriat of Babylonia, Puzur-Asur was probably succeeded by Asur-ādīn-ahē (*circa* 1420). This king is mentioned in a letter of Asur-ahallit to Amenophis IV., king of Egypt, in which he refers to Asur-ādīn-ahē as his father. How long the friendly relations between Assyria and Babylonia continued we

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cannot say; but it was impossible that friction should always be avoided. Assyria was proud of her independence, while Babylonia could not but be jealous of her growing strength. Thus it was not long before their relations became hostile. It is under *circa* 1410. Asur-uballit, to cement his friendship with Babylonia, had given his daughter Mutallipatsena in marriage to a Babylonian king, and Karad-ladā, the offspring of this union, in time succeeded his father on the throne. He was slain, however, in a revolt, and Nazib-laga, a man of unknown origin, was set up in his stead. To avenge the death of his grandson, Asur-uballit invaded Babylonia, slew Nazib-laga, and set the youngest son of Burna-buriāš, Kurigalzu II., on the throne. (Such is the account given in the 'Synchronisms History' of Asur-uballit's intervention in Babylonian affairs. It may be mentioned, however, that a parallel text contains a somewhat different version of the affair, with which the account in the 'Synchronisms History' has not yet been satisfactorily reconciled.) Kurigalzu did not long maintain his friendship with Assyria. Soon we find him at war with Asur-uballit's son *circa* 1380. Asur-uballit, Bel-ibni, however, defeated him at the city of Saggak, and after plundering his camp, added to the Assyrian territory half of the country from the land of Samarra to Babylonia. Bel-ibni's son Paili-lu (*circa* 1370) retained the territory his father had acquired, but did not attempt to make further encroachments on the S. He undertook successful expeditions, however, against the tribes on the E. and S.W. of Assyria. We possess an inscription on a brick from his palace at Asur, and another inscription of his on a six-sided stone (in the British Museum) records that he erected a temple to Samas at the Saggak. His son *circa* 1345. ruled in the territory recently acquired by his father, turned his attention to his S. boundary. He conquered the Babylonian king Nazi-marutāš in Kar-Estar-Akarsallu, and added considerably to his empire.

Ramman-niriri was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser I. He has left us no account of the expeditions he undertook; but that he was a great conqueror we gather from a reference in the annals of Asur-nasir-pal. This king relates that in his reign the Assyrians whom

Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded him, had settled in the city of Halzidipha revolted under Huldi, their governor, and took the royal Assyrian city of Danilumusa. These places lay on the upper course of the Tigris; and it is evident from Asur-nasir-pal's account that Shalmaneser had formed a sort of military outpost at this spot which shows that he must have undertaken successful expeditions against the countries to the NW. of Assyria. We may conclude that it was in consequence of this extension of his territory along the Tigris that Shalmaneser transferred his capital from Asur in the south, which had formed the royal residence of Assyria, to Calah, a city of which he was the founder, as we learn from Asur-nasir-pal. This new capital was situated about eighteen miles S. of Nineveh (cp CALAH). Shalmaneser, however, did not neglect the older capital. He enlarged its royal palace and restored the great temples. We know also that he restored the great temple of Ishtar at Nineveh.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib, who, like his father, busied himself in extending the NW. limits of his kingdom. At the *circa* 1290. sources of the Salmat, a river that joins the Tigris some distance above the modern Dair-bekr, he caused an image of himself to be hewn in the rock. He conquered Babylonia, and for seven years governed the country by means of tributary princes. Though we have not recovered any actual inscription of this king, we possess a copy of one made by the orders of Sennacherib, on a clay tablet in the British Museum. The original was inscribed on a seal of lapis-lazuli, and Sennacherib tells us it had been carried from Assyria to Babylon. Six hundred years later, says Sennacherib, on his conquest of that city, he found the seal among the treasures of Babylon and brought it back (cp above, § 20). The inscription itself is short, merely containing the name and titles of Tukulti-Ninib, and calling down the vengeance of Asur and Ramman on any one who should destroy the record. How or at what period the seal was brought to Babylon cannot be said with certainty; but it is not improbable that it found its way

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there during Tukulti-Ninib's occupation of the country. This occupation was not permanent. At the end of seven years the nobles of Babylon revolted, and set Ramman-Sum-usur, or Ramman-Sum-nasir (the name may be read in either way), on the throne there as an independent king. Tukulti-Ninib was not a popular ruler, for he was slain in a revolt by his own nobles, who set his son, Asur-nasir-pal, upon the throne. We possess an Assyrian copy of a letter written by a Babylonian king named Ramman-sum-nasir to Asur-nasir and Nabu-danin, kings of Assyria. If, as has been suggested, the writer of this letter and the king who succeeded Tukulti-Ninib on the throne of Babylon are identical, we obtain the names of two other Assyrian kings of this period.

A few years later, under Bel-kudur-usur (*circa* 1245), we find the Assyrians and Babylonians again in conflict. Bel-kudur-usur, the Assyrian king, was slain in the battle; but Ninib-*circa* 1205. pal-I-sara retreated with the Assyrian army, and when the Babylonians followed up their advantage by an invasion of Assyria he defeated them and drove them from the country. The Babylonians, however, though repulsed, appear to have regained a considerable part of their former territory from the Assyrians.

The next occupant of the throne was *circa* 1200. Asur-dan, the son of Ninib-pal-I-sara. He retrieved the disasters which his father had sustained at the hands of the Babylonians. He invaded Babylonia against Zannan-Sum-iddin, captured the cities of Zaban, Irani, and Akarsallu, and returned with rich booty to Assyria. The only other fact that we know of this king was that he pulled down the temple of Ramman and Asur which had been erected by Samas-Ramman, but had since fallen into decay. His must have been an energetic reign, to justify the eulogy pronounced on him by his great-grandson Tiglath-pileser I. This monarch describes him as one 'who wielded a shining sceptre, who ruled the men of Bel, whose deeds and offerings pleased the great gods, and who lived to a good old age.' Asur-dan was succeeded by his son Mutakkil-Nusku (*circa* 1175), of whose reign we know *circa* 1140. nothing. He in turn was succeeded by his son Asur-rē-isi, whom Tiglath-pileser calls 'the mighty king who conquered the lands of the foe and verthrew all the exalted'; and from a clay bowl of his, bearing an inscription, we learn that the peoples of Lullum and Kuti were among those he overthrew. He was victorious against the Babylonians. The Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar I., desiring to extend the northern limits of his country invaded Assyria and besieged a border fortress. Asur-rē-isi, however, summoned his chariots of war, and on his advance the Babylonians retreated, burning their siege-train. Nebuchadnezzar, with tresh chariots and troops, soon returned; but Asur-rē-isi, after reinforcing his own army, gave him battle and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. The Babylonian camp was plundered, and forty chariots fell into the hands of the Assyrians.

On the death of Asur-rē-isi the throne passed to his son Tiglath-pileser I., whose reign marks an *circa* 1120. epoch in Assyrian history. He is, moreover, the first Assyrian monarch who has left us a detailed record of his achievements. The great inscription of this king is contained on four octagonal cylinders of clay which he buried at the four corners of the temple of Ramman at Asur to serve as a permanent record of his greatness and of the extent of the Assyrian empire during his reign. Each of the four cylinders contains the same inscription. Where one is broken or obscure the text can be made out from the others.¹

In the course of the introduction with which he prefaces the account of his expeditions he gives the following description of himself: 'Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, the king of hosts who has no rival, the king of the four quarters, the king of all rulers, the lord of lords, . . . the king of kings, the excellent priest who, at the command of the Saggak, was entrusted with the shining sceptre and has ruled all men who are subject to Bel, the true shepherd whose name has been proclaimed into the rulers, the exalted governor whose weapons Asur has commanded and whose name for the ruler of the four quarters he has proclaimed for ever, . . . the mighty one, the destroyer who like the blast of a hurricane over the hostile land has proved his power, who by the will of Bel has no rival and has destroyed the foes of Asur.' On the conclusion of this preface the inscription goes on to recount the various campaigns in which Tiglath-pileser was engaged during the first five years of his reign. He first advanced against the inhabitants of Musku (the Meshech of the O.T. see CALAH), who had overrun and conquered the land of Kuti, which lay on both sides of the Euphrates to the NW. of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser, therefore, crossed the intervening mountainous region and defeated their

¹ Translation in *ANU* 1147

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five kings with great slaughter. 'The bodies of their warriors,' he says, 'in the destructive battle did I cast down like a tempest. Their blood I caused to flow over the valleys and heights of the mountains. Their heads I cut off, and around their corpses I heaped them like . . . Their spoil, their possessions, their property without limit, I brought out. Six thousand men, the remainder of their armies, who before my weapons had fled, clasped my feet (i.e., tendered their submission). I carried them away and reckoned them as the inhabitants of my land.' Tiglath-pileser then attacked the land of Kummuh, burnt the cities, besieged and destroyed the fortress of Serife on the Tigris, and captured the king. He defeated the tribes that came to the assistance of Kummuh, and after receiving the submission of the neighbouring city of Urartu returned to Assyria with great booty, part of which he dedicated to the gods Asur and Ramman.

This expedition was followed by one against the land of Subari (or Subarti), in the course of which he defeated four thousand warriors of the Hatti (see III 111) and captured one hundred and twenty chariots. Another campaign in the mountainous regions of the NW, met with similar success, and resulted in the submission of many small states and cities. Tiglath-pileser now devoted his energies to extending his border in another direction. He crossed the Lower Zab and overran the districts of Murattāš and Saadadāš to the S. of Assyria. Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to the N., whence he brought back with him the captured images of twenty-five gods, which he set up as trophies in the temples of his own land. Tiglath-pileser next extended his conquests still farther north into the district around the upper course of the Euphrates. The mountains he passed with great difficulty, and crossed the Euphrates itself on rafts which his troops constructed out of the trees that clothed the hill-sides. Here twenty-three kings of the land of Nairi, alarmed at his approach, assembled their combined forces to give him battle. 'But,' writes Tiglath-pileser, 'with the violence of my mighty weapons I oppressed them, and the destruction of their numerous host I accomplished like the onslaught of the Storm-god. The corpses of their warriors I scattered in the plains and on the mountain-heights.' After completing the subjugation of the district he restored the kings he had captured, and in addition to the spoil he had taken he received from them as tribute twelve thousand horses and two thousand oxen. The Assyrian king now turned his troops against the region of the W. Euphrates. He subdued the district around the city of Caribonish, and even extended his conquests beyond the river, which his army crossed on rafts buoyed up by inflated skins. The last campaign of which we have a detailed account is that against the land of Musri to the N. of Assyria, the inhabitants of which, when at length driven into their chief city of Arini, tendered their submission. Tiglath-pileser then marched through the neighbouring country carrying with him fire and sword, burning the cities he took and digging up their foundations. The royal scribe, speaking in his master's name, concludes his record of these early conquests of Tiglath-pileser with the following summary: 'In all forty-two lands and their kings from beyond the Lower Zab, from the border of the distant mountains as far as the farther side of the Euphrates up to the land of Hatti and as far as the upper sea of the setting sun (i.e., Lake Van), from the beginning of my sovereignty until my fifth year, has my hand conquered. One command have I caused them to bear; their hostages have I taken; tribute and tax have I imposed upon them.'

The cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-pileser does not recount the later expeditions of his reign. From the 'Synchronic History,' however, which deals with his relations with Babylonia, we learn that Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and Marlik-nadin-aḫē, king of Babylonia, had 'a second time' set in battle their chariots of war that were assembled above the Lower Zab in Arzu-ina. 'In the second year' they fought in Akkad, where Tiglath-pileser 'captured the cities of Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar of the Sun-god, Sippar of Anunitu, Babylon, Opis, the great cities together with their fortifications; at the same time he plundered Akkad as far as the city of Labbi, and the land of Sa ii (on the Euphrates to the NW. of Babylon) in its entirety up to the city of Rapiqū he subdued.'¹ The phrase 'a second time' is puzzling, for the 'Synchronic History' does not relate a previous campaign of Tiglath-pileser against Babylonia. Some scholars therefore suggest that it refers merely to the former struggle of Asur-erīš, Tiglath-pileser's father, with the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I; but it must be remembered that Tiglath-pileser did not meet with unvarying success in his relations with Babylonia, for Sennacherib mentions that during his reign Ramman and Sala, the gods of the city of Ekallāt, had been carried off by Marlik-nadin-aḫē, king of Akkad (op. above, § 20). The question whether this conquest of Ekallāt was before or after Tiglath-pileser's successful Babylonian campaign is still indeed an open one; but the supposition is plausible that Marlik-nadin-aḫē's advance against Assyria was in the first year of hostilities between the two countries, and that his success was merely temporary, being followed 'in the second year' by Tiglath-pileser's extensive conquests in Babylonia as related in the 'Synchronic History.'

Tiglath-pileser was a great hunter. He kept a record of the beasts he slew in the desert. This was inserted in the cylinder-inscription after the account of his campaigns. From it we learn that with the help of the gods Ninro and Nergal

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he slew 'four wild oxen, mighty and terrible in the desert of the land of Mitāni and in Arāzīki, which is in front of the land of Hatti,' ten elephants in the district of Harrān and on the banks of the Khābūr, one hundred and twenty lions on foot, and eight hundred with spears while in his chariot. He caught four elephants alive, and brought them back, together with the hides and tusks of those he had slain, to the city of Asur.

No less energetic was the king in his building operations. The temples of the gods in Asur that were in ruins he restored; he repaired the palaces throughout the country that his predecessors had allowed to fall into decay; he extended his water-supply by the construction of canals; he accumulated considerable quantities of grain. As a result of his conquests, he kept Assyria supplied with horses, cattle, and sheep, and brought back from his campaigns foreign trees and plants, which became naturalised.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser was a period of great prosperity for Assyria. He pushed his conquests until the bounds of his empire extended from below the Lower Zab to Lake Van and the district of the Upper Euphrates, and from the mountains to the E. of Assyria to Syria on the W., including the region watered by the Khābūr. He was a good warrior; yet he did not neglect the internal administration of his realm, devoting the spoil of his campaigns to the general improvement of the country. In fact, the summary he gives of his own reign is a just one: 'To the land of Asur I added land; to its people I added people. The condition of my people I improved; I caused them to dwell in a peaceful habitation.'

The prosperity which Assyria had enjoyed under Tiglath-pileser does not appear to have long survived his death.

At the time of Asur-dān I, Tiglath-pileser's son, relations between Assyria and Babylonia were of a friendly nature. Asur-dān-kada at first made treaties with Marlik-šapik-zēr-māri, king of Babylonia; and later, when Ramman-aplu-iddina, a man of obscure extraction, assumed the throne of Babylonia, he further strengthened the connection between the two countries by contracting an alliance with the daughter of the Babylonian king. Sam-šī-Ramman, another son of Tiglath-pileser I, also succeeded to the throne, but whether before or after his brother Asur-dān-kada cannot be determined. The only inscription of this king that we possess records that he restored the temple of the goddess Ishtar in Nineveh.

Such are the only facts we know concerning the immediate successors of Tiglath-pileser I., and at this point a gap of more than one hundred years occurs in our knowledge of the history of Assyria. We may surmise that the period was one of misfortune for the empire. What little can be gathered from the inscriptions concerning these years speaks of disaster.

Shalmaneser II., in his monolith-inscription,¹ states that he recaptured the cities of Pethor and Murrin (beyond the Euphrates), which had been originally taken by Tiglath-pileser I., but had meanwhile been lost by Assyria in the time of a king named Asur- . . . (the latter half of the name being broken). This king may be identified with Asur-erbi, and in that case he must have met with at least some success in the W., for we know that at a place on the coast of Phoenicia Asur-erbi cut an image of himself in the rock, near which at a later time Shalmaneser II. caused his own to be set. The names of two other kings are known: Erba-Ramman and Asur-nadin-aḫē, whose reigns must have fallen during this period. They are mentioned in the so-called 'Hunting Inscription' of Asur-nāzir-pāl as having erected buildings in the city of Asur, which were restored by Asur-nāzir-pāl.

No direct light is thrown on this dark period by the 'Synchronic History.' As, however, it is written with a strong Assyrian bias, its silence is an additional testimony that during this period Assyria must have suffered misfortunes.

When we once more take up the thread of Assyria's history, our knowledge of the succession of her kings is unbroken down to the time of Asurbanipal.

Tiglath-pileser II., hearkens this succession of rulers; but of him we know nothing beyond his name, which occurs in an inscription of his grandson Ramman-nirari II.,² who styled himself king of hosts, king of Assyria. Tiglath-pileser II. was succeeded by his son Asur-dān II. Of this king we know that he constructed a canal, which, however, in the course of thirty years fell into disrepair, and was therefore made good by Asur-nāzir-pāl. Ramman-nirari II., who succeeded his father, has left behind him only the short inscription (just

¹ A.B. 1193.

¹ A.B. 1193.

² A.B. 1193.

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mentioned) recording his own name and those of his father and grandfather. He was an energetic ruler, as is evinced by the 'Synchronism History,' which records various successes of his against the Babylonians—first against the Babylonian king, Šamaš-mudammiq, and later against his successor, Nabu-šum-iškun, who had set himself before him upon the throne. From this later monarch he captured many cities and much spoil. He did not, however, press his victory. He concluded a truce with the Babylonian king, either Nabu-šum-iškun or his successor, and each added the other's daughter to his harem. His son, Tukulti-Ninib, succeeded him, and from an inscription of this monarch at Sebeneh-Su we may infer that he undertook successful expeditions to the N. of Assyria, at least.

Tukulti-Ninib was succeeded by his son Asur-nāsir-pal, one of the greatest monarchs Assyria ever produced. The annals of his reign he inscribed on a slab of stone, which he set up in the temple of the god Nimb at Calah. In this inscription, one of the longest historical inscriptions of Assyria, he gives an account of the various campaigns he undertook.

In the first years of his reign, he tells us, he went against the land of Nimme, a mountainous tract of country to the N. of Assyria, and subdued the lands and cities in its neighbourhood. He then passed against the district of Kurriri that lay along the W. shores of Lake Urmiyah. Turning W. from Kurriri, he passed through the land of Kiriri on the Upper Tigris, and city after city fell into his hands. He returned to Assyria with the booty he had collected, and brought with him Bubu, the son of Bubu, the governor of Nisim, a city where he had met with an obstinate resistance. This wretch he flayed alive in Arbela, nailing his skin to the city wall. In the same year he again repaired to the region of the Upper Tigris, against the cities at the foot of the mountains of Nipur and Pasutu. He then passed westward to the land of Kummuh, quelling a revolt in the city of Sutu on the Khabur, and seizing the rebel leader, Ammeha, who was brought back to Nineveh, where he was flayed. The tribes surrounding the disaffected region rendered their submission. In the next year the first act of the king was to stamp out another rebellion. News was brought to him that the city of Halziplia, which Shalmaneser II. had colonised (see above, § 27, beg.), was in a state of revolution, and had attacked the Assyrian city of Damdamusa. While on his way against the rebels he set up an image of himself, at the source of the river Subnat, beside images of two of his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser I. and Tukulti-Ninib. He then defeated the rebels at the city of Kinabu, which he captured, and proceeded to punish the revolt with severity, flaying the rebel leader Hulai. Next he attacked the city of Tela and burnt it, mutilating the prisoners by cutting off their ears and hands and putting out their eyes. These wretches, while still alive, he piled up in a great heap; he made another heap out of the heads of the slain, while other heads he fastened to trees round the city; the youths and maidens he burnt alive. These details may suffice to show the brutal practices of this great conqueror. Asur-nāsir-pal next proceeded to the city of Tušia, which had been deserted by the Assyrians in consequence of a famine. After restoring and strengthening its walls, he built a palace for himself and brought back the former inhabitants of the city. After his return he again undertook a pillaging expedition in the mountainous regions of the north. The next two years were mainly taken up with campaigns in Dagara and Zama, which were in a state of insurrection. Nūr-Ramman, the chief of Dagara, leading the revolt. The war was a protracted one, and three expeditions were required before order was completely restored. These expeditions were followed by others in the region of Kummuh, and in the land of Na'iri. From his residence at Tušia, the king then crossed the Tigris and captured Bitura and certain towns round the city of Arbaki. Asur-nāsir-pal records at this point the death of Ammeha, one of his nobles, who was murdered by his subordinates. The king's anger, however, was appeased by a large tribute, although, according to one account, he flayed Būr-Ramman, the chief rebel, and nailed his skin to the wall of Sinabur.

One of the most important campaigns in the reign of Asur-nāsir-pal was that against the land of Subi. Although Šapulu, the ruler of that land, obtained help from Nabu-apin-šilina, king of Babylonia, his capital Šuru was taken and he himself escaped only by flight. A second campaign led to the subjugation of the whole district and a considerable extension of the Assyrian sphere of influence along the Euphrates. Asur-nāsir-pal next crossed the river and carried his arms into S. Syria. He first made his way to Carchemish and received the submission of Sangara, king of the land of Hami. Proceeding SW. and exacting tribute from the districts through which he passed, he crossed the Orontes and marched S. into the district of Lebanon. The cities on the coast of the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arvad (Arvad), sent presents. In the N. districts he cut down cedars, which he used on his return in building temples to the gods. One more expedition Asur-nāsir-pal undertook on the N. of Assyria, traversing the land of Kummuh and again penetrating to the upper reaches of the Tigris.

¹ K B 150 ff., R P 22 134 ff.

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Asur-nāsir-pal finally established the rule of Assyria in the NW and the N., while he extended his empire eastwards and laid the foundations of Assyria's later supremacy in the W. on the coast of the Mediterranean. He was one of Assyria's greatest conquerors; but his rule was one of iron, and his barbarity was exceptional even for his time. He was a great builder. At Nineveh he restored the royal palace and rebuilt the temple of Isur. The city of Calah, which Shalmaneser I. had founded, he rebuilt, peopling it with captives taken on his expeditions. He connected it with the Upper Zab by means of a canal, and erected two temples and a huge palace, from which his bas-reliefs, now in the British Museum, were obtained (cp above, § 18).

Asur-nāsir-pal was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser II., who extended the kingdom of his father beyond Lake Van and Lake Urmiyah. He exercised a protectorate over Babylonia in the S., and his kingdom included Damascus, which he had conquered. During his reign, for the first time in history, Assyria came into direct contact with Israel.

he mentions Aha of Israel as one of the allies of Benhadad of Damascus (cp SHALMANESER II.). His later years were troubled by the revolt of his son, Asur-dān-pal; but his younger son, Samši-Ramman, put down the rebellion, and on his father's death succeeded to the throne.

On a monolith of Samši-Ramman II., now in the British Museum, is an inscription in archaic characters narrating four campaigns of this monarch. He restored order to the kingdom, which had been thrown into confusion by the rebellion of his brother, and, having established his own authority over the territory subjugated by his father, extended it on the E. He routed the Babylonian king, Marduk-balassu-iddi, in spite of the large army the latter had collected, comprising drafts from Elam and Chablea in addition to his regular troops.

Samši-Ramman II. was succeeded by his son, Ramman-nirari III.

Two inscriptions on stone slabs from Calah, an inscription on some statues of the god N. 150, and an inscription on a brick from the mound of Nib-Yunis, are the records actually dating from his reign; but these are supplemented by a short notice in the 'Synchronism History,' and by the Eponym Canon, which adds short notices of the principal events during each year of his reign.

Ramman-nirari III. undertook expeditions in Media, Persia, and the region of Lake Urmiyah on the E.; conquered the land of Na'iri on the N.; and subjugated all the coastlands on the W., including Tyre, Sidon, Israel, Edom, and Philistia. Mari, king of Damascus (see BENHADAD, § 3), attempted no defence of his capital. He sent to Ramman-nirari his submission, paying a heavy tribute in silver, gold, copper, and iron, besides quantities of cloth and furniture. A considerable portion of Babylonia also owned the supremacy of Ramman-nirari. In his inscription on the statues of Necho, he mentions the name of his wife Sammuramat (the Assyrian form of the Greek Semiramis). He was a great monarch. His energetic rule and extensive conquests recall those of Shalmaneser II., his grandfather.

Of the three kings that follow not much is known.

Shalmaneser III. succeeded Ramman-nirari, and from the Eponym Canon we gather that he undertook campaigns against Urartu (Armenia), Iuti, Damascus, and Hatarika (Hadrach). He was succeeded by Asur-dān III. This king made foreign expeditions. His was a troubled reign. The most important event recorded in his time was the eclipse of the sun in 763 (cp above, § 16, end; AMOS, § 4, ECLIPSE, § 1). The same year saw the outbreak of civil war; the ancient city of Asur had revolted. In 761 the rebellion was joined by the city of Arapha, and in 759 by the city of Gozan. In 758, however, after it had lasted six years, the revolt was brought to an end; Gozan was captured, and order once more restored. The troubles of Assyria during the reign of Asur-dān

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were aggravated in the years 705 and 759 by visitations of the plague. On his death he was succeeded by Asurnirari. Although at the beginning of his reign

754. this king undertook expeditions against Hadrach and Arpad, and later two campaigns against the Zimri, for the greater part of his reign he was inactive. In 746 the city of Calah revolted, and next year a man of unusual energy usurped the throne, and, assuming the name of Tiglath-pileser, extended Assyrian supremacy farther than it had ever reached. In the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, Assyria came into close contact with the Hebrews, a contact that continued under each of his successors until the reign of Esarhaddon. The events of their reigns and the influence they exerted on the history of Israel and Judah are described in the separate articles on these successive kings.

33. Tiglath-pileser III. and successors. 745. Tiglath-pileser III. was succeeded in 727 by Shalmaneser IV. (727), and he in 722 by his son Sargon II. (722), to whom succeeded in 705 his son Sennacherib (705), and in 689 his grandson Esarhaddon (689), and in 669 his great-grandson Ashurbanipal. For the expeditions of the last-named monarch in Egypt, Elam, Arabia, etc. see ASUR-BANI-PAL. His literary tastes found expression in the collecting of a great library at Nineveh. The Eponym list and his own inscriptions cover only the first part of his reign; his later years are clouded in uncertainty, and the date of his death is a matter of conjecture. The period from his death until the fall of Nineveh is equally obscure. We know the names of two of his sons, Ashur-etil-ilam and Sin-kar-isum, who both occupied the throne; but the length of their respective reigns and even the order of their succession are matters of dispute. It used to be assumed that during this period Assyria was entirely stripped of her power and foreign possessions; but this view has now been modified in consequence of recently discovered contract-tablets dated from both northern and southern Babylonian cities according to the regnal years of the last two Assyrian kings. These prove that the Assyrian supremacy in Babylonia continued for some little time at least. Assyria's power, however, was waning. A long career of conquest had been followed by an age of luxury, and her strength was sapped. The Scythian hordes that had swept across W. Asia had further weakened her. Thus, when Nabopolassar, repudiating Assyrian control, allied himself with Cyaxares, king of Media, and their combined forces invaded the country, her resistance met with no success.

Though Nineveh held out for two years, the city was at last captured and destroyed, and Assyria was annexed to the empire of the Medes.

The most recent, and at the same time most scientific, work on Assyrian art and architecture is Perrot and Chipiez's *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. II, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, Paris, 1884. Of works which appeared soon after the discovery of the remains of Assyria, and do not attempt a scientific treatment, one of the earliest was Botta and Flandin's *Monuments de Ninive*, 5 vols., Paris, 1847-50. The two works of Sir Henry Layard, *Niniveh and its Remains* and *Monuments of Niniveh*, contain a good account of his discoveries. In *Assyrian Discoveries*, Lond. 1875, George Smith has described the results of his own explorations.

For the history of Assyria the principal work is Tiele's *Bab. Ass. Gesch.* Göttingen, 1866-82. Reference may also be made to Hommel's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.*, Berlin, 1885-88, the *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.* by Münder and Delitzsch, Göttingen and Stuttgart, 1891, and Winkler's *Gesch. Bab. u. Ass.*, Leipzig, 1892. Among English works dealing with the history of Assyria, see George Smith's *Assyria* (SPCK, Oxf. 1875), and Prof. G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. I. and II., Lond. 1871. Both these works have been superseded on several points in consequence of later discoveries.

Assyrian history can be rightly understood only if followed in the inscriptions themselves. Translations of most of the historical inscriptions of Assyria are given in Schrader's *KAT.* and II., Berlin, 1886-90, each of which contains an explanatory map. A series of popular English translations of Egyptian and Assyrian monuments was founded and edited by Dr. S. Birch of the British

Museum and entitled *KAT.* (12 vols. Lond. 1873-81), of which vols. I. to v. VII., ix., and xi. deal with Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. These translations have now, of course, been superseded. In a new series edited by A. H. Sayce (6 vols. Lond. 1888-92) the old methods and plan were not modified. A collection of all the points in the OT illustrated or explained by the monuments, Schrader's *OT* is still unrivalled.

For works treating of the religion of the Assyrians see BABYLONIA, § 71.

For the student who would gain a more than superficial knowledge of Assyriology it is needless to give a list of works, as this has already been done in Bezold's *Bab. Ass. lit.*, Leipz. 1886; the literature since 1886 can be ascertained from the bibliographies appended to the *Z.* and to the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, and from the *Or. Bibliographie*, L. W. K.

ASTAD (אֲסָדָא [A]), 1 Esd. 5:13 RV = Ezra 2:12, AZGAD.

ASTAROTH (אֲשִׁתָּרוֹת), DL 14; RV ASHTAKOTH.

ASTARTE. See ASHTORETH.

ASTATH (אֲסָתָא [BA]) אֲסָתָא [L.], 1 Esd. 8:33 = Ezra 8:12, AZGAD.

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ASTYAGES (אַסְתַּגִּיָּס [BAQ]), according to Theodotion's text of Bel and the Dragon (1:1), was the predecessor of Cyrus in the kingdom of Persia. See CYRUS.

ASUPPIM and HOUSE OF ASUPPIM (1 Ch. 26:17, אֲסַפִּים; εἰς τοὺς ἀσάφειν [A], εἰς ἐκκλ. [B]; τοὺς ἀσάφειν [L]; 15 בֵּית הָאֲסָפִים, οἰκοῦν ἀσάφειν [A], ο. ἐκκλ. [B], ο. ἀσάφ [L]; אֲסָפִים [Pesh.]; RV in each case 'the storehouse.' In Neh. 12:25 AV renders the same word 'the thresholds' [margin, 'treasuries,' 'assemblies']; GREEK, ἐν τῷ ἀσάφειν με [different vocalisation]; RV 'the storehouses'), a word used by the Chronicler to describe certain storehouses situated at the temple gates (Neh. 12:25), perhaps specially the southern gate (1 Ch. 26:15). See TEMPLE.

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ASUR-BANI-PAL. Though mentioned by name only once or twice in OT (see ASSURIPER), Asur-bani-pal is important to OT literature from his deportation of troublesome populations to the region of Samaria (see SAMARIA, SAMARITANS, and cp below, § 12); also from references to his campaigns in Egypt and Arabia in the prophesies (see ISAAH, II, § 9, and NAHUM, § 2). He was one of Assyria's greatest kings, and famous not less for his devotion to art and literature than for his extensive conquests.

His name, which is best read Asur-bani (or bani)-aphi, means 'Asur is the creator of a son.' He was the eldest son of Esarhaddon, and ascended the throne in 668 B.C. His succession had been secured by his having been publicly proclaimed king before his father's death, while his brother, Shamash-sum-ukin, was installed in Babylon as viceroy or tributary prince.

From the moment of his accession he was plunged into a prolonged war in Egypt, for Tarkū (TIRTIKAM), king of Ethiopia, in the words of

1. 1st Egyptian campaign. Asur-bani-pal, 'forgot the might of Asur, Istar, and the great gods my lords, and trusted in his own strength'; that is, he raised a large army and descended upon Egypt. The prefects and governors appointed by Esarhaddon fled at Tarkū's approach. He captured Thebes, descended the Nile to Memphis where he fixed his capital, and proclaimed himself king of Egypt. On receiving the news of this disaster, Asur-bani-pal determined to recover Egypt. During the passage of his army through Syria and along the coast of the Mediterranean, reinforcements in men and ships, in addition to the customary tribute, were received from twenty-two subject kings of

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Palestine and Cyprus, among whom Manasseh, king of Judah, is mentioned (cp ESARHADDON). Tarku, hearing of the advance of the Assyrians, sent out his own forces from Memphis. At Karkamish, within the Egyptian border, the forces of Tarku were utterly routed, while the king himself abandoned Memphis and escaped by boat to Thebes, leaving his capital and the whole of Lower Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians. The various governors and petty kings, who had formerly been tributary to Esarhaddon and had been expelled by Tarku, now returned, and joined their own forces to those of the Assyrians, upon which the combined armies ascended the Nile in a fleet of boats to dislodge Tarku from Thebes. In forty days the journey was accomplished. Tarku abandoned the city without striking a blow, and retreated into Ethiopia, leaving the whole of Egypt in the hands of the Assyrians.

He did not, however, abandon his designs upon Egypt, and, as his former attempt at open opposition had proved unsuccessful, he now resorted to stratagem. Perceiving that the native Egyptian princes were far from contented

2. Revolt suppressed.

under the military sway of the Assyrians, he opened secret negotiations with them, Niku (Nikho), Sarriuladri, and Pakruti, leading the conspiracy on the Egyptian side. It was agreed that they should transfer their allegiance to Tarku, who in return would leave them in undisturbed possession of their principalities, and that, while he attacked Egypt from the south, they would raise a revolt in the interior. The Assyrian generals, however, suspecting that some treachery was afoot, intercepted their messengers, and learnt the full extent of the plot. Niku and Sarriuladri were bound hand and foot and sent to Nineveh, while their fellow-conspirators were slain. The revolt, thus prematurely hastened, was quelled without difficulty. Tarku was once more driven from Upper Egypt, and soon afterwards died.

Ašur-bani-pal, in restoring the country again to order, appears to have mitigated his former rigour, seeking to conciliate rather than to suppress the native rulers. Niku was pardoned. He was clad in costly raiment; a ring was set upon his finger, and a fillet of gold about his head (as an emblem of his restoration); and with presents of chariots, horses, and mules, he returned to Egypt, where he was once more installed as governor in Sais, while his son Nabin-Sezilamu was appointed governor of Athribis.

Ethiopia, however, could not long keep her eyes from Egypt; and, although Tarku was dead, the ambitions of his country did not die with him.

3. 2nd Egyptian expedition.

It was not long before Urdamanē, his successor, marched northwards and took Upper Egypt (cp EGYPT, § 66). He advanced from Thebes to meet the Assyrian expedition sent against him, but was worsted in the battle, returned to the city, and thence fled farther south to Kipkip. The Assyrians marched on Thebes, and the city itself, together with immense booty, fell into their hands. They carried back with them to Assyria two huge obelisks, and thus set the fashion, adopted by all the later conquerors of Egypt, of perpetuating their victory by means of the monuments of the conquered country itself. 'With full hands,' writes Ašur-bani-pal, 'I safely returned to Nineveh, the city of my rule.' This successful expedition, however, had no lasting effect, Egypt was too far off to remain for any length of time the vassal of Assyria. Psammetichus, the son of Niku, obtained the supremacy over the whole country, and permanently shook off the Assyrian yoke.

After his second Egyptian campaign Ašur-bani-pal directed his forces against Bā'al, king of Tyre, 'who dwell in the midst of the sea'—a good description of the city (see TYRE). Like his predecessors, Ašur-bani-pal failed to capture a stronghold so favoured by nature. He erected towers and earthworks, however, and attempted to cut off communication from the sea as well as from the land, and maintained so effectual a blockade that Bā'al, at last reduced to extremities, sent Yahi-milki to

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ask for terms. Ašur-bani-pal contented himself with levying tribute on the city, and with demanding the king's daughter and nieces for his harem, together with their dowries.

After humbling Tyre, it was no hard matter to obtain the submission of the less important princes of the Mediterranean coast. Among these were Yakinu, king of the island city of ARAD, Ningallu, king of Tabal, and Sandasirimi, king of Cilicia (CITICA, § 21).

Gyges (GUGGI), king of Lydia, also appears to have heard of the success of the Assyrians, and to have sent in his submission. For some years he maintained these friendly relations, and

5. Gyges of Lydia, etc.

to this fact attributed his success over the Cimmerians, in proof of which he sent to Nineveh two captive Cimmerian chiefs bound hand and foot with fetters of iron. Towards the end of the reign of Ašur-bani-pal, however, Gyges severed his connection with Assyria, and aided Psammetichus (Psametik) in his struggle for Egyptian independence (cp EGYPT, § 67).

Ašur-bani-pal was now free to turn his attention to the eastern borders of his kingdom.

During the absence of the Assyrian army in its distant campaigns, the E. frontier of Assyria had been constantly violated by the king of Manak (see MANSUK). Ašur-bani-pal returned to chastise Akšeri. He marched northwards, and forced an attempt of his opponent to surprise the Assyrians by a night attack. Akšeri fled to his capital Urtu, while Ašur-bani-pal had waste the country. On his death in a revolt he was succeeded by his son Ualli, who bought terms of peace from Ašur-bani-pal.

The most warlike nation on the E. of Assyria, however, and indeed her most powerful enemy, was ELAM.

6. Elam.

Urtaku, its king, had shown his hostility to Assyria already in the reign of Esarhaddon, by attempting to stir up a rebellion in Chaldaea; and although, when his people were suffering from famine, he had received assistance from Ašur-bani-pal himself, he now proposed an invasion of Babylonia, hoping thereby to cripple the Assyrian power.

Acting on the advice of his general, Marduk-šam-pa'di, he formed an alliance with Belakša, king of Garmaru, a country, situated in the lower basin of the Tigris, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and having won over to his side Nabu'sumut, a governor in Chaldaea, he crossed the Babylonian border. On news being brought to Ašur-bani-pal that the Elamites had advanced 'like a flight of hoasts' and were encamped against Babylon, he set on foot a expedition, and, marching southwards, drove Urtaku beyond the frontier.

On the death of Urtaku, shortly afterwards, the throne was seized by Teumman, who immediately sought to rid himself of the sons of the former kings, Urtaku and Ummannabā'si. His intended victims, however, escaped with their friends to the court of Ašur-bani-pal, where they were in kindness received, and protected. This incident caused a renewal of the war between Elam and Assyria. An interesting fact, which throws light on Assyrian prophecy, is related. On the eve of the campaign Ašur-bani-pal prayed solemnly to the goddess Ishtar, who to encourage him appeared in a vision to a seer, and promised victory to the Assyrian arms.¹ Confident of success, Ašur-bani-pal set out for Elam, and pressed on up to the walls of Susa. Here, on the banks of the Euleus, there was a decisive battle, in which the Elamites were utterly routed.

'The land of Elam,' writes Ašur-bani-pal, 'through its extent I covered, as when a mighty storm approaches; I cut off the head of Teumman, their king, the rebel who had plotted evil. Beyond number I slew his warriors; alive in my hands I took his fighting men; with their corpses as with thorns and thistles I filled the vicinity of Susa; their blood I caused to flow in the Euleus, and I stained its waters like wool.'²

Ašur-bani-pal divided the land, proclaimed as vassal kings Ummannigā and Tammuritu, the two sons of Urtaku who had cast themselves on his protection, and,

¹ See the striking passage in the annals (Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, 123-126).

² [5 R. 3, 43, *agrup kima nabisi. Nabisu* = 'red-coloured wool.' The adverb, *nabisi*, 'like red wool,' acc. to Roben, 10 553, is an Ass. loan-word in the Song of Deborah, corrupted in our text.]

AŠUR-BANI-PAL

returning by way of Gambulu, exacted a terrible vengeance from that land.

We now approach the greatest crisis in the history of Ašur-bani-pal. On ascending the throne of Assyria he

7. Revolt of Babylon suppressed.

had appointed his younger brother Šamaš-šum-ukin king of Babylon, without nominating his own suzerainty. Šamaš-šum-ukin, however, was dissatisfied with his dependent position, and resolved to revive, if possible, the relations between Assyria and Babylon. His own resources being insufficient for subjugating Assyria, he began to form a coalition of the neighbouring nations, all glad of an opportunity to strike a blow at their powerful neighbour. The Chaldeans and the Aramean tribes of the coast gave assistance; Ummanigāš, king of Elam, threw over his patron Ašur-bani-pal, and joined the revolt; Arabia, Ethiopia, and possibly Egypt, sent help. Ašur-bani-pal did not lose an instant, but set out with the whole of his force to the S.E., where he successfully kept his enemies in check.

Fortune favoured him by neutralising to some extent the assistance which Šamaš-šum-ukin expected to receive from Elam, his most powerful ally. That country was thrown by internal revolution into a state bordering on anarchy, Ummanigāš and the whole of his family having been slain by Tammartu, who in turn was dethroned by Indabigaš, and only saved his life by flight to Assyria.

Ašur-bani-pal hastened to attack the allied forces, easily defeated them, and proceeded to besiege the four cities—Babylon, Borsippa, Sippara, and Cutha—in which they had sought shelter after their defeat. The defenders held out stubbornly for some time. When all was over, Šamaš-šum-ukin, to avoid his brother's vengeance, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames.

After stamping out the rest of the rebellion and restoring order throughout Babylonia and Chaldaea, Ašur-bani-pal directed his forces against

8. Subjugation of Elam.

Elam, where for the next two or three years he carried on a war with Ummanaldāš II., who had ascended the throne of Elam after slaying Indabigaš, his predecessor. It is true that for a short time during this period Ummanaldāš was driven into the mountains by Ašur-bani-pal, who set Tammartu on the throne of Elam in his stead; but, as soon as the Assyrian army had withdrawn, Ummanaldāš came out from his retirement, gathered his forces, and compelled Ašur-bani-pal again to take the field against him. On the appearance of the Assyrian army Ummanaldāš retired, allowing Ašur-bani-pal to capture the cities and lay waste the country on his march. At length, however, he hazarded a battle. He met with a signal defeat and was again driven to take refuge in the mountains, while Susa and its accumulated riches fell into the hands of the conquerors.

'By the will of Ašur and Ištar,' boasts Ašur-bani-pal, 'into its palaces I entered and so myself down reboicing. Then opened I their treasure-houses, within which silver and gold, furniture and goods were stored, which the former kings of Elam and the kings who had ruled even to these days had collected and placed therein, whereon no other foe besides myself had set his hands; I brought it forth and as spoil I counted it.' He recovered also all the treasures with which Šamaš-šum-ukin and his predecessors had purchased Elamite support. Susa itself was raised to the ground; the royal statues were carried to Assyria; the groves were cut down and burnt, and the temples violated.

After the subjugation of Elam the annals of Ašur-bani-pal relate a series of conflicts with Arabia (Smith, *Hist. of Assyria*, 256 ff.). This was the

9. Arabia. last great war in which this monarch is known to have engaged. At the beginning of his reign he appears to have had friendly relations with the Arabian king Uaiat; but on the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin the latter joined the coalition against Assyria. Uaiat himself attacked Palestine, overrunning Edom and Moab, and penetrating almost as far N. as Damascus. Here, however, he was defeated by the Assyrians.

Leaving his camp standing, Uaiat fled alone to Nafara. He

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appears, however, to have surrendered to Ašur-bani-pal, who threw him into chains, and kept him a prisoner in a kennel with his hounds. Uaiat's wife, and the king of Kedar, his ally, sharing the same fate. The other division of the Arabian army, which had joined the forces of Šamaš-šum-ukin, shared his defeat and perished in Babylonia. Uaiat's leader, surrendered to Ašur-bani-pal, kissed his foot in token of submission, and was appointed king of Arabia in the place of Uaiat. No sooner, however, had he returned to his country, than he associated himself with the Nabataeans in a series of joint attacks on the frontier of Assyria. Ašur-bani-pal, therefore, crossed the Tigris with his army, and embarked on a difficult march through the Syrian desert. The Assyrians, after some minor conflicts in which they were successful, eventually engaged the main body of the Arabian army in the mountains of Hakkurina, to the S.E. of Damascus. The Arabians were defeated, Uaiat and Ayamu were taken, and Ašur-bani-pal set out for Assyria with immense numbers of captives and herds of cattle; on his return camels were distributed throughout Assyria 'like sheep.'

The annals conclude their record of the wars of

10. Closing years.

Ašur-bani-pal with an account of his triumphal procession through Nineveh in celebration of his victories. Ummanaldāš, the Chaldean, who had shortly before been captured, Tammartu and Pa'e, two other captive Elamite kings, with Uaiat, the king of Arabia, were fastened to the yoke of the chariot in which he rode. He then entered the temple of his gods, offering sacrifices and praising them for the triumphs they had won for him over his enemies.

Ašur-bani-pal probably reigned till 625 B.C.; but of his later years the royal records do not speak. It is impossible to assign with certainty a reason for this silence. Possibly the kingdom, which had been shaken to its foundations by the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukin during these years, showed signs of its approaching end. It is certain, at any rate, that the Medes, whom Ašur-bani-pal had earlier in his reign defeated, again showed signs of activity (see PERSIA); and it is probable that during his reign the wild hordes of the Scythians descended from the N. and the N.E., slaying and plundering and carrying all before them. The question whether the empire of Assyria declined only under Ašur-bani-pal's successors, or had already become disintegrated before his death, is one that cannot be answered with certainty.

Turning from foreign politics to the internal condition of Assyria during the reign of Ašur-bani-pal, we find the

11. Policy and buildings, etc.

country superficially, at least, prosperous. Though the constant wars of Ašur-bani-pal must have been a great drain on the manhood of the nation, his almost unvarying success resulted in a great accumulation of wealth—the spoil of the conquered cities. Not only did his generals carry off the gold and silver, and anything else of value that was portable; not only did they drive to Assyria the flocks and herds of the whole country; the population itself they deported. It was the Assyrian policy (see above, § 1) to weaken the patriotic feeling of the conquered races in this way, and so to lessen the chances of revolt. A secondary object of the conquerors, however, had reference to Assyria herself, for huge bands of captives were brought back in chains to replenish the labouring population at home. Many of these wretches found their way into the possession of private owners; but the majority of them were retained as slaves by the king himself, who, like his predecessors, sought to gratify his desire for splendour and to perpetuate his name by the erection of huge buildings in the capital. The most important of these buildings of Ašur-bani-pal was his own palace, which he built to the north of that of his grandfather Sennacherib—the remains exist at the present day in the mound of Kuyunjik opposite the modern town of Mosul. The walls of its chambers he lined with sculptures in relief, representing his own exploits on the field of battle and in the chase, in which the details are most carefully and elaborately carved, while the designs themselves mark the acme of Assyrian art. Ašur-bani-pal restored the palace of Sennacherib, strengthened the fortifications of Nineveh, and built

ASYLUM

or restored various temples throughout Assyria and Babylonia.

It was the custom of the classical historians to represent Asur-bani-pal as of an effeminate and luxurious disposition, spending his life at Nineveh in idleness and dissipation. The Assyrian records have dissipated this illusion. Though it is probable that many of his campaigns were conducted by his generals, the king's personal valour in the field and in the hunt is undoubted. His skill as an administrator is testified by his organisation of the immense territory acquired in his victorious campaigns. His palaces and buildings, even to this day, bear witness to his love for art and architecture. It is for none of these things, however, that his memory is honoured above that of other kings of Assyria. He was the first of his nation to make a systematic and universal study and collection of his country's literature, and it is to the library he collected in his palace that we owe the greater part of our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian literature and language.

L. W. K.

ASYLUM, a sanctuary, within whose precincts those who take refuge may not be harmed without sacrilege.

1. General principle. In early times, holy places, as the homes or haunts of the gods, extended over everything in them the protection of their own inviolability. Wild animals, and sometimes even domestic animals which strayed into them, shared this protection with debtors, fugitive slaves, and criminals, as well as the victims of unjust pursuit or violence. Manslayers sought refuge in them from the sword of the avenging kinsmen, and the right of asylum had an especial importance among those peoples in which the primitive law of blood vengeance was most persistently maintained.¹ The right of asylum was possessed by different sanctuaries in various degrees, depending on prescription, the holiness of the place, and other circumstances; it sometimes extended to an entire city, or even to a mark beyond its walls. Even within the same sanctuary it was, of course, a greater sacrilege to drag the suppliant away from the altar or from the image of the god, or to slay him there, than merely to violate the sacred precincts. In later times the abuse of these privileges led to legal regulation and restriction (cp. e.g., *Fac. Ann.* 36-64, 114).

In Israel the oldest law (Ex. 21:12-14) recognises the right of asylum, but denies its protection to the murderer with malice aforethought: 'from beside my altar thou shalt take him to die.' Doubtless every altar of Yahweh (Ex. 20:24 f.) was an asylum; but not all were equally venerated, nor would the village high-place protect the suppliant as securely as the more famous sanctuaries. The only historical instances in the O.T. in which men who fear for their lives take refuge at God's altar are those of Adonijah (1 K. 1:50-53) and Joab (1 K. 2:28-34; on the text cp. G and Kto.). Adonijah was persuaded to leave the asylum; Joab, by Solomon's orders, was slain at the very altar.

When the drastic reforms of Josiah (621 B.C.) destroyed and desecrated all the old holy places of

Yahweh in his kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem, one of the necessary measures of the reform laws was to provide a substitute for the asyla thus abolished; since it was obviously impossible that manslayers from the remote parts of the land should escape to Jerusalem. Accordingly, six cities of refuge are appointed—three E. of the Jordan (Dt. 4:41-43),² three W. of it (Dt. 19:2 f.)—with eventual provision for three more, in Philistia, Phoenicia, and Carle-Syria (Dt. 19:2-10). The distinction between manslaughter and murder is clearly defined and illustrated, the case is

¹ So, e.g., in Greece; while in Rome, where blood vengeance was early abolished by law, the right of asylum was almost exclusively reserved for slaves.

² These verses are out of place, and probably secondary; see Dt. 1:1, LXXON, § 26.

ASYNCRITUS

tried at the place where the offence was committed, and if the verdict be murder the elders of the city in whose territory the defendant resides are empowered to take him from the asylum and deliver him to the next kinsman of the murdered man, as the natural executor of the sentence.¹

The post-exilic law also (Nu. 35:9 ff., cp. Josh. 20:2-9) appoints six cities of refuge (27:2-9), and defines the

4. In P. crimes in substantially the same way; but it differs radically from the Deuteronomic legislation in providing (1) that the manslayer shall be brought from his asylum to be tried before the 'congregation' (*edah*)—i.e., the religious community of the post-exilic Jerusalem (Nu. 35:124 f.)—and (2) that at the death of the high priest the manslayer may without peril return to his home and estates (17:25-28).² Further, it is explicitly forbidden to compound the crime by taking a bloodwite, or to allow the homicide upon payment of a fine to leave the city of refuge before the death of the high priest.

The cities designated are, E. of the Jordan, Bezer, Ramoth in Gilead, and Golan in Bashan (Dt. 4:41-43; Josh. 20:8); W. of the Jordan, Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem, and Hebron (Josh. 20:7).

The last three were all venerable sanctuaries, older, indeed, than the Israhelie invasion, and were probably chosen not only on account of their location, but also because they were already asyla of established sanctity. It may be assumed that this was the case also with the cities of refuge E. of the Jordan, of which, with the exception of Ramoth, we know little. Jewish scholars, with some plausibility, maintain that, besides those, all the other Levitical cities, of which there were forty-four, many of them seats of ancient sanctuaries, possessed the right of asylum in a lower degree.³ Whether this system was ever actually introduced in its whole extent is doubtful. Neither in the brief years between Josiah's reform and the fall of the Judæan kingdom nor after the restoration did Judah possess more than a small part of the territory contemplated by these laws.

In the Greek period, and later (under Roman rule) many Hellenistic cities in Syria enjoyed the privileges of

6. Parallels. Asylums. Not to speak of the famous sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Daphne, near Antioch, where the Jewish high priest, Onias, is said to have taken refuge (2 Macc. 1:1 ff., cp. Strabo, vi. 26), the title *ἀστυ* appears on coins of Caesarea, Pannias, Diocæsarea (Sepphoris) in Galilee, Ptolemais (Acra), Dora (Dora), Scythopolis (Bethshean), Gadara and Abila in the Decapolis, and others. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2), this character was conferred on Jerusalem by Demetrius I.; but 1 Macc. 10:11 knows nothing of it. cp. ASHTORETH, ASMERATH.

There is no recent and adequate work on this subject. *The Law of Asylum in Israel*, by A. P. Bissell (Leipzig, 1882) is a laboured attempt to prove that the laws must all have originated in the age of Moses. See also S. Oldenburg, *Die biblischen Asyle in talmudischem Gewande*, 1895; and compare Stengel, art. 'Asylum' in *Paulys-Wissensch. Realencycl. der class. Altertumswiss.* On the wide diffusion of the fundamental conception of asylums, and on its possible origin, see J. G. Frazer's article on 'The Origin of Totemism and Exogamy' in *Fort. Rev.*, April 1899.

G. F. M.

ASYNCRITUS (ΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΟΣ [Tl.], -ΥΝΚ. [Wh]) is one of five who, with 'the brethren that are with them,' are saluted in Rom. 16:14. They seem to have been Christian heads of households, or perhaps class leaders of some sort.

Asynritus figures in the list of the 'seventy disciples' by the

¹ In all these particulars there is a striking and instructive resemblance to the Athenian code of Draco (24 B.C.).

² In this provision it is evident that the sojourn in the city of refuge is regarded as a species of exile, a punishment which was removed by a general amnesty at the ascension of the new high priest, the real sovereign. Accordingly, in the Mishna, and in Jewish jurisprudence generally, residence in the city of refuge is called *galuth*, 'exile,' cp. e.g. *Shabbath*, 51.

³ See Maimonides, *Tal. Haza'ni*, Hilkoth Rozeah, ch. 8.

ATAD

Pseudo-Dorotheus as bishop of 'Urania', and in that of the Pseudo-Hippolytus as bishop of 'Hycama' (doubtless the preferable reading). In the great Greek *Menaea* he is commemorated along with Hierodion and Agabus on 8th April.

ATAD (אָטאַד), Gen 50:14. See ABEL-MIZRAIM.

ATAR (אַטאַר [A]), 1 Esd 5:28 RV = Ezra 2:42, ATER, 2.

ATARAH (אַטאַרָה, 'crown'; אַטאַרָה [BI.], אַטַרָה [A]), second wife of Jerahmeel (1 Ch 2:26). In genealogical phraseology this signifies that the clan occupied a new region (cp Caleb's wife Ephrath, and see AZURAH, CALIM, and presumably, like Caleb, it moved farther N., in which case we may compare Atarah with Atroth-Beth-Joan, mentioned along with Bethlehem, etc., in 1 Ch. 2:55).

ATARGATIS, TEMPLE OF (τὸ Ἀτεργάτιον [AV]), 2 Macc 12:26, cp 1 Macc 5:47. In the walled enclosure of this trans-Jordanic temple the Ammonites and Arabians defeated by Judas the Maccabee, after throwing away their arms, took refuge (see ASHTEROTH § 1). It was in 104 B.C., the year after the re-dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, which had animated the foes of the church nation to a deadly persecution (1 Macc 5:2). Judas had already acted with the severity of the old Israelish law of war, dealing with the trans-Jordanic towns and the heathen part of their peoples as Joshua had dealt with Jericho (1 Macc 5:22; cp Josh 6:4-11), but with the added zeal against idolatry justified by Dt 7:12. Naturally, this champion of monotheism, like his successor Jonathan at Ashdod (1 Macc 10:18), had no scruple in violating the temple precincts. The unarmed multitude he slew (2 Macc 1), and the temple-buildings, with all the objects polluted by idolatry, he burned (1 Macc 1).

Atargatis (אַטאַרְגַּאֲטִיס; cp Vogt, *Syr. cent.* n. 3; also אַטַרְגַּאֲטִיס; cp *DDIG* [52] 1647 f.), to whom the temple belonged, is in *The Samaritan Commentary* (n. on 1 Macc. 5:26) identified with Astarte. This is a natural error, for Carnaim is no doubt Ashteroth Karnaim, so called from the addition of the town to the worship of various forms of Ashteroth or Astarte. We know, however, that these deities were different; for at Ascalon there were temples of Astarte and of Atargatis (Perketo) side by side. All that is true is that the first part of the name Atargatis (אַטַרְגַּאֲטִיס) is the Aramaic equivalent of the Phoenician and Hebrew אַתַּרְגַּאֲטִיס without the fem. ending (see PHOENICIA); but the religious significance of this Atar ('Attar for 'Athar) is profoundly modified by its union with 'Athe (usually written אַתַּה or אַתַּה), a Pahlavene divinity whose name is well attested, and occurs in many proper names. Atargatis is, in fact, that form of Astarte which has absorbed into itself the characteristics of another deity called 'Athe (cp Ashtor-Karnaim in the inscription of Meshan). Lucian, in his *De Dea Syria*, has left us a minute account of the temple and worship of the Syrian goddess (who was no doubt Atargatis) at Hierapolis (Mabug), which illustrates the Jewish hatred of it.

The connection of this 'omnipotent and all-producing goddess' (Apollonius) with sacred life-giving waters has been studied by Prof. W. R. Smith (*RMS* [172] 175). See also Prof. W. Wright, *TSAI* 4:43 f.; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 68 ff. 256 f.; Boudissin, art. 'Atargatis', in Herzog-Platt, *RE* vol. i. (who notices the different forms under which the goddess was represented); Puchstein, *ZfA* 42:1; Roscher, *Lex. s.v.* 'Astarte', 4 (a). T. K. C.

ATAROTH (אַטַרֹת, 'crowns' or 'wreaths', cp Is. 28:1 Zech. 6:14, etc.; אַטַרֹתָם [BM.]).

1. 1 Ch. 2:54. See ATROTH-BETH-JOAN.

2. **Ataroth Addar** (אַטַרֹת אַדָּר, Josh. 16:5, אַטַרֹתֶיךָ אַדָּר [B], אַר. κ. ἀδάρ [A], אַר. ἀδάρ [L.]; 18:11, AV Ataroth Adar, ἀτὰρῶν ἀδάρ [B], אַר. ἀδָּר [A], אַר. ἀδָּר [L.], called also simply ATAROTH, Josh. 16:2, ἀτὰρῶν [B], where χ is all that is left of אַרֹת, perhaps the present Atar on the high road from

1 The oldest centre of the worship of 'Athe is thought by Hommel (*OSB* I, 1897, p. 81) to have been the E. of Asia Minor, whence the cult spread to W. Asia Minor and N. Syria.

ATHALIAH

Jerusalem to Bethel, 3½ m. S. of Bethel, and 6 m. of the upper Beth-horon (see GUERIN, *Judee*, 367; but on the other side Robinson, 2:314). As it is a Ben-jamite locality, we might plausibly identify ATHAR with the Benjaminite Ben-jamite ADAR, AKD [2] 1.

3. An unknown site (אֶתְרָה, Josh. 16:7, אַטַרֹתָם [B] between Jomah and Naarah, on the north-eastern frontier of the territory of Ephraim).

4. A city of Gad (אֶתְרָה, Nu 32:14, אַטַרֹת [A] 14, אַטַרֹתָם [B] 14), mentioned in the inscription of Meshan (7:11, אֶתְרָה) as reconquered by him, along with a 'land of Gad'. The name survives as that of a mountain, and a ruined site 'Athar, at the top of the Wady Zerka Main, 10 m. E. of the Dead Sea (Frutkin, *Mon.*, 272-276). The OS (ms. 2145), אַטַרֹתֶיךָ (Jer. 8:17) wrongly identify with no 1, presumably confusing Jomah with Jom, whom tradition associates with Ashteroth-Karnaim. See ATROTH-SIOPHAN. G. A. S.

ATER (אַטַר, § 60, אַטַר [BA]), 'left-handed' ? cp Judg 3:15 Heb., and the Lat. name Scaevola).

1. The Blue Ater of Hizziah (אֶתְרָה, אֶתְרָה [B], אֶתְרָה [A]), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8.6, Ezra 2:16 (אֶתְרָה [B], אֶתְרָה [A]), Neh. 7:21 (אֶתְרָה [B], אֶתְרָה [A]), 1 Esd. 5:15 (אֶתְרָה [B], אֶתְרָה [A]), Aterozias, RV Ater of Hizziah, ATER HIZKIAH, AV ATER HIZKIAH (אֶתְרָה, אֶתְרָה [B]), appears also among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 75, Neh. 10:17 [B] (אֶתְרָה [B]), אֶתְרָה [A], אֶתְרָה [B]).

2. The Blue Ater (וִּינִי אֶתְרָה [B], וִּינִי אֶתְרָה [A]), a family of doorkeepers in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) (אֶתְרָה [B], Ezra 2:42 (וִּינִי אֶתְרָה [A]) = Neh. 7:45 (וִּינִי אֶתְרָה [B]), אֶתְרָה [B] = 1 Esd. 5:28, JATAL, RV ATAR (om. B), אֶתְרָה [A] אֶתְרָה [B]).

ATERGATIS (τὸ Ἀτεργάτιον [VA]), 2 Macc. 12:26 RV, AV ATARGATIS.

ATETA (אַתְתָּה [A]), 1 Esd. 5:28 RV = Ezra 2:42, HATHA.

ATHACH (אַתַּח, 'inn' ? [Ges.]; נֹחַד [B], נֹחַדָּה [TR], אֹחַדָּה [A], נֹחַדָּה [B]), one of the 11 of Judah to which David sent a portion of the Amalekite spoil (1 S. 30:30). According to Wellhausen, Driver, and Budde, it is the ATHER (7:21) of Josh. 15:42 (אֹחַדָּה [B], אֹחַדָּה [A], 17:17 (אֹחַדָּה [B], אֹחַדָּה [A]), 18:17 (אֹחַדָּה [B], אֹחַדָּה [A]), these scholars decline to decide which of the variants is correct, though Budde retains אֹחַדָּה in the text of 1 S. The root, נֹחַד, and נֹחַדָּה of certain MSS may, however, point to a various reading Noh. Guerin visited a place called *Nubi*, near *Kharas*, and W. of the *Kh. Kila* (Kellah), which, he thinks, may be meant by נֹחַדָּה (*Judee*, 3:19). That there must have been several places called Noh is generally admitted. Klostermann suggests אֹחַדָּה (Josh. 11:21), a place near Hebron (Hebron follows), and the question arises whether Noh itself may not be a shortened form of Anab (see Noh). In Josh. 11:21 אֹחַדָּה gives *ava, jath* = אֹחַדָּה, out of which both אֹחַדָּה [7:21] and אֹחַדָּה [17:17] may perhaps have arisen by the loss of one letter and the transposition and slight corruption of other letters. It so happens that there are to-day two Anabs S. of Hebron called the great and little. These may represent the Anaboth or Grape-towns. T. K. C.

ATHAIAH (אַתַּיָּה, § 30, meaning obscure; cp Gray, *HPV* 297: אֹחַדָּה [B], אֹחַדָּה [A], אֹחַדָּה [B], אֹחַדָּה [B], in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [B], § 15 [1] [A], Neh. 11:4, 1 Ch. 9:44, UTHAI (אֹחַדָּה) [BA], אֹחַדָּה [L.]), where different links are given between him and Peretz.

ATHALIAH (אַתַּלְיָה, § 30, 52; 'Yahwé is great'; cp with Che., Ass. *etella*, 'great, high,' also 'lord,' used of gods and kings [Del. *Ass. HV* 11 B, 5:7]), 1. (אֹחַדָּה [BA]), but אֹחַדָּה [A] vid in 2 K. 11:11), daughter of Achaz and Jezebel, and wife of Jehoram,

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3 Paul's failure. An explanation of the disappointing effect of Paul's teaching must be sought in the position of the Jewish colony in Athens, and not solely in exaggerated commonplace on Athenian character.

¹ Quotations might be multiplied to illustrate Athenian hospitality (Arist. *Et.* 1.7.2; cf. Thuc. 1.7, *φειλοποιοῦν*; Ar. *Ec.* 1.2.1, *ἐν τῇ Κεφαλαίᾳ πόλει* = 'Capenians'; Demosth. *Id.* 1.2.1, *ἐν τῇ Μυρραίνῃ πόλει* = 'Myrrinaeans').

continuing the words ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ κυρίου (Ps. 118.20); this might have belonged to the entrance of a synagogue. The Hellenic belief ἀπαλὸν θάνατον οὐκ ἔστι ἀναστασις was not, in Athens, reduced by the powerful solvent of Judaism. Hence, the moment the apostle uttered the words 'raised from the dead' his audience revolved. Elsewhere his difficulties centred round another point – whether Jesus was the Messiah or not. In Athens, where Jewish thought had no hold, the idea of the resurrection of the body was unfamiliar – least so to the Stoics, although it would be an anachronism to quote here the remarkable approach made by such Stoics as Seneca to Christian modes of thought. Little wonder, then, that Paul's work at Athens was a comparative failure, and that he felt it to be so (Acts 17.34; 1 Cor. 2.1). His visit to the city was a mistake; and perhaps it was from the first due to accident. In the hurried departure from Berea (Acts 17.10 ff.), there would be little time for making plans or for choosing modes of transport, and the apostle's abode in Athens seems to have been largely, if not entirely, due to the necessity he was under of waiting for his companions (Acts 17.15 f.).

W. J. W.

ATHLAI (ἄθλαι = ἄθλῳ, § 39.52, ATHALAI, q.7.), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, I. § 5, end), EZRA 10.28 (ἀθλαί [B], μ [N], ἀθλαί [V], ἀθλαί [L]; cf. HEB. 1.11) = 1 Esd. 9.29. AMATHLIS, RV EMATHLIS (ἐμαθλῖς [B], αθλῖς [V], ἀθλαί [L]).

ATIPHA (ἀτεφα [BA]), 1 Esd. 5.32 = Ezra 2.54, HATHIPHA.

ATONE, ATONEMENT (כִּפֶּה, כִּפּוּר, ἄθλασμα; NT καταλλαγή). The expression 'to atone' (כִּפֶּה) generally describes the effect of the sacrifices in removing guilt. The pure religious idea of atonement, however, as W. K. Smith remarks (*OTL* 439) is to be found in the Prophets (and, surely, in Ps. 51); see also 1.2.2 [1] 7 [1] 1 [1]; also, with כִּפּוּר in 65 [78] 79d. There it has no relation to 'atoning', and we cannot fail to see the appropriateness of this scholar's explanation of כִּפּוּר as meaning primarily 'to wipe out.' This is in accordance with Syriac usage; but the only OT passage in which the sense of 'wipe out' is possible is in 1s. 28.18, where the reading is much disputed (Houbigant, Lowth, Du [but not De], Che [read כִּפּוּר instead of כִּפּוּר]), and where it is at any rate open to us to obtain the sense 'wiped out' indirectly from the common reading ('covered over'; cp Gen. 6.14). The usual view is that a propitiation is expressed by *kippur* metaphorically, as a 'covering' (cp Ar. *kafara*; cf. i. stem *kafat*, in ii. *kapar*), as when Jacob, fearing Esau's anger, says, 'I will *cover* his face with a present' (cp Gen. 29.16 Job 9.24). The Hebrew usage of the word is well set forth by Driver, *Deut.* 4.25, 4.39. W. K. Smith's note in *OTL* 438-440 also deserves attention; but *OTL* 438, etc., should here be compared.

In the NT 'atonement' is given by AV for καταλλαγή, Rom. 5.11; but RV, with a proper regard to consistency, substitutes 'reconciliation'; cp 2 Cor. 5.18 f., 'the ministry, the word, of reconciliation.' Elsewhere καταλλαγή occurs in Rom. 5.10 f., 11.15; cp Col. 1.14; it is hardly one of S's words, being found only in 2 Macc. 5.25. See further, ATONEMENT, DAY OF, MIRACULOUS, RANSOM, SACRIFICE; and cp WKS, *Rel. Sem.* 437, 320, 437, etc.; also We, *CH* 335 f.

See also Rischl, *Die christl. Lehre von d. Rechtfertigung u. d. Veröhnung*, ii.; Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.* of NT 1.190-192, 200-216; Dale, *The Doctrine of the Atonement*; Wilson, *Holiness Lectures on the Atonement* (1899). The semi-popular literature is extensive.

ATONEMENT, DAY OF (יום הכִּפּוּרִים; later, יום הכִּפּוּר; in Talmud יוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great day,' יוֹמָא, 'the day,' and יוֹמָא רַבָּא, 'the great fast'; cp Acts 27.9, Η ΝΗΕΥΤΑ, 'the only fast enjoined by the law').

The law relating to this day (Lev. 16), which as it now stands connects with the story of Nadab and

1. Analysis of law. Abihu in Lev. 10.1-7, is not in its present form a homogeneous unity.¹ This is

evident, not only from the duplicate verses 6 and 11, and from peculiarities of the arrangement, but also from the contents of the law.

The chapter as a whole treats of two quite distinct subjects: viz. (a) the warning of the high priest that he is to enter the Holy of Holies not at pleasure, but only under certain specified precautions; (2) the ordering of a yearly Day of Atonement, for which an exact ritual is prescribed. It is contained in 775-1-4 612-14 146, and belongs to P₂; 2 is itself composite, (a) 775-22 144 give complete directions for the annual observance of a day of fasting and humiliation, on which the sanctuary and people are to be cleansed by 'the priest who shall be anointed' (cp 7.12). *I.e.*, the high priest of the time; the atonement is supposed by the Lawgiver to be carried out in accordance with the ritual (which, originally, immediately preceded it) of Lev. 9, and with the law of the sin-offering laid down in Num. 15.24. On criminal grounds this law also must be held to belong to P₂. (b) 775-57-10, 14-28, on the other hand, by which the quite peculiar ritual of the Day of Atonement is prescribed, are the work of a much later hand.

Why and when these various portions of the present law were combined into one are questions that will be discussed elsewhere (see LEVITICS, § 6 f., and HENKEL, 111); the important fact, gained from critical analysis, is that the Day of Atonement, as far as its ceremonies are described in Lev. 16, is of comparatively recent origin, and the result of a very interesting development.

This conclusion is supported by a variety of considerations. (a) That the pre-exilic worship knew of

2. Stages of development. no such day as is described in Lev. 16 is evident, not only from the absence of all mention of it (an omission which cannot

be accidental, the other high days being referred to), but also from the fact that consciousness of sin and sense of need of a propitiation, which are the necessary conditions of such an institution, first became prominent in the time of Ezekiel (see FRANKS, § 111). (b) The earliest trace of public days of fasting and humiliation in the exile period appears in Zech. 7.35 8.19; the four yearly fasts there mentioned were commemorative of the national calamities at the fall of Jerusalem, and appear to have been still observed in post-exilic times.

Ezekiel, in this as in other respects the forerunner of the priestly law, had enjoined two atonement-days (the first day of the first month and the first of the seventh, Ezk. 45.2). A young bullock as a sin-offering was to be brought, and with its blood were to be smeared the posts of the house, the four corners of the altar, and the posts of the gate of the inner court – 'so shall ye make atonement for the house'; together with this, certain sin-offerings for priest and people are enjoined for the passover-day (Ezk. 45.22).

(c) When we turn to the detailed account of the reading of the law in Neh. 8 f., we find mentioned a joyous celebration on the first day of the seventh month, and a celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles on the fifteenth, without any reference to a Day of Atonement on the tenth.² On the twenty-fourth day, on the other hand, a general fast with confession of sin was held, by no means in accordance with the ritual of Lev. 16.14-28. This makes it clear that what stood in the Law-book used by Ezra (P₂) was not the Levitical ritual (Lev. 16.14-28), but only a precept of a yearly fast-day with sabbatic rest—in other words, the precept laid down in Lev. 16.29-31.

The change from the tenth to the twenty-fourth at the first celebration is intelligible enough on the assumption that the fast-day was not at first so prominent in the Law-book as it afterwards became (Lev. 16.14-28).

Even in the still later list of high days in Lev. 23.34 and Num. 29.7 we do not find any reference to the specific ritual of Lev. 16.14-28; the tenth day of the

¹ See Benzinger's study, *Z. f. d. l. u. v. 6.1* and cp Stade, *CH* 2.255, and LEVITICS, § 2.

² The text of Ezk. 1.20 should be emended in accordance with *Q* and *W*, *יָמֵינוּ* *יָמֵינוּ*.

³ Cp Reuss, *Lev. d. d. l. u. v. 6.1*, 500 f. (Holzinger, *Heb.* 759, note, etc.).

ATONEMENT, DAY OF

seventh month is simply marked by fasting, sabbath rest, and the usual sin offerings. The Day of Atonement described in Lev. 16 must have been the result of a long process of development, and the pericope formed by Lev. 16: 1-34 must belong to the very latest portions of P. The precept in Ex. 30: 10, of course, is a still later addition to the ritual, enjoining that the oil of the sin-offering should also be applied to the altar of incense.

It is a significant fact that, as the later text proves (see above, § 1), the Day of Atonement became the most important in the religious year; Jewish feeling, in the later age inevitably led to this. Now as to the meaning of the law. The terms of Lev. 16 permit no uncertainty. The law has reference to the thorough purification of the people and sanctuary. The sin offerings throughout the year have left many unknown or 'secret' sins; and since the people, the land, and, above all, the sanctuary are rendered impure by sin (Lev. 15: 19-20; Lev. 15: 15 of Lev. 16: 16), there was a danger that the sacrificial services might lose their efficacy and even that Yahwe might desert his devoted sanctuary. This was the reason for the institution of the Day of Atonement: that the Israelites might annually make a complete atonement for all sin, and that the sanctuary might be cleansed (Lev. 16: 10). The leading idea of the entire Priestly Law found here its best expression. The Day of Atonement quickened, on the one hand, the people's sense of sin and dread of Yahwe's avenging holiness, and, on the other hand, their assurance of reconciliation and of their renewed holiness. This holiness was guaranteed by their religious system, the efficacy of which, marred by sin, was again restored by this solemnity of expiation. It is the key-stone of the whole system, the last consequence of the principle, 'Ye shall be [ceremonially] holy, for I am holy.'

If we turn to the ritual, we can without difficulty discover its fundamental ideas. The high priest, after bathing, puts on plain white linen garments instead of his elaborate vestments, for he is to appear as a humble suppliant before the Holy One whom only the pure may approach. Of course, before he can make atonement for the people he must first do so for himself and for his 'house'—i.e., for the entire priesthood. On entering the Holy of Holies he is to envelop in a cloud of holy incense-smoke the place of God's personal presence, lest he die. The ritual of blood-sprinkling, as far as it is peculiar to this day, is only an elaboration, required by the extreme closeness of the approach to God, of the usual procedure in sacrificial offerings. The conception has been explained by Robertson Smith¹ as an inheritance from primitive ideas about sacrifice. See SACRIFICIAL, § 22.

The Day of Atonement has been called by Delitzsch the Good Friday of the Law. This can hardly be maintained with regard to its earlier period. Good Friday was not instituted to restore the impaired ceremonial holiness of the community; it had from the first a reference to the individual and to spiritual religion. It was otherwise with the *Yom Kippurim*, even if its institutors were not personally opposed to the supplementing and counteracting agency of teachers of a milder religion. We will not deny that the poetic prayers composed for the 'great day' during the Dispersion touch the Christian deeply from their extraordinary spiritual depth and their sense of individual religion. These prayers, however, are no evidence of the spirit of the original institution. It is not necessary to dwell on the Azazel-ritual. The ritual of the Day of Atonement has grown (this can be shown by literary analysis as well as by archaeological con-

siderations),² and the Azazel-ritual is the latest portion of it. We might perhaps suppose that those who continued Ezra's work were not up to his level; but when we look at Lev. 16: 9-11, which is the earliest part of the law (cp. 17: 1), we still find in it provisions opposed in tendency to the pure religion of the greatest prophets and psalmists. The procedure with the blood may be archaeologically explained so as to minimise the shock which it causes us; it may also be spiritualised, so as to assume a totally new appearance; but it is, as has been stated, out of harmony with that prophetic religion which is restated in Ps. 10: 50, 1. It is also in this part of the law that we find an expression which, when correctly explained, condenses the unspiritual elements of the law into a nutshell. It is the expression *sabbath sabbathon*, which may well be more ancient than the day to which it is applied. RV renders Lev. 16: 1 thus: 'It is a sabbath of solemn rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls; it is a statute for ever.' Jastrow (*Amos*, *Leviticus*, *Thes.*, I: 12 ff., 198) has made it probable that *sabbath* and *sabbathon* answer the latter more exactly³ than the former, to the Babylonian ceremonial term *sabbatum*, which means a day of propitiation with reference to the *divi necati* of the kings. If so, the terms *sabbath* and *sabbathon*, which are derived from *šabû* 'to rest', imply that by the usages on the day to which these terms are applied, rest is given to an angry God.⁴ The expression 'to afflict the soul' (*anna nenschu*), used in the same verse, is not less archaic in spirit, even if much later in use;⁵ it was adopted by late theologians as a synonym of the old word *qaz*, 'to fast.' This, too, implies an unspiritual doctrine, viz., that by denying the body certain generally desired goods the mind of a deity can be influenced by his worshipper.

To examine the full force of the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement, archaeologically viewed, is not our purpose. Our purpose is to emphasise their strictly propitiatory character. That same character belonged, according to the Jewish liturgy, to the ritual of New Year's Day (*Kislev-Sukkah*). It was believed, through the influence of Babylonian mythology, that the fate of man was decreed on New Year's Day (the festival of Creation), and that on the Day of Atonement the decree was 'sealed.' No wonder that the nine days which intervened between the first day of the seventh month (New Year's Day) and the tenth (the Day of Atonement) were regarded by the Jews as penitential days. Precisely when this view of New Year's Day as the Day of Destiny began to be taken, we know not. Probably it began among the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion. It gives a new force, however, (1) to the collocation of *Yom Kippurim* and *Kislev-Sukkah* in the same month, and (2) to the designation of both days (see Lev. 23: 34) as *sabbathon*. To what extent, if at all, the ritual of these days is a revival of primitive custom, is of course. It is quite possible that in primitive times Israelish ritual, at any rate in certain places, approxi-

¹ The literary analysis of Lev. 16 is passed over in *SBOT* (Heb.; 1911); in the article 'Day of Atonement' in Hastings, *Rel. Lore* (1922), the omission has been supplied from Benzinger. Driver's moderating remarks, however, do not affect the position taken up by Stade and Benzinger, who are both fully awake to the incompleteness of merely literary analysis of ancient laws. The determinative word in *SBOT* is also to be observed in the Leviticus in Kautzsch's new translation (*HS*). Cp. FRIEDLÄNDER.

² *Sabbath*, acc. to Jastrow, 'is the distinctively Hebrew name given to a particular *sabbathon*' (cp. *et.*, 249 f.). *Sabbathon* (Ebd. *sabbathon*); the terminations correspond (Jastrow, 192).

³ The most common term for 'propitiation' was *nakh libbi* (lit. 'to soothe the heart'), *qam* (cp. *qam*, 'day') may have the sense of 'day of propitiation' (Jastrow, 192).

⁴ It occurs in Is. 58: 3-5 to Ps. 30: 11, also in Lev. 16: 11-23: 32 Nu. 29: 7. That the historical Isaiah, in disparaging fasts, does not use the phrase (Is. 1: 11, but cp. 58) is significant.

⁵ See *KB 314 f.* (Marduk comes at Zagmuk, the beginning of the year, 'to destroy the life of his life'; cp. Kautzsch on 'Jewish New Year' in *Rel. Sem.*, and Jensen, *Kosmos*, 84, 26, 235).

ATROTH

leg. rit. iii. Diss. viii. 1. H. Hoffmann in *Berliner's Magazin* (76), 1771; Ailer, *Z. A. F. W.* 3 (1784), 238; Stadel, *Gl. d. A. 1784*, 238; Scholtz, *OL. 1784*, 1367; 238; 1784; Ederstrom, *The Temple* (74), 263-288; Driver, 'Atonement Day at' in *Hastings*, 1911, 201; and 'Leviticus' in *3rd ed.* (1891); D. on Levi, and Nowack's and Benzinger's *Archaeologies*.

§§ 1-3 L. R.; §§ 4-8 F. K. C.

ATROTH (Nu. 32:35 AV). See **ATROTH-SHOPHAN**.

ATROTH BETH JOAB (עֲרֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב) 'crowns of the house of Joab': אֲרֹתֵי בֵּית יוֹאָב [B], א. א. יוֹבָאב [A], אֲרֹתֵי בֵּית יוֹאָב [L], an unknown locality, mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:54 along with Bethlehem and Netophah, in a Calebite connection; its people were sons of Salma b. Hur b. Caleb (see **JABEZ**). Salma was the 'father' of Beth-lehem, the burial-place of Joab's father ZERUJAH [2:1]. Meyer (*Ebr.* 147) suggests a connection with the valley of CHARASHIM.

ATROTH-SHOPHAN AV **ATROTH**, **SHOPHAN** (עֲרֹת שׁוֹפָן; עֲרֹת שׁוֹפָן [B], אֲרֹתֵי שׁוֹפָן [F], עֲרֹתֵי שׁוֹפָן [L], Eus. 214:54), a town of Gad (Nu. 32:35); perhaps one of the two localities in Moab still called **Atroth**. See **ATROTH**, 4.

ATTAI (אֲטָי), perhaps abbrev. of **ATHATHI**.

1. Son of the Egyptian Jarhi b. the dau. hier of Sheshai the Jerahmeelite; his son was Nathan; 1 Ch. 2:35; 2 Sam. 17:1; 1 Ch. 2:35; 2 Sam. 17:1. See **JARHI**, **JERAMELITE**.

2. One of David's warriors; 1 Ch. 12:11 (אֲטָי [B], אֲטָי [L]). See **DAVID**, § 11, α, iii.

3. Son of Rehobai; 2 Ch. 11:20 (אֲטָי [B], אֲטָי [L]).

ATTALIA (אֲטָלְיָה) [A] Ti. WHI]. A town on the coast of Pamphylia, founded by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamum, for the Syrian and Egyptian trade, which it shared with Perga. There has been some discussion about the site, as Strabo (p. 667), enumerating from west to east, mentions Olbia, the river Catarrhactes, and then Attalia; from which it would seem that Attalia must be the modern *Latta*, Ptolemy, however, is more exact; he puts it west of the Catarrhactes. Thus, it is equivalent to the modern *Adana*, which is still a port with considerable trade. The town has a picturesque appearance, being perched on the long line of cliffs created by the calcareous deposits of the Catarrhactes, which pours over them in torrents to the sea. The remains are almost entirely Roman. The apostle Paul passed through the town on his return from his 'first missionary tour' in the interior (Acts 11:25). It is still a bishopric. [See **PERGA**, and Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 420.] W. J. W.

ATTALUS (ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ) [AV]. Three kings of Pergamum bore this name; but we are here concerned with the last two—Attalus II., Philadelphus, 159-138 B.C., and his nephew Attalus III., Philometor, 138-133 B.C. The Pergamene kings were all allies of Rome, and the last made the Roman people his heir (see **ASIA**). In 1 Mace. 15:22 we read that 'Lucius, consul of the Romans,' wrote letters in favour of the Jews to Ptolemy, Attalus, Ariarathes, and others. Attalus II. is probably meant; but, as the date of the letters falls in 139-138 B.C., it is possible that they were sent to his successor, Attalus III. was the son of Eumenes by Stratonice, the daughter of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was a close ally of the Romans, sharing the fate of Ptolemy Licinius in the war with the Pergamene pretender Aristonicus, 130 B.C. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10:22) quotes a Pergamene decree in favour of the Jews about the time of Hyrcanus. W. J. W.

ATTHARATES (ΑΤΘΑΡΑΤΗΣ) [B], ΑΤΘΑΡΑΤΗΣ [A], ΑΘΑΡΑΤΗΣ [L], 1 Esd. 9:49 = Neh. 8:9, **TIRSHATHA**.

ATTHARIAS (ΑΤΘΑΡΙΑΣ) [B], 1 Esd. 5:40, RV = Ezra 2:65, **TIRSHATHA**.

ATTIRE For Ezek. 23:15 (עֲרִירִים, *ʿēḇīrīm*) see **TURBAN**; for Jer. 23:22 (עֲרִירִים, *ʿēḇīrīm*) see **GIRDLE**; for Prov. 7:10 (עֲרִירִים, *ʿēḇīrīm*) see **DRESS**, § 1:14.

1 After **AT** we may assume a separate place-name **Ataroth**; see **ATHATH**.

AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES

ATTUS (ΑΥΤΟΥΣ) [AL], 1 Esd. 8:29, RV = Ezra 8:29, **ATTUS**, 1.

AUGIA (ΑΥΓΙΑ) [BAL], 1 Esd. 5:6, **NOTIN** Ezra 2:61 = Neh. 7:63. See **BARZILLAI**, 3.

AUGURY (one who practises augury, RV Lev. 19:26; Deut. 18:14; 2 K. 21:6, AV 'observer of times,' עֲרֹתֵי). See **DIVINATION**, § 2 (2).

AUGUSTUS (ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΣ) [Ti. WHI], an honourific title bestowed upon Octavian (27 B.C.), and from him handed on to his successors. It is applied to him, along with the title of **CAESAR** (12:3), in 1 K. 2:1 F.V. For his reign, in as far as it concerns Jewish history, see **HERODIAN FAMILY**, 1, and **ISRAEL**; and for the difficulties raised by 1 K. 2:1 with regard to the census, see **CHRONOLOGY**, § 3:1.

In Acts 25:15 the AV 'Augustus' for **σεβαστός** should rather be, as in RV, simply 'the emperor,' or, as in RV⁶⁸, 'the Augustus.' The reference is to Nero (see **CAESAR**). For 'Augustus's hand,' or rather (as in RV) 'the Augustus's hand' (Acts 27:1 σπειρης Σεβαστού), see **ARMY**, § 10.

AURANUS (ΑΥΡΑΝΟΥ) [V], cp **AVARAN**, leader of the Assassins in Jerusalem in the time of Lysimachus (2 Mace. 14:1).

AUTEAS (ΑΥΤΑΙΔ) [B], 1 Esd. 9:43 = Neh. 8:7, **HODIAM**, 2.

AUTHORITIES (ΕΞΟΥΧΙΑΙ) 1 Pet. 3:22. See **ANGELS**, §§ 1, 9.

AVA (אָוָּ), 2 K. 17:4 AV; RV **AVVA**.

AVARAN (ΑΥΡΑΝ) [AV], 1 Mace. 2:5. See **ELEAZAR**, 7; **MACCABLES**, 1, § 3; cp **AURANUS**.

AVEN (אָוֶן) [B], 1 Esd. 10:3, **MA**, 5, but **הַלְיוֹי פֹּלְעֹשֶׁת** [BAL] in 1 Esd. 10:3, 1. In Ezek. 30:17 the reference is doubtless to the Egyptian Heliopolis (see **ON**).

2. In Hos. 10:3 (F.V. 'the high places of Aven') Targ. Jon. has **בֵּתֵי**, Bethel, which explanation is given by all ancient and most modern interpreters; but, in consideration of the well-attested use of **אָוֶן** (*aven*) in the sense of 'false worship,' 'idolatry' (see, e.g., Hos. 12:12 [11]), it is a question (1) whether we should not render with G. A. Smith, 'Destroyed are the high places of idolatry, the sin of Israel,' and (2) whether, when we have regard to the parallel passage Am. 7:6, and to the probably not infrequent occurrence of glosses in the MT of the prophetic writings (see, e.g., Mic. 1:5), the words **בֵּתֵי** should not be either omitted or printed in a different type as an editorial insertion. The passage, as Wellhausen remarks, gains greatly by this omission. Ag's reading, *exalta idola*, favours the view here taken of **אָוֶן**. Ibn Ezra paraphrases **בֵּתֵי** 'the high places of the Baals.'

3. In Am. 1:5 Maundrell (1667), Grove, W. A. Wright, and G. A. Smith (with Hitzig) are inclined, in company with **ON**, to identify the 'plain (or broad valley)' of Aven' (**BEKATH-AVEN**; so AV⁹⁸) with the great plain between Lebanon and Antilibanus (the so-called *Be'ka'*), in which the famous temple of the Syrian Heliopolis (Baalbec) was situated. The vocalisation **אָוֶן** will then imply a play on the name—not On, but Aven. This, however, is a far-fetched supposition. On (=Egyptian *Awn*) represents the secular, not the religious, name of the Egyptian Heliopolis (see **BEKATH-AVEN**, 4). It is very doubtful, moreover, whether the second Heliopolis (Baalbec) was an Aramaean city in the time of Amos, and it is a plausible view of Wellhausen that **אָוֶן**, 'false worship,' has been substituted for the name of some god. Cp Winckler, *AT Unter-such.* 183, n.

AVENGER (אָוֶן), Nu. 35:12. See **GOEL**.

AVIM, AVIMS, AVITES. See **AVIM**.

AVITH

AVITH (אִי־ת), in 1 Ch. Kt. מִי־ת; רֶעוּאִי־מ [BADEL], the city of Hadad I., king of Edom, Gen. 36:15 1 Ch. 1:40 (רֶעוּאִי־מ [A], עִי־ת [L]). G's reading of the Hebrew must have been אִי־ת, Gittaim, which is clearly correct. The city of the next king had a name of similar meaning (Masrekah). See GITEAIM. T. K. C.

AVVA, וִו־אָ (אִי־וָ or אִי־וָ; Vg. *Avva*); 2 K. 17:24 (אִי־וָ [B], אִי־וָ [L], RV; also *Ivvah*, AV *Ivau*, אִי־וָ omitted or only represented in corrupt form in G; Vg. *Avva*, 2 K. 18:34 (אִי־וָ [A]; not in G^m), 19:13 (אִי־וָ [B], אִי־וָ [A], om. L) = Is. 37:33 (אִי־וָ [B], אִי־וָ [A], om. L) = Is. 37:33 (אִי־וָ [B], אִי־וָ [A], om. L). In the latter group of passages the punctuation implies an exegetical mistake (see commentators on Is. 37:33); the name throughout should be Avva or Avvah, and it used to be thought that the city referred to the same as that from which the king of Assyria brought colonists to the 'cities of Samaria' (2 K. 17:24). It is clear, however (W. *1st International*, 101 f.), that 2 K. 17:24 has been interpolated by some one who supposed *SEPHARVAIM* [q.v.] in 2 K. 18:34 19:13 to be the Babylonian city of that name. It is only in the speeches of Sennacherib's envoys that Avva has a right of existence; 'Avva or 'Avvah, however, is surely a corruption of 'Azah (אִי־ז), 'Gaza.' Tiglath-pileser, when he conquered Gaza in 734 B.C., appears to have introduced the cultus of Aser (W. *GBI*, 228, 333). 'Where, then, are the gods of Sennacherib and of Gaza?' (So Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899.) T. K. C.

AVVIM (אִי־מ), so RV; AV *AVIM*, *AVIMS*, *AVITES* [*Avvites*, RV]. 1. According to Dt. 2:21, the Avvim inhabited the Philistine coast 'as far as Gaza' before they were 'destroyed' by the Caphtorim—i.e., the Philistines. The same late writer, in whom the antiquary's interest is prominent, states that the Avvim dwelt in villages or settlements (אִי־מ); see HAZOR; G and Vg., however, read אִי־מ, 'the Hivites' (or *evaiot* [BAFL]; *Hivites*). In Josh. 13:20 (an editorial insertion which expands the simple statement of JE in 1:1) we find the Avvim again introduced, and described (if RV is right) as belonging to the S. of Philistia; probably, however, 'on the south' belongs to the whole region defined in 1:1 2:3. Here G and Vg. once more read 'the Hivites.' Sir G. Grove (in Smith's *DB*) suggests that the Avvim may be identical with the Hivites (cp G Vg. above); but the latter name is uniformly found in the singular (אִי־מ). The word might, to a Hebrew ear, mean, yet probably does not mean, 'ruins' (cp *hiv*). Not improbably it is a mutilated form of אִי־מ, 'Arabians' (Che. *Exp. Times*, June 1899). The Avvim (so-called) were Beduin who had begun to adopt a settled life.

2. אִי־מ, with def. art., 'the ruins' (אִי־מ [B], אִי־מ [A], Vg. *Avva*), an unidentified place in Benjamin (Josh. 18:23). It is mentioned in immediate connection with Bethel and Pithul, and on this a count has been conjectured by Knobel to be the same as Ai.

3. In Josh. 15:20 Gt reads 'Avvim' for 'Hiv'. See *Hiv* (1). 4. The people of Avva (q.v.), 2 K. 17:31. G again of *evaiot* [BAFL] (there is a second rendering, *avvites* in L); Vg. *Hivites*. T. K. C.

AWL (אִי־ל), lit. 'borer'; אִי־ל [BAFL]. An instrument for boring, mentioned in the description of the 'law of slavery' (Ex. 21:6 Dt. 15:17). It probably resembled the Egyptian boring instruments depicted in Kito (a.r.), or those more recently discovered by Bliss at Tell el Hesi (see *A Mount of Many Cities*, 81). Such instruments were used by workers in leather (see Eiman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 450 f.). Cp SLAVI RV.

AWNING (אִי־נ), cp Gen. 8:13, Ezek. 27:1 RV, correcting the punctuation (אִי־נ, AV 'that which covered thee'). Cp DRESS, § 1 (4).

1 Cp Kun. *Rev.*, 117-118, Mey. *GA* 1:217 (§ 179).

AYEPHIM

AXE. From the rude stone chisels and hatchets ('celts') of palæolithic man, bronze and iron axe, hatchet, tomahawk, and adze were gradually developed. Various early forms of these implements (needed alike in war and in peace) are found in our museums of Egyptian and Babylonian antiquities: the monuments also give ample evidence of their existence. See HANNUCRATES and WEAPONS.

Of the OT words for 'axe,' three at least may be nearly synonymous:

1. אִי־ז, *axen* (*axen*); Dt. 19:5 (אִי־ז); 20:9 (אִי־ז); 1 K. 6:7 (אִי־ז); 18:10 (אִי־ז); 18:11 (אִי־ז). The word is used three in the Sibam inscription (ll. 24, in the sense of a quarryman's or miner's pick. On 2 S. 12:31 2 K. 6:5, 1 p. Iron, § 2.

2. אִי־ז, *axen*, *axen* (*axen*); Jmlg. 2:4 1 S. 7:4 1 S. 13:20 f. Jer. 4:22), perhaps specially used for felling trees; if so, it would have a heavier head than the *axen*.

3. אִי־ז, *axen*, *axen* (*axen*); Ps. 7:10; in Tg. Jer. 4:22 for Heb. אִי־ז. RV gives 'hatchet,' apparently to suggest a diminutive *axen*. G, Sym., Pesh., however, read, not אִי־ז, 'its carved work,' but אִי־ז, 'its gates.' The rather improbable word אִי־ז should perhaps be אִי־ז 'knife' (Che. *P. 12*), and in the light of the Tg. we should emend אִי־ז to אִי־ז 'two-edged' (Herz, Che. 12, 'with two-edged axe').

Somewhat different from these, and probably adze-shaped, is:

4. אִי־ז, *axen*, *axen* (*axen*); BBAQ, reading אִי־ז, *axen* in Jer. 10:4 (1 S. 4:1) (*axen*, *axen*), and by emendation of the text in Is. 10:33 (Dobin) and Zech. 11:12 (see FOREST). Kimhi understands something lighter than the *axen*, or *axen*. In Jer. 10:4 *axen* is a tool suitable for fashioning or carving wood.

Two other words are doubtful.

5. אִי־ז, in Ezek. 26:9, LV 'axe,' an insecure rendering. The text is possibly corrupt (see Co.; *taís machairas* [BAQ], *taís machairas* [BAQ]).

6. אִי־ז, 2 S. 12:31 (אִי־ז) [A] 1 Ch. 20:3 אִי־ז, which Berth. and Kittel conform to Sam. The text, however, perhaps needs more extensive emendation. Che. reads אִי־ז, a marginal correction of the אִי־ז (after אִי־ז) which he found its way into the text (*Exp. Times*, 1899, p. 253). See SAM.

Of the N1 names the *axen* of Mt. 3:10 Lk. 3:9 is the woodman's axe; but Rev. 20:4 (*axen*, *axen*); 1 p. G 1 K. 5:18 refers to the axe of the headman (*axen*).

Axes were among the emblems of high rank in Egypt and at Mycenae (see the axe figured in Erman, *Egypt*, 73; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, 252). In the OT it is rather the mace that is the favourite emblem of sovereign power (see ROD). There is, however, a sarcastic passage in Bar. 6:15 which suggests that the axe could be an emblem of divinity; and we may perhaps illustrate it by Frazer's learned note on Paus. x. 11. The double-headed axe is characteristic of so-called Hittite sculptures. The Labrandean Zeus of Caria also is represented on coins as carrying a double-headed axe (*labrus* = axe in Lydian; Plut. *Quaest. Græc.* 45). There appears on the coins of Tenedos a similar axe, which, being generally accompanied by a cluster of grapes, may be a symbol of the worship of Dionysus. Cp also Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kleinasien*, 1:257. Of course, the bow and the sword, not the axe, are the emblems of Yahwé, though in Ezek. 9:2 the supernatural agents of Yahwé carry mauls (or like weapons). See BATTLE-AXE.

AYEPHIM (אִי־פ), the rendering of RV^m in 2 S. 16:14, where the text has, 'and the king and all the people' that were with him came weary.' So G, אִי־פ [B], אִי־פ [A]. The name of

1 אִי־פ as it stands does not make sense. For proposed emendations see Che. (*SROP*, Isaiah, Heb.), Dobin, 16, Ki.

2 'With a terrible crash' (אִי־פ) is only a conjectural rendering of M^t.

3 Perhaps, however, the axe was depicted as a survival of the time, before the introduction of coined money, when it may have been the unit of barter (Kilgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, etc., 317 f.). Perhaps too the 'longue' (אִי־פ) of gold in Jer. 7:21 was in the shape of an axe; see *Exp. Times*, Nov. 1897, p. 61.

AYYAH

some place seems to be required by the context. If Ayyephim be indeed a place-name, the locality it indicates remains unidentified. On the other hand, it may be a corruption of the place-name may have dropped out. Cp. We. *in loc.*; **Ἰ** αὐτὸς παρά τὸν Ἰορδάνην.

G. A. S.

AYYAH (אֵיָיָה [BA, Gl.], 1 Ch. 7:28† RV¹⁹⁰⁸ = AV GAZA [q.v., 2]. See AL, 1.

AZAEI (αζαει [BA], 1 Esd. 9:14 = Ezra 10:15, ASAPH, 4.

AZAELOS (αζαηλος [B]), 1 Esd. 9:14 = Ezra 10:41, RV AZARIEL, 5.

AZAL, or rather RV AZEL (אֶזֶל; ἄζωδ [BNT], αζαηλ [AL]), the point to which the cleft of the mountain is to reach when Yahweh descends upon the Mt. of Olives in battle (Zech. 14:4). This place, presumably situated near Jerusalem, is often identified with the equally obscure ΒΕΛΗΛΕΙ. Kohler, Wright, and others (after Vg. Symm.) with less probability, take αζαηλ to be an adverbial expression, 'very near, hard by' (cp. Olsh. § 1676; but see also König, § 330 f. [7]). Clermont-Ganneau thinks of the Wady Asil, a little valley on the right of the 'Am el-Lôz, in the Wady en-Nar (PI FQu., 1871, p. 101).

AZALIAH (אֶזֶלְיָה, εὐσελίου [AL], father of Shaphan the secretary, 2 K. 22; ἑλίου [B] = 2 Ch. 34 [αζαηλ] [BA]).

AZANIAH (אֶזְנָן, § 32, 'Yahweh weighs,' cp. Jaazaniah; αζανηλ [BA], נחל [N], αζανί [L], a Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10:6 [1].

AZAPTION (αζαφειωθ [B]), 1 Esd. 5:13, AV = Ezra 2:55 RV, HASSOPHELETH [q.v., 1].

AZARA, RV ASARA (αζαρα [BA]), a family of NETHINIM mentioned after PHINEAS (= P Haseiah) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6), 1 Esd. 5:1†. Unmentioned in 1 Esd. 12:10 Neh. 7:51.

AZARAEI (αζαρηλ [BA]), Neh. 12:36, AV, RV AZARIEL, 4.

AZARAIAS, 1. AV SARAIAS, 1 Esd. 8:1 (αζαραίος [B], αραίος [AL]) = Ezra 7:1, SERAIAH, 7.

2. AV AZARIAS (2 Esd. 11); see AZARIM, 3.

AZAREEL, or rather, as in RV, Azarel (אֶזְרִיֵּל, § 28; 'God helps'; εζρηλ [AL], cp. AZRIEL).

1. One of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12:6; αζρηλ [B], ελρηλ [AL]; αρα [L], see DAVID, § 11, a. iii).

2. One of the sons of Heman (see LAVI, 1 Ch. 25:18 (αζαρα [B], αζρηλ [L]; cp. UZZIEL).

3. A Danite 'prince' under David (1 Ch. 27:22; αζαραηλ [B], αζρηλ [L]). See DAVID, § 11, c. i.

4. A priest in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii. § 5 [A], § 15 [1] a), Neh. 11:13 (αζρηλ [BNT]); in the procession at the dedication of the wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 g), Neh. 12:36, AV AZARAEI (αζρηλ [BNT], αζρηλ [N⁶⁴ p. superscr.]).

5. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10:41 (αζρηλ [B], αραηλ [N]) = 1 Esd. 9:14 (EZRIL, RV EZRIEL, εζρηλ [BA], αραηλ [L]), apparently repeated as AZARIELS (αζαραηλ [AL], ας [B], om. L).

AZARIAH (אֶזְרִיָּה, §§ 28 84 [or אֶזְרִיָּה; in nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20; cp. Baer on 1 Ch. 23:8], 'Yahweh helps'; cp. ELEAZAR, AZRIEL; αζαριας [BAL], 1. b. Zadok; priest, temp. Solomon, 1 K. 4:2 (αζαρηλ [B]). See BEN-HUR.

2. Chief priest, temp. Uziah (2 Ch. 26:17-20).

3. Chief priest, temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:10-11).

In 1 Ch. 6:14 (5:15-16) the name of Azariah is borne by the twelfth, the fourteenth, and the twentieth in descent from Aaron in the line of Eleazar (2 Ch. 31:13 αζαρια [B]); of the fourteenth it is said that he 'executed the priest's office in the house that Solomon built in Jerusalem' (1 Ch. 6:10 f. [5:9 f.]). Omissions and transpositions allowed for, the three Azariahs in this series may be held to be identical with nos. 1, 2, and 3 above; at

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the same time, it is difficult to suppose that the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 6:11 f. (5:9 f.) should be distinguished from the Hilkiah of 1 Ch. 9:11 and 1 Esd. 7:1 (αρειον [B]); if we identify these, Azariah 13 was a contemporary of Josiah, not of Hezekiah. This name appears also as Azarias, Azaraias, Azien, Azarias, and Ezias.

4. Expounder of law (see EZRA, ii. § 13 f.; cp. i. § 8; ii. § 19 [L], § 15 [1] c), Neh. 8:7 (om. BBA), 1 Esd. 9:48 (AZARIAS), and signatory to the covenant (see EZRA, i. § 7), Neh. 10:2 [1] (αζαρια [BNT aL], αζαριας [N⁶⁴]). See also Neh. 3:23 (αζαρια [BBA]), 24 (βηθαζαρηλ [BA], οίκον ας. [L]). He is apparently the EZRA of Neh. 12:1 f.

5. A Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. 6:36 [21], αζαρια [B]), cp. 2 Ch. 29:12, 29:19. In 1 Ch. 6:44 [6] his place is taken by Uziah, 2.

6. b. Nathan, supervisor of Solomon's twelve prefects (1 K. 4:5). Probably he had to see that the contributions of the different departments were punctually furnished. His father was most likely the well-known prophet who in 2 S. 12:1 is called simply Nathan (so Ew., We., Klo.). Others (e.g., Balh) made Azariah Solomon's nephew; cp. 2 S. 14 (αρεηλ [BNT]). See, however, Z. 10:1.

7. A son of King Ithobashaph, twice enumerated (as Azariah and Azariah) in 2 Ch. 21:2, but omitted in 2 Ch. 22:1.

8. A son of Jehoram, king of Judah in 2 Ch. 22:6 (αρεηλ [BNT]); but it is clear from 2 K. 8:26, as well as from 2 Ch. 22:1, that AZAZIAH [2] is meant. In 2 Ch. 21:17 he is called JUDAH AZAZ (q.v., 3).

9. King of Judah; otherwise known as UZZIAH (q.v., 1).

10. One of the 'three children,' companions of Daniel; otherwise called ANANIAS (q.v.) (Dan. 1:7 11:19 Song of Three Children, 7, 66 [2], Theod. Dan. 3:88, AZARIAS, 7).

11. A Judahite, son of Etham, 1 Ch. 2:8 (αζαρια [B], αζαρια [A]).

12. A Jerahmeelite, 1 Ch. 2:38 f. (αζαρια [B]).

13. b. Obed, a prophet of Judah, whose prophecy to King Asa is recorded in 2 Ch. 15:1-8. The prophecy is attributed to Obed in 7:8.

14. Son of Jeroham; one of the captains who were associated with Jehoiada in deposing Athaliah (2 Ch. 23:1).

15. Son of Obed; another of the captains associated with Jehoiada (2 Ch. 23:1; cp. 1 Ch. 2:38 f.).

16. Son of Hoshai; an opponent of Jeremiah, Jer. 43:2 (αζαριας [N⁶⁴]). Cp. JAANANIAH, 1.

17. Leader (see EZRA, ii. § 8 c) in the great post-exilic list (Ez. ii. 9), Neh. 7:7 (αζαρια [BNT], αρα [AL] = Ezra 2:2, SERAIAH; see EZRA (αραϊας [BA], αραϊας [AL]).

18. In procession at dedication of wall (see EZRA, ii. § 13 g), Neh. 12:33, αζαριας [BNT] (see Baer), cp. (1).

19. An Ephraimite, temp. Ahaz, who took part in restoring the captives of Judah, 2 Ch. 28:12 (αρεηλ [B]).

20. b. JHALLELEI, a Merarite Levite, 2 Ch. 29:12 (αζαριας [BA]).

AZARIAS (αζαριας [BAL]), the Greek form of AZARIAH.

1. 1 Esd. 9:21 = Ezra 10:21, UZZIAH, 3.

2. In list of Ezra's supporters (1 Esd. 9:43), wanting in 1 Neh. 8:4; see Be. *ad loc.*

3. 1 Esd. 9:13 = Neh. 8:7, AZARIEL (A).

4. RV AZARAIAS (2 Esd. 11), b. Hilkiah; see AZARIAH (3).

5. The name assumed by the angel RAFAEL [q.v.] when accompanying Tobit (Tob. 5:12 6:13 7:8 9:2).

6. A captain in the army of Judas the Maccabee, 1 Macc. 5:18 5:60 (in 7:56 αζαριας [AN]).

7. Song of Three Children, 65 (2 Theod. Dan. 3:88; see AZARIAH (10)).

AZARU (αζαρου [B]), 1 Esd. 5:15 RV; AV AZURAN.

AZAZ (אֶזֶז, αζαζ [BA]; but L gives αζαζ = i.e., Joazaz; cp. Azaziah, a Reubenite name (1 Ch. 5:8†).

AZAZEL (אֶזְרִיָּה, 1. Of the two goats set apart for the great Day of Atonement (see ATONEMENT, DAY

OF), one was chosen by lot for a sin-offering for Yahweh, the other for 'Azazel

practice. (Lev. 16:8-10). After the sin-offering had

been made in behalf of the people, the high priest was

to lay both hands upon the head of the goat for 'Azazel,

and confess over it all the sins of the Israelites (cp. the

confession of sin in Mishna, Yoma 6:2), laying them on

its head and sending it out into the wilderness to Azazel

(7:21 f.). The meaning of this act, which is further

described in the Targum of pseudo-Jonathan, is clear.

The goat symbolically bears away the sins of the people.

Something analogous is found in Lev. 14:4 f., where, for

the purification of the leper, one bird is to be killed, and

the other, charged with the disease is to be let loose.

1 AV renders 'scapegoat.' For the renderings in 2, see col.

305, note 7.

into the open field. Cp also Zech. 5:5 ff., where sin is carried away bodily into the land of Shinar.¹

The meaning of Azazel is much disputed; it is, of course, a subject closely connected with the inquiry into the origin of the custom. It is at least certain that, as Azazel receives one goat while Yahweh receives the other, both must be personal beings.

2. Who was Azazel?

The theory of the Jewish interpreters (Eg. ps. Jon., Kashi, Kirsh; cp Ibn Ezra's references to current views), that Azazel is a place in the wilderness, is inadmissible; and equally so are the views of Ap., Symm., Jer., AV, that it means the goat itself (*τράγος ἀφαιρούμενος* and *ἀφαιρούμενος, capre emissarius*, 'the scape-goat'), and of Merx in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 1:256, and others, that it is an abstract term, a 'complete removal or dismissal' (from *ἀφαιρέω*), a view probably taken by B.²

It seems most natural to connect the belief in question with the demonology and angelology which developed so largely in the post-exilic age (*Ezech.* 6:7-8; 10:10-14). One group of interpreters, on this view, take Azazel as a prominent member of the class of *se'irim*, or demons of the field and the desert, to whom sacrifices were offered in post-exilic times (Lev. 17:7; see SATYR, § 2), to whom possibly all the sins of the people with their evil effects were symbolically sent every year (so, with various modifications, Ew., Di., Dr. [*Ezech.*], Now., Benz.). We need not, however (with the first three scholars), regard the conception as a primitive one, or as having been taken over by the religion of Yahweh from an earlier stage; and least of all is there any imitation of the symbolic vengeance taken by the Egyptians on Set-Typhon³ (see Briggsch, *Keltig. u. Mythol. d. alt. Äg.* 710). On the other hand, Cheyne ('The Date and Origin of the Ritual of Azazel' in *Z. f. d. l. T.* 15:151-156 [1885]) considers it to have been one of the objects of the ritual 'to do away with the evils of *se'irim* by substituting a personal angel for the crowd of impersonal and dangerous *se'irim*'.⁴ His arguments for this very attractive view are (a) the form of the name (deliberately altered from *azazel*, 'God strengthens'; cp *azazel*, 1 Ch. 15:21), which seems to be akin to that of the other names of angels; and (b) more especially the passages of the Book of Enoch referring to Azazel as a leader of the evil angels (Gen. 6:1-24). 'Azazel is therefore of literary not of popular origin; he is due to the same school of speculative students of Scripture to which we owe the other names of angels, good and evil, in the later literature.' In any case, we must admit that the old interpreters who identified Azazel with Satan⁵ had some plausibility on their side (Orig. c. *Cels.* 6:395; Iren. *Her.* 1:12, followed by Spencer, Hengstenberg, Kalisch, and Volck). We may at least venture to say with Reuss⁶ that 'the conception of Azazel lies on the way which led later to that of the devil.' For Azazel is certainly described as in some sense a being hostile to God.

I. B.

It is strange that so many modern critics should have failed to comprehend the ritual of the scapegoat, and have rejected with much positiveness the only natural explanation of the name Azazel, so that it has become a kind of dogma that *azazel* is not from *azazel*, but either a weakened form of *azazel*, meaning 'averruncus,' or 'porro aliens,' or 'amotio' (Ol., Merx, Stade, Kautsch-Ges., Volck);⁷ or else a broken plural of difficult interpretation.

3. Recent criticism.

¹ For extra-biblical parallels, see below, § 3; also Ew. *Ant.* 158; WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2:422 (and for an Assyriological explanation of the reference to the wilderness, see RITUAL, § 10).

² Cp, however, below, note 7.

³ This view has left a trace in Smith, *DB* 1:297, but has received no sanction from Di. or Dr., whose names are mentioned. Against it see Diestel, *Z. f. d. l. T.* 1:159 ff.

⁴ Prof. G. F. Moore suggests a reference to Nachmanides on Lev. 16:8.

⁵ The Rabbinic identification of Satan with Samael as 'chief of the Satans' (*Midr. R.* on Dt. 11:3) may here be chronicled.

⁶ *Gesch. der Schriften des A.T.* 2:501.

⁷ Some critics refer to *azazel* as having initiated the theory of an abstract formation. Certainly in Lev. 16:10 *azazel* renders *ἁφαιρέσει* *εἰς τὴν ἀνομιαν*; and in 16:26, *εἰς ἀφαιρέσει*. What the

(perhaps some particular class of unfriendly demons; see Steiner in Schenkel, *Bib. Lex.* 5:390, and Bochart). The truth is that the old derivation of Azazel from *azazel*, 'to be strong' (see 1g. ps. Jon., Saadia), needed to assume a new form in order to commend itself.

The explanation of the name as *azazel* (which was retracted by Diestel its author) implies an un-Hebraic mode of formation, says Di., and the names of angels compounded with *azazel* belong to the later Jewish theology. The former objection is not absolutely decisive; the name *Abiel* in *Jubilees* seems to be *azazel* (see Aben Ezra). Still, there is no necessity to follow Diestel; the later Jews could form names correctly, and the explanation offered above, which, with the connected theory, may claim to be virtually a new one, is not open to Di.'s objection. Di.'s second objection points the way to the true reason why modern scholars have often given such far-fetched and improbable (however learnedly justified) etymologies. They felt that a name formed on the analogy of Michael and Gabriel must be late; but their theory compelled them to suppose that Azazel was early, and that the name Azazel in *Ezech.* (like Babel and Babelon, Delitzsch ventures to add) was simply borrowed from the OT.² Thus the light thrown on the name by the Book of Enoch was missed. Nor was sufficient use made of the Mishna treatise called *Yoma*, with its strange but not imaginary details, although the description comes from a time not very far removed from that of the later portions of the priestly code. Nor did critics give heed enough to the facts of comparative folklore, which illustrate certain details in the *Yoma*.

The more we study the Priestly Code, the more we are struck by the combination of firmness and laxity which its compilers display. They are firmness itself as regards the essential principles of the Law,³ but very compliant to minor popular superstitions. Nothing, therefore, can be more probable than that the legal authorities to whom the later portions of Lev. 16 are due gave their sanction to a custom which it had perhaps been found impossible to root out, on condition of its being regulated and modified by themselves. Assuming this to have been the case, we can explain the name Azazel, and even account for the pelling, which has struck many scholars as inconsistent with the etymology *azazel*. From the point of view here adopted—viz., that the priestly code is not Mosiac, but a combination of diverse elements due to many different persons in the exilic and the post-exilic periods, and framed in a statesmanlike, compromising spirit—there can be no doubt that the view here mentioned is correct. There is no uncertainty as to the meaning of the name Azazel, and very little as to the origin and significance of the rite.

To supplement the account of the present writer's theory given above, it may be said that, like Diestel formerly, he opposes the widely received view that Azazel was a *κακοδαίμων* to whom the sin of the people and the resulting excommunications were sent, and that the belief goes back to pre-exilic times.

The first part of this view was that of Benzinger (*Arch.* 478) in 1894; it is, however, scarcely tenable. The sultan of the *jinu*, to whom the *se'irim* propitiated by the Jews in post-exilic times correspond (see SATYR, § 2), has no personal name; he and his subjects are impersonal. If Azazel were a demon we should hear of him in other parts of Leviticus. Nor is it likely that even a later legislator would have adopted Azazel as an evil demon.

translator means by this, however, *ἀφαιρούμενος* (so Theodoret, *Quaest.* 22 in Lev.). In short, he agrees with Ap., Symm., Jer. in deriving the name from *azazel* and *azazel*. This gives the right interpretation of *ἀφαιρούμενος* (BAFL), which answers to Azazel in 16:10, *averruncus*, i. e. 'this view of the facts, is not the equivalent of B's term, as w. (*Int.* 363) supposes.

¹ Del. is not happy in his explanation, 'Defier of God.' He traces the name to Arabic mythology; 'azzel is used of a horse which successfully resists its rider (*ZKH* 1:182 [30]); but König is no more successful—'fortis decedens' is his rendering (*Lehgeb.* 2:4, 417).

² So Driver (*Expositor*, 1884, b. p. 215). In Hastings' *DB* (art. 'Azazel') no very definite conclusion is reached; but reference is duly made to the too generally neglected analogies of other popular religions.

³ Kalisch rightly says that, 'although Azazel and his goat are a stain on the Levitical legislation, they do not taint the main principle of Judaism—God's absolute sovereignty' (*Leviticus*, 2:204).

demons;
Joachim).¹
Azazel
Saddan
and itself,
retracted
formation,
with an
ject in is
ems to be
to follow
d the ex-
ory, may
objection,
ason why
probable
a name
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probable that strange appeal, 'I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy-hosts and by the tree-spirits.'⁵ In such a poem the name of Yahwe could not be lightly used; all the world, however, knew of the supernatural beings who haunted thickets and sometimes inhabited trees, and like the *jun* to-day, were sometimes friendly to man, sometimes unfriendly.⁶ The substitution appears to have produced an effect; at least, the Chronicler, in the third century, represents the custom of sacrificing to the *gōrām* as puse-exile (2 Ch. 11.15). Certainly, too, we may infer from the details respecting the *gōrām* (the dismissed goat) in *Yoma* that the popularity of the institution was great. The cries, 'Take (them) away and get out,'⁷ reported by the *Gomana* on *Yoma* 64, show how intensely the lower class (Babylonians they are disparagingly called) beheld in the removal of their sins by the goat. See also *hṣ. Barn.* 7; *Tertull. adv. Marc.* 37; *adv. Jud.* 14; *Just. c. Trach.* 40. That the 'goat for *Azazel*' was really pushed over the precipice (*Yoma*, 61, we have no reason to doubt, is instructive

directions in Lev. 16 could not bring himself to put down all that actually happened. What we read is that Aaron was to confess all the sins of the Israelites (there is great emphasis on 'all') over the goat, and to send him away in the charge of a certain man into a solitary land (מִן־הָאֲדָמָה עַד־הַיָּם *v. 21 f.*). This is explained in Tg. ps.-Jon., 'and shall send him away by a man prepared from the preceding year, to take him into a rocky desert which is Beth-hadîrê' (see above). In compensation for this, it is Leviticus that gives us one detail not preserved in *Yômid*. In *v. 10* it is said that the goat for Azazel is to be presented alive before Yahwê, that atoning rites may be performed over him (וְהָיָה חַיָּם לְפָנָיו); which recalls the direction about the 'living bird' (see § 1) that forms a parallel to the scapegoat in the law of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14 6 f.).

¹ Another form of the name may have been Uzziel (cp Tg. ps., Jon. on Gen. 6, 4 with *Enoch* ii). The form *Uzael* also is found.

⁴ See WRS, *Rel. Sem* (20418, 422, 468).

5 Cant. 2735, צִבְצִיבִּית וְצִבְצִיבִּית. The change in the pointing

is very slight; it should be π . The usual explanation is very fanciful (see Budde). The sacred trees (especially the locust-
 one) and the tree *Arbutus*.

or (arab-trees) are still revered in Palestine as being possessed.
 * See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2: 121-133; Ballensperger, *PEFQu.*
St., July '93, p. 204 ff. Some of the *jinn* are believed to be
 dangerous to newly married people. Don't play with love, says
 the passage (Cant. 2.7).—for fear of the *jinn*.

the passage (Ch. 7) - for fear of the jinn.

To resume and to supplement: the usages described in *Yema* are a combination of a primitive sacrifice to the demons of untitled or (especially) mountainous country with a superstitious custom still widely prevalent, according to which evils of all kinds were thought to be got rid of by the device of hiding them on some animal, which was thereupon driven away from the community like the scapegoat (see Lall, *Fortnightly Review*, 1872, p. 131; Fraser, *Golden Bough*, 219, 223; F. Knight, *Howe's Two Peoples* [Ed., 221 f.]). Such customs, as Fraser points out, tend to become periodic, like the rite of the scapegoat. See, further, APOSTOLUS, DAY OF.

AZAZIAH אֶזְזִיָּאֵל, § 29, 'Yahwē is strong,' or 'strengthens', *oz[ē] hac* [138ALD].

1. A Levite musician, temp. David (see I Chr. 15:21).
2. An Ephraimite, temp. David (I Chr. 27:1).
3. A Levite, temp. Hezekiah (2 Chr. 35:13; Oš⁹95 [A]).

AZBUK (MEET), AZABOY [N], X [B], AZBOYX [V].

AZEKAH (עֶזְקָה, אֶזְקָה [EzQah], a town in the
 husband of Deborah, 15:15.

AZEI (1.8), Zech 145 KV=AV, AZAL, q.v.

AZEM (אֶזֶם), Josh. 15:29 AV, RV EZEM.

AZETAS (ΑΖΗΤΑΣ [BA], om. 1), a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6, § 8 c) in 1 Esd. 515, but not in 1 Esd. 216 = Neh. 7 21; perhaps the name owes its presence to some mistake (Mrv. *Ent.* 155 n.).

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AZIA

AZIA (אֲזַיָּה [B]). 1 Esd. 5:31 = AV Ezra 2:49, UZZA, 2.

AZIEI (אֲזִיעִי [B]). In the genealogy of Ezra, see AZARIAH, 3.

AZIEL (אֲזִיֶּל [B]). 1 Ch. 15:20. See JAAZIEL.

AZIZA (אֲזִיזָה [B]). § 83; 'strong'; אֲזִיזָה [B]. אֲזִיזָה [A] in list of those with foreign wives (Ezra, i. § 5, end), Ezra 10:27. 1 Esd. 10:28; SAKOLIS, RV ZAKOLIS (Σακολίς [B]), Σακολίς [A], אֲזִיזָה [L]).

AZMAVETH (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). perhaps 'Death is strong' [cp Cant 8:6], a possible name for a hero [see AZIMOTH, and cp Gray, *III*, 231]; acc. to Kittel the ending should be *-muth* or *-muth* [SOT 1 Ch. 1:20], om. BA. אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. A Benjamite place near Geba (Neh. 12:20), usually identified with *el-Hizmah*, a village 4 m. NE. of Jerus. in between Jeba and 'Anat (ZDP² 2185; *PRF* Mem. 30).

The line Azmaveth occurs in the great post-exilic list (see Ezra, ii. § 9), Ezra 2:24 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). אֲזַמְבֶּת [A]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. Neh. 7:28 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). אֲזַמְבֶּת [A]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. BETHAZMAVETH (בֵּית אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). 1 Esd. 5:18, RV BETHASMAVETH, which is preferable to AV BETHSAMOS (Βαθασμων [B]), Βαθασμων [A]).

AZMAVETH (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). see above; אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L].

1. One of David's thirty mighty men, 2 S. 23:31 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]), אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [A]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. 1 Ch. 11:13 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]), אֲזַמְבֶּת [A]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. 1 Ch. 11:13 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]), אֲזַמְבֶּת [A]. אֲזַמְבֶּת [L]. being both miswritten for אֲזַמְבֶּת [We. Dr.]. Azmaveth, the 'father' of JAZIEL and PELETH, 2 (1 Ch. 12:1; אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]), two of David's warriors, may, however, be the place-name; cp above. See DAVID, § 11 (2) f.

2. b. Jehoshaphat or Jashb; a descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [B]), 1 Ch. 8:30 (אֲזַמְבֶּת [B]). אֲזַמְבֶּת [L].

3. b. Adiel, one of David's over-seers (1 Ch. 27:35). See DAVID, § 11 (C) f.

AZMON (אֲזַמּוֹן [B]). an unidentified site, marking the western portion of the southern frontier of Judah before the point where 'it went out at the brook of Egypt' (Josh 15:4; Nu. 34:15). S has אֲזַמּוֹן [B]. אֲזַמּוֹן [A]. אֲזַמּוֹן [L]. S has אֲזַמּוֹן [B]. אֲזַמּוֹן [A]. אֲזַמּוֹן [L]. Targ. has אֲזַמּוֹן, on which last precarious reading Trumbull bases his identification of Azmon with 'Ain el-Kasme in the W. Kasme. With Azmon cp Ezem (אֲזַמּוֹן).

AZNOTH-TABOR (אֲזַנּוֹת תְּבוֹר [B]). i.e., 'ears, or outliers, of Tabor'—§ 99; cp UZZA-SHEERAH, a landmark of Naphtali, doubtless near Mt. Tabor, Josh. 19:34 (אֲזַנּוֹת תְּבוֹר [B]). אֲזַנּוֹת תְּבוֹר [A]. אֲזַנּוֹת תְּבוֹר [L]. According to *Onom.*, אֲזַנּוֹת תְּבוֹר (OS² 224, 88) lay near Diocesarea or Sepphoris; cp CUSLOTH-TABOR, and see TABOR.

AZOR (אֲזֹר [Ti. WH]). Mt. 1:13; see GENEALOGIES, ii. § 2.

AZOTUS (אֲזֹטוֹס [Ti. WH]). Jos. *Ant.* xii. 112, ΕΖΑC [ed. Niese]. ΑΖΑC ΑΖΑΡΑ, the 'mount' to which Bacchides pursued the Jews in the battle (Apr. 161 B.C.) in which Judas the Maccabee lost his life (1 Macc. 9:15), is unknown. Michaelis has very plausibly conjectured that the expression may be due to a mistranslation of the Heb. אֲזֹתוֹת (cp ASUMOTU-PIGATU), meaning the slopes where the hill country of Judah descends into the Shephelah. Ewald (*Gesch.* 422, n. 2) compares Aṣrā W. of Bir ez-Zet, a small hill.

2. The Azotus (אֲזֹטוֹס [Ti. WH]) of Acts 8:40 1 Macc. 4:15 5:63 10:77 f. 84 11:4 14:14 16:10 Judith 2:28 is ASHDOD [q.v.]. Some (including Buhl, p. 180) also identify with Ashdod the Azotus of 1 Macc. 9:15.

AZRIEL (אֲזַרְיֶל [B]). 2 perhaps 'help of God.' § 29).

1 On the vocalisation and S's readings cp HAZARMAVETH.

2 אֲזַרְיֶל is an Aram. pronunciation (cp אֲזַרְיֶל), and it is noteworthy that here, contrarily to its usual practice, S prefers the Hebrew vocalisation (cp Kittel, *SOT* ad loc.).

AZZUR

1. One of the chiefs of Manassebeyond-Jordan, 1 Ch. 5:24 (אֲזַזְרָה [B]). אֲזַזְרָה [A]. אֲזַזְרָה [L].

2. A Naphthalite, 1 Ch. 27:17 (אֲזַזְרָה [B]); but some Hebrew MSS have UZZUR, a reading supported by S (אֲזַזְרָה).

3. Father of Seraiah [2], Jer. 36:16 (אֲזַזְרָה [B]). אֲזַזְרָה [A]. אֲזַזְרָה [L].

AZRIKAM (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A].

1. Levite, in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra, ii. § 5 [L], § 15 [1a]). Neh. 11:15 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L]. 1 Ch. 9:24 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L]. 1 Ch. 9:24 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L].

2. A descendant of Zemibabel, 1 Ch. 3:23 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L].

3. Descendant of Saul in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [B]), 1 Ch. 8:38 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L]. 1 Ch. 9:44 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L].

4. 'Ruler of the house' under Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28:7 (אֲזַרְיָקָם [B]). אֲזַרְיָקָם [A]. אֲזַרְיָקָם [L].

AZUBAH (אֲזֻבָּה [B]). 'forsaken'; אֲזֻבָּה [B].

1. Wife of CALEB [q.v.] in 1 Ch. 2:13 f. (אֲזֻבָּה [B]). אֲזֻבָּה [A]. אֲזֻבָּה [L]. The names in this passage are as peculiar as the constructions. Kittel (*SOT*) renders an emended text thus: 'And Caleb b. Hezron took Azubah (deserted one) to wife, and begat Jernoth (tent-curtains); and these are her sons, Jeshur (uprightness), Shobab (backsliding), and Ardun.' As to the names of these sons, Jeshur may be read Jeshur (Yahwe is right), and Shobab Jashub (one who turns to God), and Ardun Ornan (Sopra). But S can hardly be thus used of God in spite of Dt. 32:1 Ps. 119:17, and Ornan, or (1 Ch. 3:21 MT) Arnan, has a suspicious aspect. Hence Klostermann (*Gesch.* 115) takes it to be a record of a shortlived colony of Calebites, founded on the spot where there had been a pastoral settlement. The renders 'Caleb b. Hezron made the deserted one—the woman of tent-curtains—to bear children, namely, Upright, and Backslider, and Destruction' (reading אֲזֻבָּה אֲזֻבָּה, and אֲזֻבָּה). The colonists began well, but 'left the paths of uprightness' (Pr. 2:13), and were given up to 'destruction' (S. Sheol, Pr. 15:11). Wellhausen also (*Die Gen.* 33 f.) notices the symbolic character of the names; אֲזֻבָּה, according to him, = אֲזֻבָּה, Jeshuran; אֲזֻבָּה (so he reads) is a tent-dwelling woman; אֲזֻבָּה, the desert region inhabited at first by the Calebites.

2. Mother of Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22:42 (אֲזֻבָּה [B]). אֲזֻבָּה [A]. אֲזֻבָּה [L].

AZUR (אֲזֹר [B]). Jer. 28:1 Ezek. 11:1 AV; RV better AZUR [q.v., 1 f.].

AZURAN, RV AZARU, RV^{mg} Azuru (ΑΖΑΡΟΥ [B]). אֲזֻרָה [A], om. L), family in the great post-exilic list (see Ezra, ii. § 9, § 8 c), in 1 Esd. 5:15, but not in 1 Esd. 2:16—Neh. 7:21; probably identical with AZUR, 2 (Neh. 10:17 [13]). Note in each case the occurrence of the preceding names, Adin, Ater, and Hezekiah.

AZZAH, AV GAZA (גִּזָּה [B]). גִּזָּה [A]. אֲזַזָּה [L]). 1 Ch. 7:28 RV. Many Hebrew MSS here read גִּזָּה (Ayyah; cp G⁶), a reading recommended by the context. The place was apparently N. of Shechem. See GAZA.

AZZAN (אֲזָן [B]). 'gifted with strength'; אֲזָן [B]. father of PAUTHIEL, 2 (Nu. 34:26 f.).

AZZUR (אֲזֹר [B]). in 2, 'helped [by God]'; see NAMES, § 56, and cp AZURI of ASHDOD.

1. Father of Hananiah, the prophet, of Gileon, Jer. 28:1 (S. ch. 35:1) (אֲזֹר [B]). AV AZUR.

2. Father of IAAZANIAH [4], Ezek. 11:1 (אֲזֹר [B]). אֲזֹר [A]. אֲזֹר [L]. אֲזֹר [B]. אֲזֹר [A]. אֲזֹר [L].

3. One of the signatories to the covenant (see Ezra, i. § 7); Neh. 10:17 (אֲזֹר [B]). אֲזֹר [A]. AV AZURAN; perhaps also a Gibeonite?

B

BAAL ¹ (𐤁𐤏𐤋): ♂ often 𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏, indicating that the reader is to substitute **BAAL**; the substitute has found its way into the text in 1 K.

1. Meaning of name: In *Gen. 25*, as the corresponding **BAAL** has in the Heb. text of Jer. 3:24 and elsewhere; see Dr. *MBP* 1 Phil. hist.

local numina. *KL* 1881) is a word common to all the Semitic languages, which primarily signifies *owner, proprietor, possessor*. It is used, for example, of the owner of a house, a field, cattle, and the like; the freeholders of a city are its *ba'anim*. In a secondary sense *ba'* means *husband*; but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave or of a superior to his inferior; nor is it synonymous with the Heb. and Phoen. *adon*, Syr. *mar*, Arab. *rab*, in the general sense of *lord, master*. When a divine being (*el*) is called *ba'al* it is not as the lord of the worshipper, but as the proprietor and inhabitant of some place or district, or the possessor of some distinctive character or attribute, and therefore a complement is always required. Each of the multitude of local Baals is distinguished by the name of his own place. There was a Baal of Tyre, a Baal of Sidon, a Baal of Hama, a Baal of Tarsus, a Baal of the Lebanon, and a Baal of Mt. Hermon; a Baal of Byblos, and so on.² We know that in some cases the Baal of a place had a proper name: the Baal of Tyre was Melkart; in Southern Arabia Dhū Samāwi was the Baal of Bākir, 'Athtar of Gumdū, and so on. In other cases the local Baal was distinguished in some other way. The god of Shechem was Baal-berith (perhaps as presiding over an alliance; but see **BAAL-BERITH**); Baalzebul (to whom was ascribed control of flies; cp **BAALZEBUB**) had a celebrated oracle at Ekron; a *παλαρμας, κολπαρος κώσαν* (Baal-markos), is known from inscriptions found near Beirut; a *𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏* (*annator*?) in Cyprus, and so on. In Baal-gad and Baal-zephon the second element seems to be the name of a god (see **FORTUNE, BAAL-ZEPHON**). On Baal-hammon and Baal-shamem see below § 3 f. There is nothing in these peculiar forms to shake the general conclusion that Baal is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or as owner of a place.

There were thus innumerable Baals—as many as there were towns (Jer. 2:28 II 13), sanctuaries, natural objects, or qualities which had a religious significance for the worshippers. Accordingly, we frequently find in the OT the plural, Baalim, the Baals, which we must interpret not, as many still do,³ of the multitude of idols, or of local differentiations of one god, but of originally distinct local numina. The Baals of different places were doubtless of diverse character; but in general they were regarded as the authors of the fertility of the soil and the increase of the flocks (Hos. 2:12), and were worshipped by agricultural festivals and offerings of the bounty of nature (Hos. 2:13). An interesting survival of this conception is the Talmudic phrase, field of the baal, place of the baal, and the Arab *ba'* for land fertilised, not by rain, but by subterranean waters (cp *Gen. 1:10*, *Gen. 2:10*). Proper names of persons such as Hannibal (favour of Baal), Baalrubal (help of P), Baal-yatan (Baal has given), Shama-baal (Baal be crs), compared with similar Yahwé names, Hananiah, Azariah, Jonathan, Shemaiah, show that Phoenician parents acknowledged in the gift

of children the goodness of Baal, as Israelite parents that of Yahwe.

That Baal was primarily a sun-god was for a long time almost a dogma among scholars,⁴ and is still often repeated. This doctrine is connected with theories of the origin of religion which are now almost universally abandoned.

The worship of the heavenly bodies is not the beginning of religion. Moreover, there was not, as this theory assumes, one god Baal, worshipped under different forms and names by the Semitic peoples, but a multitude of local Baals, each the inhabitant of his own place, the protector and benefactor of those who worshipped him there. Even in the astro-theology of the Babylonians the star of Bel was not the sun—it was the planet Jupiter. There is no intimation in the OT that any of the Canaanite Baals were sun-gods, or that the worship of the sun (Shamash), of which we have ample evidence, both early and late, was connected with that of the Baals; in 2 K. 23:34 the cults are treated as distinct.

The *hammanim* (𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏), included in the inventory of places of idolatrous worship with *mayasbas* and *colobas* (Ez. 6:4 and elsewhere), have indeed, since

3. Baal-hammon. Rashi, being connected with the late biblical and Mishnaic *hamma* (𐤁𐤏𐤋), 'sun,' and explained as *sun images* (RV), sun pillars;⁵ and it has further been conjectured that the *hammanim* belonged specifically to the cultus of Baal-hammon, whose name occurs innumerable times in Punic inscriptions,⁶ and is commonly explained 'the glowing Baal'—i.e., the Sun.⁷ This translation, however, can hardly be right; the article would be expected; according to all analogy, *hammon* should be a genitive. The deity which dwells in the sun-pillars would be formally possible; but with the direct connection of Baal-hammon with the sun, one of the chief arguments for interpreting *hammanim* to mean 'sun-pillars' falls to the ground. In this state of the case we cannot be sure that Baal-hammon was a solar deity; and if fresh evidence should prove that he was, it would be unwarrantable to infer that the Baals universally bore the same character.

Another Baal, whose cultus was more widely diffused than that of Baal-hammon—in later times he rose above all the local Baals, and perhaps in many places supplanted them—was Baal-shamem, whose name we must interpret, not 'Lord of Heaven,' but 'The god who dwells in the heaven,' to whom the heavens belong.⁸ Philo of Byblos identifies Baal-shamem (*𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏𐤍*) with the Sun (*𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏*; see *Orig. Hist. Gr.* 3:505 f.); Macrobius says that the god of Heliopolis was at once Jupiter and Sol (*Sat. I* 23); a Palmyrene bilingual (Vog., no. 16) seems to give *𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏* for *𐤁𐤏𐤋𐤁𐤏*, but the reading is not quite certain. The Greeks and the Hellenised Syrians identify Baal-shamem with Zeus (e.g., *Ζ. μεγιστος κεραιριος*), which is better in accord with the obvious significance of the name.⁹

When the Israelites invaded Western Palestine and

¹ See, for example, Creuzer, *Symb. u. Myth.* 2:413; Movers, *Phön.* 1:100 f.

² It is singular that this interpretation did not suggest itself to any of the ancient translators. See further, *MAGGENA*, § 6.

³ In Phoenician also El-hammon.

⁴ In a Palmyrene inscription a *hamman* is dedicated to the sun; De Vogüé, no. 123 a.

⁵ The name is equivalent to Dhū Samāwi in Southern Arabia.

⁶ Baal-shamem in Dan. 12:11 (perverted by Jewish wit to Šikkus Šamem, 'the appalling abomination') was probably a Roman Jupiter (see *AMERICANIST*, 3:1).

¹ See WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 2:92 ff.

² Cp in the OT Baal-hazor, Baal-meon, Baal-peor, Baal-tamar, and the like.

³ For example, Baalzebul.

BAAL

passed over from a nomadic to an agricultural line, they

learned from the older inhabitants not only how to plough and sow and reap, but also the religious rites which were a part of

Canaanite agriculture—the worship of the Baals who gave the increase of the land, the festivals of the husbandman's year. At first, probably, this worship of the Baals of the land went side by side with that of Yahwe, the God of their nomadic fathers. When Israel came into full possession of Canaan, however, Yahwe himself became the Baal of the land. Names like Jerubbaal (Judges), Ishbaal (son of Saul), Baal-pair (son of David), prove that Israelites in whom the national spirit was strongest had no scruple in calling Yahwe their Baal. The worship on the high places was worship of Yahwe in name, its rites were those of the old Baal cult. The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea, denounced this religion as pure heathenism. In whose name it is practiced is to them unimportant; it is not the name but the character of God that makes the difference between the religion of Israel and that of the heathen.

In the preceding century Elijah had roused the spirit of national Yahwism in revolt against the introduction of the worship of the Syrian Baal (Melkart) by Ahab, and Jehu had stamped out with sanguinary thoroughness the foreign religion; but this conflict was of a character wholly different from that in which the prophets of the eighth century engaged with the Canaanite Baal-religion practiced in Yahwe's name. In the seventh century, with the introduction of Assyrian cults, there was a marked reversion to the kindred Old Israelite and Canaanite religions, which provoked the violent measures of Josiah, but was only temporarily checked by them as we see from Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

With the cultus of the Baals in Canaan we are acquainted chiefly through the description which the prophets give of the Baal-worship of Yahwe. The places of worship were on the hill tops, under the evergreen trees; they were marked by pillars, statues, *herms*, *menhir*s. Images were not always, perhaps seldom, present: an image required a shrine or temple. At the altars on the high places, offerings of the fruits of the land and the increase of the flocks were made; beside them fornication was licensed—nay, consecrated. The Baals had their priests (CH. MARIM, q. v.) and prophets. At the great contest on Carmel they leap upon the altar, and cry, and gash themselves with knives after their manner. We may supplement these scanty notices by descriptions of Phœnician worship, especially of the Syrian Baal, Melkart, and of the Punic 'Kronos,' in Greek authors. See, further, HIGH PLACES, IDOLATRY, and, with reference to human sacrifices, MURDER.

Literature. See, further, HIGH PLACES, IDOLATRY, and, with reference to human sacrifices, MURDER. See also, *Die Phœnizier*, 1617; Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, i.; Müller, *Religion der Karthager*; Ort, *Worship of Baalim in Israel*, translated by Colburn, 1865; Büchsein, art. 'Baal,' *PRÉ* (3); Pictet-Mann, *Phœnizier*, 1820, 182 ff.; Baethgen, *Beitr. z. semit. Religionsgesch.*; F. Meyer, art. 'Baal' in Roscher, *Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Myth.*, 1867 ff. W. R. S.—G. E. M.

BAAL (בַּעַל, 'Lord'; עֲבָדָה, 1 Ch. 8:35).

1. In a genealogy of REUBEN: 1 Ch. 5:5 (וְהָאֵל [B], בַּעַל [A], בַּאֵל [1]).

2. In a genealogy of BENJAMIN (q. v., § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8:30 (בַּאֲלֵאֵלִי, i. e. בַּאֵלִי וְהָאֵל [B], בַּאֵל [A] וְהָאֵל [1]). It is more probable that 'Yf, followed by some ancestor of (S), dropped Ner (נֶר) in 1 Ch. 8 than that it has been added elsewhere (so S. R. O.). The conjecture (We. *TBS* 31 n.) that Baal and Nadab are to be read together as a compound name is thus unsupported; it is also unnecessary, since Melch

1 Punic temple inscriptions defining the dues of the priests for various kinds of sacrifice (so-called Tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage) show that both the animals offered and the classes of sacrifice were closely similar to those of the Hebrew laws.

BAALE JUDAH

(בַּעַל) likewise occurs (1 Ch. 8:35) alone as a proper name. See NAMES, § 42.

BAAL (בַּעַל), 1 Ch. 4:11. See BAALATH-BEER.

BAA'AH (בַּעַת, § 96). 1. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

2. A city in the Negeb of Judah, Josh. 15:2 (בַּאֲלָה [B], בַּאֲלָה [A], [1]). In Josh. 19: the name is written BAA'AH (בַּעַת; בַּאֲלָה [B], בַּעַת [A], [1]), and the place is assigned to Simeon. In 1 Ch. 4:11 it appears as BAA'AH (בַּעַת, אֲבֵלָה [B], בַּאֲלָה [A], בַּאֲלָה [1]). The reading is uncertain and the site unknown.

3. Mt. Baalah, a landmark on the boundary of Judah between Shikketon and Jalmeeh, Josh. 15:2 (בַּאֲלָה [B], בַּאֲלָה [A], [1]). The site is unknown, unless with Clermont-Ganneau (*Kirjath*, p. 902) we should read בַּעַת for בַּעַת, and identify the 'river of the Baal' with the Nahr Khlam (see JAMNUT, 1). More than one river in Palestine, doubtless, was dedicated to Baal.

BAALATH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

BAALATH-BEER (בַּעַת בֵּירָה, Josh. 19:8 בַּאֲלָתִי בֵּירָה [B], בַּאֲלָתִי בֵּירָה [A], בַּאֲלָתִי בֵּירָה [1]) or **Baal** (1 Ch. 4:11), also called BAA'AH of the South (בַּעַת הַיָּמָי, Josh. 19:8) or KAMATH of the South (1 S. 30:7 בַּאֲלָתִי [B], בַּאֲלָתִי [A], [1]); perhaps the same as the Bealoth (בַּעַלֹת, בַּאֲלָתִי [B], בַּאֲלָתִי [A], [1]) of Josh. 15:2 (and 1 K. 16:3; see A. O. R. M.), an unidentified site in the Negeb, probably its most southern part of Judah. The name implies that it had a well and was a seat of Baal-worship.

BAAL-BERITH (בַּעַל בְּרִית, [protecting] Baal of the covenant, 1 form of the Canaanitish Baal worshipped at Shechem (Judg. 9:4), called B. Berith (בַּעַל בְּרִית, 'God of the covenant') in Judg. 9:46 K.V.).

It has in Judg. 9:4 בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [B], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [A], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [1]; in 1 S. 30:7 בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [B], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [A], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [1]; in 1 S. 31:1 בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [B], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [A], בַּאֲלֵבֶרֶת [1].

The covenant intended was probably that between Shechem and some neighbouring Canaanitish towns, which were originally independent, but were at length brought under Israelitish supremacy (Ew., Kue., We.). Of the rival views—viz., (a) that the covenant was between Baal and his worshippers (Baethgen, Sayce in Smith's *Diss.*), and (b) that it was between the Canaanitish and the Israelitish inhabitants of Shechem (Ew., Ki.)—the former gives an undue extension to a specially Israelitish idea, and the latter misconceives the relation of the Israelites with Shechem to the Canaanites. Gen. 14:13 cannot possibly establish the former (Baethgen), nor can the name of Gaal's father, or the speech of GAI (q. v.) in Judg. 9:23, be used to support the theory of an influential Israelitish element in the population of Shechem. Any Israelites who might be dwelling in Shechem would be simply sojourners or protected strangers, and not parties to a covenant. The temple of Baal-berith had a treasury from which the citizens made a contribution to Abimelech (Judg. 9:4). It was there that Gaal first came forward as a leader of the rebellion (9:27), and within its precinct the inhabitants of the tower of Shechem (the 'acropolis,' We.) found a temporary refuge from Abimelech at the close of the revolt (9:46). The dictionarist editor mistakenly accuses the Israelites of apostatising to Baal-berith after Gideon's death (Judg. 8:33; see Moore's note).

T. K. C.

BAALE JUDAH. See KIRJATH-JEARIM.

1 'Or may not Baal-berith, El-berith, simply mean "God of the community" (cp. COVENANT, § 5)? The original story probably gave the name of the god of Shechem' (Prof. N. Schmidt).

BAAL-PERAZIM

BAAL-GAD (בַּלְגָּד, 'Lot] of Good Fortune', cp Gadubal 'Gad Bal' Hoffmann, *Leber eine*, phon. *Leber*, 27), **BAALGAD** [BL], and through corruption **BAALGADAI** [BAL], 'in the valley of Lebanon, under Mt. Hermon', is thus mentioned in Joshua (11:7, 12:1; 13: 1a) as [BL], **BAALGAD** AL, *baalgad* [L], as marking the northern limit of Joshua's conquests. Though Sayce and others identify it with Baalbek because it is described as in the *gebirge* of Lebanon, it is much more probably the BAAL HERMON of 1 Ch. 5:6 (cp also the 'mount Baal hermon' of Judg. 3: 1, now known as *Ramath*; see C. N. R. A. § 7 f., and D. A. N.,

BAAL-HAMON (בַּחַמּוֹן בְּנֵזֶר, ΒΑΧΛΑΜΩΝ [B], ΒΕΕΛΛ. [S], ΒΕΛΛ. [V]), a place where, according to a marriage song of no historical authority (ant. 814), Solomon had a vineyard which he entrusted to keepers. Some (e.g., Del., Oettl) have identified it with the Baalhamon of Judith 8, which seems to have been not far from Dothan. It is obvious, however, that some well known place is meant, and the references to N. Israelish scenery elsewhere in the Song of Songs give some weight to Gratz's conjecture that for 'Baal-hamon' we should read 'Baal hermon' (Judg. 3: 4 Ch. 5: 20). If Soer (Bibl.³⁶ 334) is right, Baal-hermon and Baal-gad are the same, and are to be sought at the mod. Halseyā (see, however, C. S. ARA. Phil. 1914) on the insurmountable on both sides of the valley vines and other fruit-trees are still cultivated. Most probably, however, 'in Baal-hamon' is due to a corrupt repetition of 'to Solomon.' Bickell is right in omitting it. T. K. C.

BAAL-HANAN (בַּלְחָנָן), § 42. 'Baal has been gracious'; cp. Johanan, Ph. חֲנָנִי, and the well-known 'Hannibal,' also Ass. *Baithanana*, *cf.* I. qn.

1. Ben Achbor; one of the kings of Laban, according to Gen. 36:38. (𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [A], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [D], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [E], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [I], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [Ch 1.49], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [B], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [A], 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏𐤕𐤁𐤏 [L]). Strangely enough, the name of his city or district is not given. Moreover, the scribe's error 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 (Hebrews) for 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 (since) in 1 S. 11:1 (see Bul. *S/O/T*) suggests that 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏 Achbor) in Gen. 36:38 may be a variant to 𐤁𐤏𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏 in 1 S. 11:1. Now, as Haddad II, an important king, (probably) the founder of a dynasty, has no father's name given, it seems likely that Baal-hanani is the lost father's name; and thus the text should run, 'And Saul died, and Haddad, ben Baal-hanani, reigned in his stead' (so Marq. *Found.* to f.; see, however, Bul. [n.]). See EDOM, § 4. HADAD.

2. A Gederite; according to the Chronicler, super-
intendant of olives and sycamores in the Shephērah of
Judah in the time of David; 1 Ch. 27:28 βαλανας [B],
βαλλανα [A], βαλααναν [L]. See DAVID, § 11 c.

BAAL-HAZOR (בַּעַל הָעֶזֶר), §§ 93, 96), 2 S. 1323.
See HAZOR, 2.

BAAL-HERMON (בַּעַל הֶרְמוֹן; § 93, Βαλῆριον [B*], Βαδελειον [B^{ab}], ΒΑΔΑ ΕΡΜΩΝ [A], 1 Ch. 523; see BAAL-GAD, BAAL-HAMON, and, especially, CUSARIA PHILIPPI.

BAALI (בָּאָלִי), Hos. 2:16 EV; mg. rightly 'my lord' AV, RV 'my master.' See HOSIA, § 6.

BAALIM (בָּאִלִּים), Judg. 21. See BAML, § 1.

BAALIS (בְּאִילִים; BEA[ε]ICA [BN⁺ΔQ], BENCCA [N⁺] ΒΑΑΛΙC [Q^{neg}], cp Sw, *ad loc.*; Jos. *Ant.* x, 93; § 164, ΒΑΑΛΙΜΟC – i.e., בְּאִילִים as some Heb. MSS read), king of the Ammonites, the prime mover in the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. 40 [47]₁₄; cp 41₁₀). The name is interesting as an etymological problem. Some render 'Son of exaltation,' on the precarious supposition that in this name and a few others ב stands for ב (see

¹ Through confusion of λ, α, and δ in the uncial writing.

BROKAR); while Baethgen (*Hebr. zur Sem. Rel. Genh.*, 11) compares the Ptolemaean $\alpha\pi\pi\alpha\gamma\epsilon$ / $\alpha\pi\gamma$ (no. 1272) / $\alpha\pi\gamma\alpha$ (no. 50) and renders 'husband of Isis' (still more preposterous derivation). See AMMON, § 8. W. R. S.

BAAL-MEON (פֶּתַח בַּיִת *phethach bayit*, Nu 32 & Ezek. 25, 1 + Ch. 38), otherwise **Beth-baal-meon** (Ezek. 13 (7)), **Beth-meon** (Jer. 48, 1) or **Beon** (22 Nu 32, 1)

[illegible]

The place is assigned in Numbers, Joshua, and Chronicles to the Reubenites. It is twice mentioned, once as Beth had meon and once as Bar meon, in the inscription of Mesha (1. 16-20), from which we learn that it was Moabite before the time of Omri and became so again under Mesha. It was Moabite also in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 48. 3), and in that of Ezekiel, who names it with Beth jeshimeh and Karnaithan as 'the glory of the country' (Ezek. 25.6). It is represented by the modern Ma'in, in the W. Zerk M'dm on the Moabite plateau, 2800 ft. above sea-level, 5 m. SW. from Maundah. There are extensive ruins (*Rev. t. vi. 177*).

It may probably be identified with the Maccabean BEAN [7.7]. The *Orientalist* (18.332, 191) quotes the Reubenite city under the forms *βανν*, *Βανν*, *πανά* τοῦ Ἀουοπαίου.

BAAL-PEOR תַּבַּעַבְיָה בַּעַל־פְּעֹר (BACALPEOR ΘΙΝΑΡΚΙΤ),

or, rather, the *Bad of Per* (see RV¹⁸ No. 250; see B&M, § 1), the Moabite god to whose cult I have already alluded, while in Shattim (No. 12, II, D¹ 1, Ps. 106) and three in later writings abbreviated to *YHWH* (13, 24). The name occurs in Hos. 12.4 as *y h w h* (2.10.1) in abbreviation, it would seem, for *YHWH* and *YHWH* (see B&M-Prog.). The nature of the worship of this god is unknown, although it is not improbable that it was a local cult of Chemosh (Gray, *HA* 131). For the old speculations based mostly upon previous etymologies, see Seldin, *De Div Syria*. See, further, 14.9, and cp. Bandman, *Studien*, 22, 3; B&M, *B&M*, 14.7, 201, and *De Num.* ad loc., *De 1 Sam.* ad loc.

BAAL PERAZIM (בְּאֵלֵינוֹרָה, § 84), a place mentioned in connection with a battle between David and the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim (רֶפְאִים), hard by Jerusalem, אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ (ἐπ' αὐτῷ) διακοπῶν [BAV.]; 1 Ch. II: 11 *bis* (φασαφρασιον . . . διακοπῆ φασιν [B], φαλασθ' φασιν . . . διακοπῆ φασιν [S], βαλ' φασιν . . . διακοπῆ φασασιν [A], βαλ' φασασιν *bis* [1]). According to the narrator, the name was so called because David had said, 'Yahwé has broken through my foes before me as at a breaking through of water,' Baal-perazim (*i. e.*, 'Lord of acts of breaking through') being regarded as a title of the God of Israel. The same event seems to be referred to in Is. 28: 21, where the place is called Mt. Perazim (ἄρος ἀσέδω [BSV.]), ὡς ὅτε διακόπτω [Aq. in Q^{ms}], ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν διακοπῶν [Sym. Theod. in Q^{ms}]. This form of the name suggests the most complete explanation of David's question, 'Shall I go up against the Philistines?' (7: 19). He asks whether he shall come upon the Philistines from the chain of hills which bounds the valley of Rephaim on the east (in 7: 20 read, 'And David came from Baal-perazim,' with G and Klo.); he starts, he it remembered, from Jerusalem (see DAVID), § 71. On the next occasion he did not 'go up' (on the hills), but came upon his foes from the rear (7: 20). In spite of this narrative, which is written from the later Israelitish point of view, the name Baal-perazim must have existed long before David. It is analogous to KIMMON-PEREZ, which means 'Kimmion (Kinnai) of Perez,' and belonged properly to some point in the chain of hills referred to, which was specially honoured

¹ ἐπαυω cannot = עָנָה, being preceded in 71. 20a by ἐκ τῶν.

BAALSAMUS

by Canaanitish Baal worshippers. David, however, beyond doubt took Baal as synonymous with Yahweh; the name gave him a happy omen, and received a fresh significance from his victory. Whether 'Perazim' was originally a name descriptive of the physical appearance of the hills E. of the valley of Rephaim, or whether it had some accidental origin, cannot be determined.

BAALSAMUS (BAACAMOC [BA]) 1 Is. 9:11 RV - Neh. 8:1 MAY-ELIL 15

BAAL-SHALISHA, RV Baal-Shalishah, (שָׁלִישׁ בְּאֵל) BAITHA [ע] [BA] (B* A* [as sa A]). BHOCAAC

CA [1.], in Ephraim, evidently near Gittai (2 K. 1:22), doubtless identical with the *Bethsalit* and BAITH CAPICAD of Jer. and Eus. (OS 107 n. 23990, 15 R. in N. of Theopolis (Ladd)). These conditions seem to be met by *Kh. Salita*, which is exactly 13 Eng. m. on about 14 R. m. from Laddi (P. 1:22, 76, p. 68). Four miles farther on is the village Kh. Kelt, Thulth, with which Baal-shalisha is now identified by Conder (P. 1:22, 251). In illustration of 2 K. 1:22 the Lalmud (Sukh. 12a) states that nowhere did the fruits of the earth open so quickly as at Baal-shalisha. See SITA THA, 1 AND OR, and cp. ZEPHON.

BAAL-TAMAR (בְּאֵל תָּמָר) 2 K. 1:22 'Baal of the Palm,' §§ 97, 104 BAA THAMAR [BA], an unidentified locality in the neighbourhood of Gilbeah, where the Israelites put themselves in array against the Benjamites (Judg. 20:1). Some think of 'the Palm of Deborah' (Judg. 4:1), which, however, was too remote (Moore), Eus. (OS 238 75) speaks of a Beth-tamar near Gilbeah.

BAALZEBUB (בְּאֵל זֵבֻב) EN TW [EN TH A 1. 2, BA 1: 606; ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ. 1. 2. C.] BAA WYIAN [BA], taking Zebul or WYIA is the name of the god; so Jos. (Ant. 15: 2), a god of Ekron, whose oracle was consulted by

Amaziah king of Israel in his last illness (2 K. 12:7, 606). The name is commonly explained 'lord of flies'. True, there is no Semitic analogy for this; but Pausanias (vin. 267; cp. J. G. Frazer's note on v. 111) tells us of a *Zēlō d'apūtor* who drove away dangerous swarms of flies from Olympia, and Clement of Alexandria attests the cultus of the same god in Elis (Protr. 2:38); and we may, if we will, interpret the title 'a god who sends as well as removes a plague of flies' (so Baudissin), which lifts the god up a little. Let us, however, look farther.

Benold (*Catalogue*, K. 3500) thought that in an Assyrian inscription of the 12th cent. B.C. he had met with Baal-zabul as the name of one of the gods of the Eblir-nāri (on which see E. R. § 1), in which case Baal-zabul was a widely known divine name, adopted for the god of Ekron. The restoration of the final syllable -bi, however, is admittedly quite uncertain, and the reading Baal-sapuna (see BAAL-ZEPHON, 1) seems much more probable. Winckler, therefore, suggests that Zebub might be some very ancient name of a locality in Ekron² (no longer to be explained etymologically), on the analogy of Baal-Sidon, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Lebanon. No such locality, however, is known, and Ekron, not any locality in Ekron, was the territory of the Baal. It is, therefore, more probable that Baal-zabul, 'lord of flies' (which occurs only in a 'very late' narrative, one which has a pronounced dialectic tendency,³ is a contemptuous euphonic Jewish modification of the true name, which was probably Baal-zabul, 'lord of the

¹ Wi. *CT* 1:22, 225; Hommel, *ATF* 196, 255. Halévy has made a similar mistake (see next note).

² Halévy (*Rev. sem.* 123) thought that he had proved this, but in *Am. Tals.* 174, 16, to which he refers for an Ekronite Zebul, the right reading is Sapuna.

³ Kuenen, *Ond.* 1:409 (§ 25, n. 3).

BAAL-ZEPHON

high house' (cp. 1 K. 8:1, and Schrader's note in *OT*). This is a title such as any god with a fine temple might bear, and was probably not confined to the god of Ekron in the Panamun inscription of Zephah, 1:22, the god Kakkil bears the title *בֵּית שָׁפֹן*, 'lord of the house'. The second part of it strongly reminds us of *בֵּית שָׁפֹן*, the 'high house' of the god Manah (see BABYLON, § 8). 'High house' (*zēbul*) would at the same time refer to the dwelling-place of the gods on the *שָׁפֹן* or 'mountain of assembly' in the far north (see CONGRUATION, MOR. ST. OF). There is some reason to think that the Phoenicians knew of such a dwelling place. The conception is implied in the divine name Baal-Zaphon, 'Lord of the north' (see BAAL-ZEPHON), and in the Elegy on the king of Tyre (1:22, 2812 ff.), and the Semitised Philistines also probably knew of it. At any rate, the late Hebrew narrative, or, if we will, an early scribble, may have presented the application of such a title as 'Lord of the high house' (which suggested to him either Solomon's temple [1:22, 1 K. 8:1] or the heavenly dwelling of Yahweh [1:22, 1:26, 1:28, 1:28, 1:28]) to the Ekronite god, and changed it to 'Lord of flies', Baal-zabul. See BETHZEPHON. This explanation throws light on three proper names, JEZEBEL, ZEPHON, and ZEPHON, also on 1:26, 1:28, 1:28. The same term *zēbul* could be applied to the mansion of the moon in the sky (Hab. 3:1, We.) 1 K. 8:1.

BAAL-ZEPHON (בְּאֵל זֵפֹן), or, no doubt more accurately, Baal-Zaphon (בְּאֵל זָפֹן).

The name of a Phoenician god, formed like Baal-Gad, Baal-Hermon, and meaning 'Baal of the north'. Though not mentioned in *OT*, it is important as enabling us to account for certain ancient Israelitish proper names (ZEPHON, ZEPHON, ZEPHON), and also for the enigmatical reference to a mountain abode of the Elohim, situated 'in the recesses of the north' (1:22, 1:22; see CONGRUATION, MOR. ST. OF). The latter conception was evidently believed by Ezekiel (28:17) to be familiar to the Phoenicians, and is clearly connected with the divine name in question, which describes and designates 'the Baal whose throne is on the sacred mountain of the gods in the north' (Baethg. Beitr. 23:261). The Assyrian inscriptions contain several references to this god. A text of Esar-haddon speaks of Baal-sapuna as one of the 'gods of Eblir-nāri' (see E. R. 1:2, and more than one mountain-district may have borne the name of Baal-Zaphon). The chief seat of the god, however, must have been in the cradle of Mount Lebanon. Elsewhere (CORR. § 3) other texts are referred to in which Baal-sapuna is described as rich in copper, which appears to have been the case with Lebanon. Altogether we cannot be wrong in identifying Baal-Zaphon with Baal-Lebanon, 'the Baal of Lebanon'. The relation of this national deity of the Phoenicians to the Baal-Zaphon of Goshen requires separate consideration (see 2). On the question whether Baal-Zaphon was known under another of his names in Philistia, and even perhaps among the Israelites, see BETHZEPHON, § 2.

² *Βαλζεφών*, so most MSS, but many MSS *Βαλζεφών*; Vg. *Baalzephon* (*zephon* in Jer. OS; Targ. *זֵפֹן*, cp. Syr. *Be'el Sēphūn*; Arab. Walton, 'Safūn, the idol,' *safūn at-fāghāh*), a place near the point where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and opposite their encampment (Ex. 11:9 Nu. 33:7). The name is usually understood to point to a national Phoenician god of the

¹ This is akin to the theory of Movers, who makes Baal-zēbul ('Lord of the heavenly dwelling') originally a name of Saturn, a theory which lacks evidence.

² Targum-palestine III. (K. R. n. 267) speaks first of the mountains of Lebanon and then of the land of Baal-sapuna as far as the mountains of Amman.

³ E.g. *AF* 7:10, perhaps 1. This form also seems to be Hexaplaric (see the Bohemian version; the older Sabinic text has *mp* for *ph*).

BAANA

same name, but the Egyptians who mention a goddess Ba'dat-sapuna as worshipped at Memphis¹ connect this cultus, very significantly, with that of *Sapho*, a local god of Western Goshen (see *Griffith*, s. § 2). This divinity was, therefore, evidently not a Phoenician deity, her domain, at any rate, was either in or near the region of Goshen. Consequently the Ba'd whom this local Ba'dat or Belus implies was not also the Phoenician Ba'd Zephon, though whether he had an independent origin or not, cannot as yet be determined. Take most of the local names of Goshen, Ba'd Zephon (or rather see 14) — Ba'd Zaphon) is clearly Semitic.²

The honour accorded by the Egyptians to the consort of Ba'd Zephon, no doubt proves the importance of that town of Goshen. It is difficult, however, at present, to determine the situation of the place (see *Levy*, s. § 6). The expression 'before Ba'd Zephon, *near against it*' obscured in Nu 33:7 f. need not signify 'eastward of,' which in ordinary Hebrew would be the most natural meaning; it seems rather to indicate here some point not yet touched on the N. (for S. 2).

Such identifications as that with Hieropolis (Hierak, Ahiak (Neh. 10), etc.) had to be given up even before the situation of Goshen and Hieropolis was determined by Nool's excavations. For the value of more modern theories (Brugsch, *Ägypten*; Ebers, on the 'Mak' mountain, SW of Suez, Nakhle, on Lake Timsah, near Sheikh en-Nadih; see *Levy*, s. § 2).

1. *BAANA* (בַּנְיָה), probably = *BAANAH* [below]. *BAANA* [BA'NA].

1. b. Abihud (or perhaps better Abihudai; see *Abihud*, s. § 2). Solomonic priest in the temple of Jeruzal, 1 K. 1:2 (Ba'na [B], *azbana* [L]).

2. b. Hushai, prefect in Acher; 1 K. 1:3 (Ba'na [B], *Barana* [L]). His father, Hushai, is not in the well-known canon of David (2 S. 15:37). Cp. *Abihud*, s. § 2.

3. Father of Zibadai [L]; 1 K. 1:3 (Ba'na [L]).

4. 1 Esd. 5:8. Neh. 7:7, *BAANAH*, s. § 2.

5. *BAANAH* (בַּנְיָה), cp. Nabataean *בַּנְיָה* [2 S. 2:34].

6. *BAANA* [BA'NA].

1. b. Rimmon, a Beerothite, one of the murderers of Ishbosheth, 2 S. 2:17 (Ba'na [L], and in 11 Ba'na [L], *ba'na* [L]).

2. Father of one of David's horses, 2 S. 2:21 (Ba'na [L], *ba'na* [L]).

3. A leader (see *Levy*, s. § 2) in the great post-exilic list (2 Ch. 35:1, 2; 1 Esd. 2:2; *BAANAH* [B], *ba'na* [L]).

4. Signatory to the covenant (see *Ezra*, s. § 7); Neh. 10:27 (28) (om. L).

5. *BAANI* (בַּאנִי) [BA'NI], 1 Esd. 9:34 = *Ezra* 10:44.

6. *BAANIAS* (בַּאנִיָּא) [BA'NI], 1 Esd. 9:35, *AV* = *Ezra* 10:25, *BAANAH*, 7.

7. *BAARA* (בַּאֲרָה), a 'wife' of SHAHARIM (q.v.), in genealogy of BENAMIN (s. § 9, 3), 1 Ch. 8:3 (BAARA [B], *BAARA* [L]).

8. *BAASEIAH* (בַּאֲסֵיָּהּ), no doubt a textual error for *בַּאֲסֵיָּהּ*, see *MAASTAH*, a Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6:4 (25) (BAACA [B], *BAACIA* [L], *BAACIA* [L]).

9. *BAASHA* (בַּאֲשָׁה) or *בַּאֲשָׁה*, § 51 [cp. Ba. on 2 Ch. 16:1]. *BAACA* [BA'LI]; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 v. *BACANHC*; *EUSEB.* *BA'LI* occurs on the monolith inscription of

1. *Salt*, 41, rev. 1; cp. *WMM*, *As. u. Eur.* 315. The reading *Ba'li* (so Gosselin, Brugsch, etc.) is incorrect.

2. What Ba'd Zephon (at any rate the Ba'd Zephon of Goshen) signifies, is disputed. 'Watch-tower' (q.v.) it certainly does not mean. Gesenius (after Ebers), compared the Gk. *Topos* (originally a wind god), who was identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian *Sop*, *Sop* (Ebers, § 13), on the basis of the later confusion with the giant *Topos*. Quite inadmissible. Nor can the equation be supported by the informatic assertion that

1. 'Top' was a name of 'Sop' (cp. Renan, *Lib. Lett.* for 1873, p. 114). A much more reasonable explanation is 'master of the north', *Le.*, 'north point': Ba'd-Zephon was indeed near the north end of the Gulf. Others (e.g., Ebers) explain Zaphon as 'the north wind', this wind being important for the sailors on the Red Sea, who would make their orisons at the sanctuary of BA'LI-Zephon. In the name Ba'd-sapuna on Hamathitic territory (Dig. phil. III.), Hommel, *Mon.* 111, 255, *WMM*, *As. u. Eur.* 315. See also *ZAPHON*.

BABY, TOWER OF

Shalmaneser II is the name of an Assyrian king [1 K. 17:30, 20; *Schr.* A 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100]. The Assyrian king of Israel in succession to Nabal, whom he conspired against and slew at the Philistine town of Gath, afterwards killing all the rest of Jeroboam's family (1 K. 15:27 f.). The fact that the Philistines were able to resume war against Israel leads to the supposition that there had been a military revolution in which Baasha, one of Nabal's generals, was the leader (cp. *1 K. 15:27 f.*). This reign was marked by his energetic operations against Assyria (1 K. 15:27 f.). By building Ramoth (1 K. 15:27) Baasha had endeavored to shut off Jerusalem from intercourse with the outer world, and Assyria was saved only by the purchase and of Benhadad (cp. § 2), who had aided Israel under Nabal (cp. § 2). We know but little of his acts, or of his might (1 K. 15:27, 1 K. 16:1). He was one of the few kings who died a natural death. He was buried at Tadmor, which was still the royal residence (1 K. 15:27), having been made such by Jeroboam (see *Jerusalem*). Baasha was the head of the second dynasty, which was extinguished a later time by Zimri, in accordance with the word of Yahweh which he spoke against Baasha by Jehu the prophet (see *Jehu*, 2. b. *Humam*). The fate of the house of Baasha is Amos, as also that of Jeroboam (cp. *Nabal*, is referred to by later writers; cp. 1 K. 21:22, 2 K. 9:2). See *ISRAEL*, § 29, *CHRONICLES*, § 8, and, for his date, about 880 B.C., *CHRONICLES*, § 32.

1. *BABEL*, TOWER OF (Gen. 11:1-9). The story of the tower (Gen. 11:1-9) when its location had been filled up, is to this effect: 'All mankind had still one language, and kept together. On

one of their nomadic journeys they found a spot which suggested the adoption of a settled life; it was the plain of Shinar. Having no building material, they devised the plan of baking clay into bricks, and using bitumen for cement. They were the first city builders. Their design, however, was to build, not only a city, but also a stupendously high tower which should be at once a monument of their strength and a centre or rallying point that would prevent them ever being dispersed. Uneasy at their newly awakened activity, Yahweh came down to take a nearer view of the buildings, and then returned (to his lofty mountain abode, Ezek. 28:14) to take counsel with the sons of Elohim. This, he said, is but the beginning of human ambition; nothing will soon be too hard for man to do. Come, let us go down (together), and bring their speech into confusion. Hence arose the present variety of languages and the dispersion of mankind, and hence the name of the well-known city called Babylon.

This naive narrative, which is Yahwistic, probably comes from the same writer as the story of Paradise.¹

Both narratives present the same childlike curiosity about causes, the same strongly anthropomorphic and in some sense polytheistic conception of the divine nature (cp. 7, 6 f. with

2. *General* character.

1. We (*Held*, 1. 6.) suggests that *בָּבֶל* may be a contraction for *בָּבֶלְבֶּל*. Similar contractions are seen in the Phoen. *בָּבֶלְבֶּל* and *בָּבֶלְבֶּל* (from the Hebrew *בָּבֶלְבֶּל*). So is possibly a divine name and seems to recur in the names *Abishai*, *Amishai* (cp. *Anasai*) etc.; see *JERUSALEM*. It may also be the same as the god *בָּבֶל* mentioned in a S. Arab. inscription (cp. 7, 10 (29)). Its identification with a Palm deity *בָּבֶל* is open to question.

2. Cp. the tradition referred to in Jer. 41:9 (*ES* omits the name).

3. On the name (*בָּבֶל*), see *BABYLON*, § 1, and below, col. 411, 4, and § 6.

4. According to the non-critical view, the survivors of the Deluge made their way from the mountain on which the ark had rested to the land of Shinar (so *Sachs*, *Orig. Mon.* 155). The Deluge-story, however, makes Shem, Ham, and Japheth themselves the progenitors of the different sections of mankind, and has thus no need of the Tower-story. Even if such a narrative had been introduced into the Deluge-story, how could 'Shem, Ham, and Japheth' be called 'all the earth' (11:1)? See *We*, *CH* 11; but cp. *Stade*, *ZATW* 14 270 ff. [94].

BABEL, TOWER OF

§ 22); both, therefore, have in all ages given occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Plado (*De Confusione Linguarum*) thought that, to avoid 'the most supposing impiety,' the anthropomorphisms must be interpreted allegorically. It we are not prepared to follow him in this, we must once more apply the mythological key (see ADAM AND EVE, § 4).

It is perhaps the second *extant* chapter in the mythic chronicle of the first family that we have before us: the passage which originally linked the story of the Tower to that of Paradise has been lost (see NARRATIVE). It is clear, however, that the first men had not gone far from Paradise: they are still on their journeys 'in the east' when this ambitious project occurs to them (see CHRONOLOGY, § 13).

The narrative may be regarded in two aspects. While explaining how the city of Babylon, with its

3. Origin of diverse tongues.

gigantic terrace-temples, came to be built (see § 1), it accounts for the division of men into different nations, separated in abode and speech. Not to be able to understand one's neighbour seemed to the primitive men a curse (cp Dt. 28.49 for 513). It is not improbable that there was an ancient N. Semitic myth which explained how this curse arose. It is said that there are many such myths elsewhere,¹ and some of them (e.g., that reported by Livingstone from Lake Ngami, and that mentioned in the Bengal Census Report for 1872 to mention only two of the best attested) have a certain similarity to the Hebrew story. It is credible, therefore, that the N. Semites ascribed the curse of many languages to the attempt to erect a tower by which men might climb up 'above the stars of God' and 'sit on the mountain of assembly' and 'make themselves like the Most High' (Is. 14.14).

The old myth, like that which seems to underlie the story of Sodom (77), said nothing as to where the

4. Origin of Babylon.

town to which the tower belonged lay. When, however, through some devastating storm, one of the chief temple-towers of Babylon (see BABYLONIA, § 27) fell in remote days into disrepair, wandering Aramæan tribes may have marked it, and, connecting it with the 'babel' of foreign tongues in Babylon, may have localised the myth at the ruined temple-tower. 'Babel', they would have exclaimed, 'it was here that God confounded men's speech, and the proofs of it are the ruined tower and the name of Babel.'

It is remarkable that the polytheistic element in the old myth should have been so imperfectly removed.

5. Character of myth.

Even the writer who adopted and retold the story was still far off from the later transcendental monotheism. The changes which he introduced consisted in omissions rather than in insertions. Yahwé still has to come down to inquire; he still has to communicate the result to the inferior divine beings, and bring them with him to execute judgment; but, though he needs society, as ruler Yahwé stands alone: there is no trial of great gods, as in Babylon. It is also worth mentioning that the narrator's idea of civilisation is essentially a worthy one. No city can be built, according to these early men, without a religious sanction. Thus, as another myth appears to have said, is at once the beginner of forms of worship

and the father of Cain the city-builder (see CAIN, § 1). On the other hand, the idea that God grudges man the strength which comes from men, and tears human ambition, is obviously one of the 'beggarly elements' of ethnic religion from which Jewish religion had yet to disengage itself.

We have seen that there was not improbably an old N. Semitic myth of the interrupted building of a tower

6. OT form not Babylonian.

to account for the dispersion of the nations. Should such a myth one day be discovered in Babylonia,² it will certainly disappoint many persons by not mentioning the 'confusion of languages,' nor giving Babylon as the scene of the events, (1) because the Ass. *balulu* means 'tumble,' not 'confundere,' and (2) because the city of Babylon was regarded as of divine origin, and its name *Babel* was explained as *Bab-ili*, 'the gate of God,' or 'of the gods' (cp BABYLON, § 1). The latter reason is decisive also against the theory³ that the Sabylline story of the Tower of Babel and the cognate one of *Abdônus*⁴ rest on Babylonian authority. That two of the reporters of the story give the polytheistic of *theoi* proves nothing, for the plural was sufficiently suggested by the Hebrew narrative (7: 7). The non-biblical features of their version, though in one point (the object ascribed to the builders) probably an accurate reconstruction of the earliest myth, are of no authority, being clearly derived from the imaginative Jewish Haggada,⁵ which is responsible also for the part assigned by later writers to Nimrod (Jos. *Ant.* 1.12; cp Dante, *Inf.* 31.70-80).

Where was the tower referred to in the Hebrew

7. Site of tower.

narrative? Few scholars have declared this problem insoluble; but almost all have missed what seems the most natural answer. Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled about A.D. 1160, supposed it to be the mound called by the Arabs *Birs Nimrod*, which, he says, is made of bricks called *al-asfar*.⁶ This agrees with the Mishnah (*Ber. rabba*, par. xxxviii), and is probably implied in the strange gloss of Qm. 18.10a. In the sixteenth century Balbi and Ralph Fitch, and in the seventeenth John Cartwright, gave descriptions of the 'Tower of Babel' which are plainly suggested by the huge mass of brickwork, 6 or 7 m. W. of Bagdad, known as Tell Nimrud or 'Akarkuf' (see Del. *Tour.* 2.83; Peters, *Asyria*, 1. 383/4). Pietro della Valle in the eighteenth century perceived the great mound near Hillah called *Babel*, which, however, as Kussan has shown, represents the famous hanging gardens (see *Expositor*, §§ 483). In the nineteenth, C. J. Rich and Ker Porter revived the Birs Nimrud theory, and most scholars have followed them, largely influenced by Nebuchadnezzar's Borsippa inscription. No one has put this view so plausibly as J. P. Peters, in an article which appeared since this article was written (*JBL*, 1896, p. 103). The statements of the king are no doubt well adapted to illustrate the disrepair into which (see § 4) the tower originally intended must have fallen, even though they do not, as Oppert once thought, describe the 'confusion of tongues.' Let us pause upon them for a moment. They tell us that the temple-tower (*zikkuratu*) of Borsippa had 'fallen into decay since remote days,' and indeed that it had never been quite completed by its original builder. 'Rain and storm had thrown down its wall; the kiln-bricks of its covering had split; the bricks of its chamber were in heaps of rubble.' 'To restore it,' says Nebuchadnezzar, 'the great Lord Marduk impelled my mind.'

Borsippa, however, is not the place we should naturally go to for the tower. Babylon, and Babylon alone (which was always distinguished from Borsippa) must cover the site. The late Jewish tradition is of no value whatever: it grew up, probably, during the Exile, when Nebuchadnezzar's restoration of the 'temple of the

¹ See *EBD*, art. Babel, Tower of (Sayce), and cp Loken, *Die Traditionen*, 118-22.

² In a Babylonian hymn we find the god Bel identified with 'the great mountain whose top reaches to heaven' (Giesken, *Kosmos*, 218).

³ In the original myth there was no hyperbole. In the localised myth, however, the description 'whose top reacheth unto heaven' seems paralleled to a phrase in Dt. 1.28, and to similar descriptions of Egyptian obelisks (see Briggs, *Light under the Pharos*, 110) and Assyrian and Babylonian temple-towers (so Eglath-pileser: 'its temple-towers I raised to heaven,' Del. *Is.* *III* 162; and Hammurabi: '(the temple) whose top is high as heaven he built,' *KB* iii. 4, 126).

⁴ A popular etymology would connect *Babel* with *Abau*, *babel* much more easily than with Heb. *batal* (see Olshausen, *Lehrb.* § 189 a), as Bu. supposed in 1881 (*Ureisch.* 35). Onkelos on Gen. 11.9 gives *šāšā* for the *šāš* of MT.

⁵ The story as it stands is not, as Stade (*ZATW*, 1895, p. 157) and Gunkel (*Nb. 149*) hold, of course, on the ground of the supposed discovery in *TSR* 1.5 102 b, *KT* 1.29 b; cp Sayce, *HB. Lect.* 400) have held, Babylonian.

⁶ Gruppe, *Die griech. Kultur in Syrien*, 68; *ZATW* 9.154 181; *StA. ZATW* 15.157 161 168.

⁷ *Carm. Schilb.* 307 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* 1.43; Syme, *Chron. ed. Bland.* 21; *Enc. Chron.* ed. Schwanke, 1. c. Cp Bloch, *Die Quellen des J. Josephus*, 54 f. 170; Freudenthal, *Hebräer Studien* 128.

⁸ See *Isidore* 10.10.26 (Charles, *Isidore* 6.28 1.). The Arabic *ayyuran* comes through Aram. from Ass. *ayyuru*, 'kiln-bricks' (often); both words are used collectively.

⁹ For Sir H. Rawlinson's view, which differs from the views mentioned above, see G. Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, edited by Sayce, 171.

¹⁰ *KB* 3. 52-55; cp *COT* 1. 109 f.

BABI

BABYLON

seven lights of heaven and earth' was recent. In the *zikkurat* of the great temple E-sagila (see BABYLON, §§ 4, 5), represented, according to Hommel, by Tell 'Amran, we have the true tower of Babel. Nebuchadnezzar himself speaks of this tower in the Borsippa inscription. 'E-temen-an-ki,' he says, 'the *zikkurat* of Babylon, I restored and finished.' An account of this building has been given from a Babylonian tablet by the late George Smith. He tells us that 'the whole height of this tower above its foundation was 35,500, or 300 feet, exactly equal to the breadth of the base; and, as the foundation was most probably raised above the level of the ground, it would give a height of over 300 feet above the plain for this grandest of Babylonian temples.'¹ What vicissitudes this *zikkurat*, or its predecessor, passed through in early times, who shall say?

T. K. C.

BABI (Babī [A], 1 Esd. 5: 2; Ezra 5: 1, 6; 6: 1).

BABYLON. The word בָּבֶל (GAL BABYLON).

Babel, designating the city which, in course of time,

1. **Name, etc.** became the capital of the country known as Babylonia, is the Hebrew form of the native Bē-bēl ('gate of God,' or 'Gate of the gods'). The Accadian or Sumerian name, Ka-dingira, is a translation of the Semite Babylonia. Of the other names of the city, 'Em tu, 'Seat of life,' and B, or B, ka (translated 'house' or 'hollow') are among the best known. The existence of these various names is probably due to the incorporation, as the city grew, of outlying villages and districts. Among the places which seem to have been regarded, in later times, as a part of the city, may be mentioned Su-anna (a name sometimes apparently interchanged with that of Babylon itself); Te, which, though it had, like Babylon, a *palace*, or district of its own, is nevertheless described as being 'within Babylon'; and Suppattum and Latamm, apparently names of plantations ultimately included in the city.

The date of the foundation of Babylon is still uncertain. Its association in Gen. 10: 10 with Erech, Akkad, and Calneh implies that according to Hebrew tradition it was at least as old as those cities, and confirmation of this is to be found in the bilingual Creation-story (see CREATION, § 16 d), where it is mentioned as coeval with Erech and Nippur, two primeval cities, the latter of which has been proved by the excavations to date back to prehistoric times.

No detailed history of the rise of the city has yet come to light. Agum or Agum-kak (time about 1550 B.C.) speaks of the glorious shrines of Marduk and Zippatium, in the temple E-sagila,

2. **History.** which he restored with great splendour. About 862 B.C. Tukulti-Ninip, king of Assyria, took the city, slaying the inhabitants, and carrying a vast amount of spoil (including the property and dues of the great temple E-sagila) back with him to Assyria. Sennacherib, however, went farther than his predecessor. He says that, after having spoiled the city at least once, he devoted it to utter destruction. The temples, palaces, and city-walls were overthrown. The debris having been cast into the canal Arakhtu, that waterway was still further dammed up, and a flood in consequence ravaged the country. Esarhaddon, when he came to the throne, began the rebuilding of the city, restoring the temples with much splendour; and the work of beautifying them was continued by Samsu-šum-ukin and Asurbanipal, his sons, the former as king of Assyria, and the latter as his suzerain. Later, Nabopolassar continued the work; but it was left for his son Nebuchadnezzar to bring the city to the very height of its glory. Later still, Cyrus held his court at Babylon (Su-anna), where vassal kings brought him tribute and paid him homage. The siege of the place and the destruction of its walls by

Darius Hystaspis were the beginning of its decay. Xerxes is said (Herod. 1: 183) to have plundered the temple of Belus of the golden statue that Darius had not dared to remove, and Arrian (3: 6) states that he destroyed the temple itself on his return from Greece. He relates also that Alexander wished to restore this celebrated line, but renounced the idea, as it would have taken ten thousand men more than two months to remove the rubbish alone. Be this as it may, Antiochus Soter, in an inscription found at Birs-Nimrad, mentions having restored the temple E-sagila (the temple of Belus), showing that some attempt was made, notwithstanding Alexander's abandonment of the task in despair, to bring order into the chaotic mass of ruin to which it had apparently been reduced. The people of the great city had, in all probability, by this time almost entirely migrated to Seleucia, on the Tigris; but the temple services were continued as late as the third decade B.C., and probably even into the Christian era. The temple was still standing in 127 B.C. (reign of the Khazendad king Hyaspines), and had a congregation, who worshipped the god Marduk in combination with Ann, this twofold godhead being, apparently, called Anna-Bel. A small tablet, dated '270th year, Arsaces, king of kings,' records the borrowing by two priests of E-sagila (the temple of the goddess Gula at Babylon) of a certain sum of silver from the treasury of the temple of Bel. This date, which is regarded as Arsacidan, shows that certain temples, including the tower of Belus, remained, with their priesthood and services, as late as the year 20 B.C. (*Pale. Or. Record*, 4: 133).

Further north, about 50 miles south of Baghdad, on the east bank of the Euphrates, lie the ruins still identified by tradition as those of Babylon. These

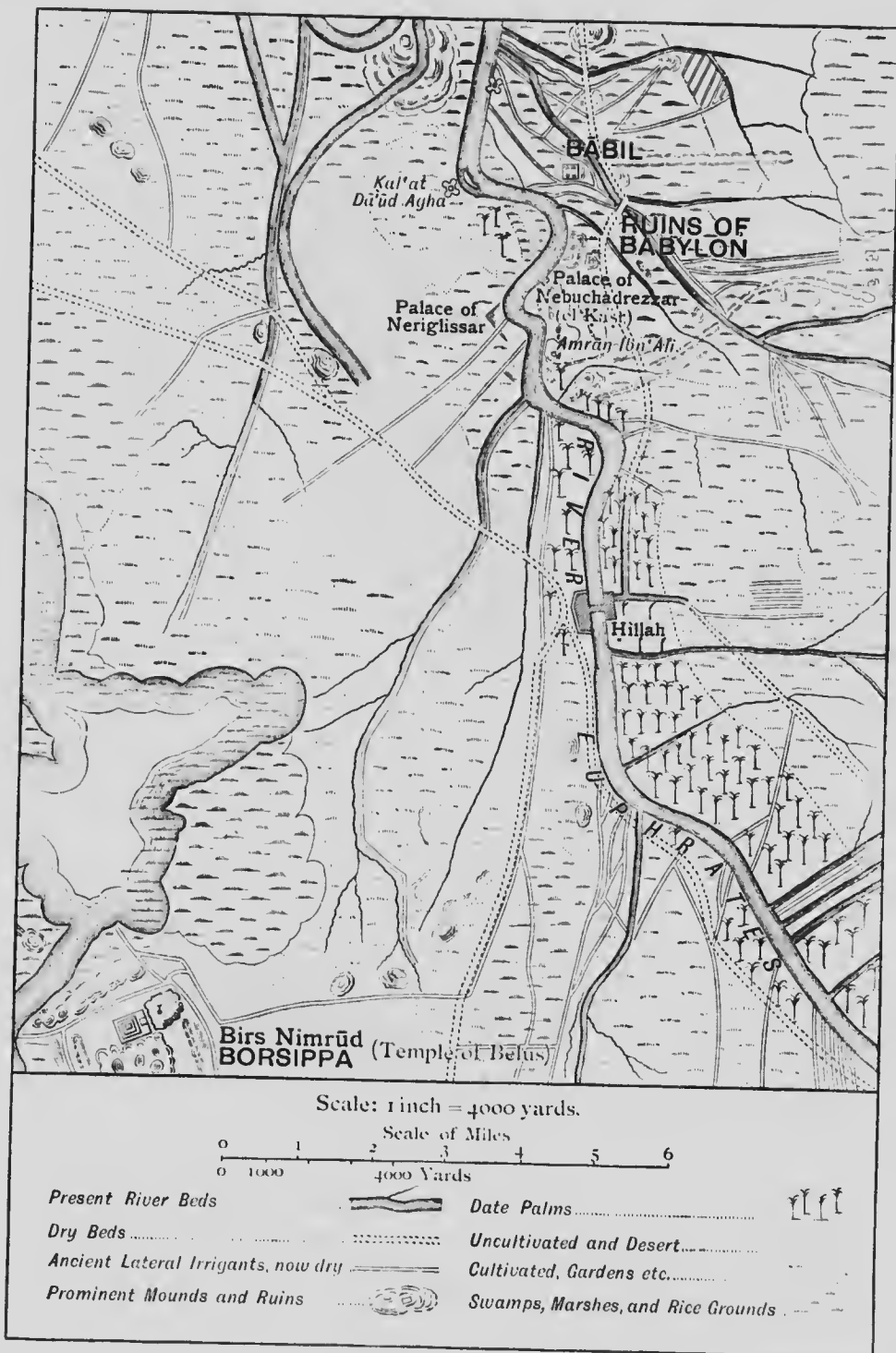
3. **Ruins.** remains consist of a series of extensive, irregularly-shaped mounds covering, from north to south, a distance of about 5 miles. Babel, the northernmost ruin, has, according to Am-south, a square superficies of 120,000 ft., and a height of 64 ft. The next in order is the Mujellibeh, of about the same superficies and a height of 23 ft. After this come two mounds close together, the *Isar* or 'palace,' and that called 'Amur-ubim' to the south of it. These two together have a superficies of 104,000 ft., and a height of 66 ft., or with the *Isar*, or stone monument, 113 ft. Most of these two mounds is enclosed within an irregular triangle formed by two lines of ramparts and the river, the area being about 8 miles' (1000 ft.). Other remains, including two parallel lines of rampart, are scattered about, and there are the remains of an embankment on the river side. On the W. bank are the ruins of a palace said to be that of Neriglissar.

According to Herodotus (1: 178-179), the city formed a vast square, 480 stades (55½ miles) in circumference.

4. **Greek descriptions.** Around the city was a large ditch of running water, and beyond that a great rampart 200 cubits high and 50 broad, there being on it room enough for a four horse chariot to pass, and even to turn, in addition to space sufficient for 50 chariots facing each other. The top, therefore, would seem to have resembled a kind of street. The wall was pierced by a hundred gateways closed with heavy gates. On reaching the Euphrates, which Herodotus says divided the city, it was met by walls which lined the banks of the stream. The streets were arranged at right angles. Where those which ran down to the Euphrates met the river-wall, there were gateways allowing access to the river. On each bank of the Euphrates,

¹ A confirmation of this occurs in the tablet Ba. 2.5.14, 6, which is dated in the year of Ashurbanipal (Alexander's 1st year), and refers to the removal of silver and gold from the temple of E-sagila (so to be read, according to the Accadian dialect), 'for the clearing away of the dust (rubbish) of E-sagila' (Oppen in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et belles Lettres*, 1893, pp. 414-415).

¹ See Sayce, *Hitt. Lett.*, App. ii.; but cf. Jensen, *Kosmos*, 492 ff.



THE SITE OF BABYLON

Compiled mainly from surveys by Jones, Selby, Bewsher, and Collingwood, 1845-65, with corrections to 1885 (published by the India Office). Small additions, etc., from Kiepert's 'Rumensfelder der Umgegend von Babylon' in *Zschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Ethnologie zu Berlin*.

BABYLON

were certain fortified buildings, the royal palace being on one side, and the temple of Belus on the other. The latter was a tower in stages, with an exterior winding ascent leading from stage to stage, and about half-way up a resting-place for the visitor. The top was surrounded by a spacious chapel, containing a richly covered bed and a golden table. None passed the night there, according to the priests, except a woman of the country whom the god had specially chosen. Lower down was another chapel containing a seated statue of Zeus (Bel-Marduk) and a large table, both of solid gold. Outside were two altars, one of them of gold; and it was here that the golden statue that was carried away by Xerxes formerly stood. Herodotus speaks also of the large reservoir, constructed, he says, by Queen Nitocris, and of the embankments and the bridge that she made, the last being a series of piers of stone built in the river, connected by wooden drawbridges which were withdrawn at night. Nitocris caused to be erected, over the most frequented gate of the city, the tomb which she afterwards occupied; but this, he says, was removed by Darius, who thought that it was a pity that the gate should remain unused, and coveted the treasure that she was supposed to have placed there, which he failed to find. The houses of the city, according to Herodotus, were three and four stories high. He does not mention the hanging gardens.

Ctesias (cp. Diod. Siculus, 27) makes the circuit of the city only 300 stades (11 m. 800 yds.). It lay on both sides of the Euphrates, which was crossed by a bridge at its narrowest point. The bridge was similar to that described by Herodotus, and measured 5 stades (3032 ft.) in length and 30 ft. in breadth. At each end was a royal palace, that on the E. being 1/2 more splendid. There was a part called the twofold royal city, which was surrounded by three walls, the outmost having a circuit of 7 m. The height of the middle wall, which was circular, was 300 ft.; that of its towers, 420 ft. The innermost wall, however, was even higher. The walls of the second enclosure and those of the third were faced with coloured bricks, enamelled with various designs. Among them were representations of Semiramis and Nimus slaying the leopard and the lion. The two palaces were joined by a tunnel under the river as well as by a bridge. Diodorus mentions the square lake, and describes the temple of Belus, which, he says, had a statue of Zeus (Bel-Marduk) 40 ft. high, and statues of Hera and Rhea (probably Zorpanium see SECCORI-BEROTI) and the goddess Damkina. He describes the famous hanging gardens, which were square, and measured 400 ft. each way, rising in terraces, and provided with earth enough to accommodate trees of great size. (For other Greek accounts, see (1) Arrian, *Anab.* 7.251, and Plut. *Al.* 7.4; (2) Diod. Sic. 27.10, Curt. Ruf. 5.124-35; (3) Strab. 16.15; (4) Diod. 19.100, 7 and Plut. *Demetr.* 7; (5) Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 125; to which may be added (6) Bérössus in Jos. *Ant.* x. 111, c. 19, 119f., and Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* 9.407 c. d).

The best native account of the glories of Babylon is probably that of the well-known king Nebuchadnezzar (KB 3b 20 ff.)—a ruler to whom the city owed much—who, indeed, may be said to have practically rebuilt it. The most important edifice to him was the temple of Belus (E-sagila, later called E-saggil or E-sangil), and with this he begins, speaking first of the shrine of Marduk, the wall of which he covered with massive gold, lapis-lazuli, and white limestone. He refers to the two gates of the temple, and the place of the assembly, where the oracles were declared, and gives details of the work done upon them. It was apparently a part of this temple that he calls E-temen-anak-ki, 'the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth,' and describes as the 'tower of Babylon' (*zikkurat Babilin*), stating that he 'raised its head' in burnt brick and lapis-lazuli

BABYLON

(cp. BABEL, Tower of, § 7). After referring to various other shrines and temples, he speaks of Ingur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, the two great ramparts of the city, built, or rather, rebuilt, by his father Nabopolassar, who, however, had not been able to finish them. Nebuchadnezzar goes on to describe what he and his father had done on these defences: the digging and bricking of the moat, the banking of the banks of the Euphrates, the improvement of the roadway called As-ban-Sabe, the elevation of which Nebuchadnezzar raised 'from the shining gate to the roadway called E-tar-sakipat-tebis-a,' and so on. In consequence of the raising of this street, the great city gates of the walls Ingur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel had to be made higher. They were at the same time decorated with lapis-lazuli and figures of bulls and serpents, provided with doors of cedar covered with bronze. Then, to strengthen the city still further, Nebuchadnezzar built, 4000 cubits beyond Ingur-Bel, another wall (with doors of cedar covered with bronze, surrounded with a ditch). To make the approach of an enemy to the city still more difficult, he surrounded the district with 'great waters' like unto the sea. After this he turned his attention to the royal palace, a structure which reached from the great wall Ingur-Bel to the canal of the rising sun, called Labalhegalla, and from the bank of the Euphrates to the street As-ban-Sabe. It had been constructed, he says, by his father Nabopolassar; but its foundations had been weakened by a flood and by the raising of the street. This edifice Nebuchadnezzar placed in good repair, and adorned with gold, silver, precious stones, and every token of magnificence, after rearing it high 'as the wooded hills.' Other constructions that he made were a wall 400 cubits long (apparently intended to serve as an additional defence to a part of the outer wall) called Nimitti-Bel, and, between the two walls, a structure of brick, surmounted with a great edifice, destined for his royal seat. This palace, which joined that of his father, was erected in fifteen days. After adorning it with gold, silver, costly woods, and lapis lazuli, he built two great walls around it, one of them being constructed of stone.

There is a substantial agreement between this description and the description of the Greek writers. E-sagila,

6. Native and Greek accounts.

'the high-headed temple,' is the temple of Belus; the palace constructed in fifteen days is that referred to by Josephus as having been built in the same short period (*Ant.* x. 111). Nebuchadnezzar does not refer to the reservoir mentioned by the Greeks; but we may recognise it in the 'great waters, like the mass of the seas,' which he carried round the district, and designed for the same purpose—namely, defence against hostile attack. The walls, Nimitti-Bel and Ingur-Bel, are the outer and inner walls respectively, and the latter may be that which, according to Herodotus (above, § 4), ran along the banks of the river. The hanging gardens are not referred to by Nebuchadnezzar, and it is therefore very doubtful, notwithstanding the statement of Ctesias, whether this king built them. Such erections were not uncommon in Assyria, and it is even possible that they were due to the initiative of a king of that country. In the palace of Asur-bani-pal at Kuyunjik, which was discovered and excavated by Rassam, was a room the bas-reliefs of which were devoted to scenes illustrating that king's Babylonian war, one of which shows a garden laid out on a slope, and continued above on a structure of vaulted brickwork, an arrangement fairly in accord with the description of the Babylonian hanging gardens given by Diodorus and Pliny; and it is noteworthy that the latter attributes them to a Syrian (Assyrian) king who reigned at Babylon, and built them to gratify a wife whom he loved greatly. This bas-relief was regarded by Sir Henry Rawlinson and George Smith as representing the hanging gardens at Babylon, and a neighbouring sculpture, which shows a series of fortified walls,

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three or more, as well as a palace, probably represents the walls of the city as they were in the time of Ashurbanipal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin, with whom he waged war. The palace has columns supported on the backs of lions.

A few additional details concerning the city are given by some of the many contract-tablets found on the spot. The city gates, some of the canals, and the streets and roadways seem to have been named after the gods.

7. Details from the contract-tablets.

We read of the gates of Zagaga, Ninip, and Šamaš, and of the canal Nar Baniṭum. Others of the canals received the names of the cities to which they flowed (e.g., the Borsippa canal, and the old Cuthah canal). The tablets confirm the statement of Q. Curtius that the houses of the city did not fill all the space enclosed by the walls, the greater part of the ground being apparently fields, gardens, and plantations of date-palms and other trees, sufficient to furnish all the provisions that the city needed in event of siege. There is no mention, in the native records, of a bridge across the Euphrates, such as is described by the Greeks; but a contract-tablet of the time of Darius seems to refer to a bridge of boats. There is no confirmation of the statement that there was a tunnel under the river.

There have been various conjectures as to the identification of the different ruins on the site of Babylon. Rich thought that the hanging gardens were represented by the mound known as Babil, and this is the opinion of Rassam, who found there 'four exquisitely-built wells of red granite in the S. portion of the mound.' They are supplied with water from the Euphrates, which flows about a mile away, and their depth is about 140 ft. Originally, he thinks, they were

about 50 or 60 ft. higher. Rassam regards Mujellibeh as representing the palace begun by Nabopolassar and finished by Nebuchadnezzar in fifteen days. Remains of enamelled tiles of various colours and designs are found, he says, only on that spot. The Kasr he takes to be the remains of the Temple of Ištar, though he frankly admits that there are many difficulties in the way of this identification. As the latest opinions carefully formed by one who has frequently been on the spot, they will probably be considered to possess a special value.

The two queens, Semiramis and Nitocris, to whom so many of the wonders of ancient Babylon are attributed, are not mentioned on the native monuments of the Babylonians, as far as we are at present acquainted with them.¹ In all probability, the explanation of this difficulty is that they suggested the erection of the works in question, and the reigning ruler (probably their husbands) carried them out. Only careful exploration of the sites can decide satisfactorily the real nature of each ruin—by whom it was built, or rebuilt, or restored—and the changes that it underwent in the course of ages. The discovery of the wells at Babil seems to place the nature of that ruin beyond doubt, though Oppert (*Comptes Rendus*, 1868, p. 420) thinks that its distance from the other remains is too great, in view of the fact that Alexander, when suffering from a mortal illness, was carried from the castle to the baths and the hanging gardens (Plut. *Alex.* ch. 76; Arrian. *Exp. Al.* 7.25). Much more may be expected from the German explorations.

There is a thorough article on the history and the topography of the city of Babylon in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenc. der class. Alterthumswiss.* ii. ('96). On the Babylon of the NT see PETER, EPISTLES OF, § 7, and cp ROME.

T. G. P.

BABYLONIA

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The country of Babylonia, called by classical writers Βαβυλωνία, takes its name from that of its principal city BABYLON (q.v., § 1). In the OT the city and the country are not sharply distinguished; both are frequently included under the

Hebrew בבל. In other passages the country is termed שִׁנְאָר, Shinar (see SHINAR), while in post-exilic times the whole nation are referred to as כְּשִׁדִּים, 'Chaldeans,' and the country as אֶרֶץ כְּשִׁדִּים, 'the land of the Chaldeans' (see CHALDEA). Among the Babylonians themselves there was no single name for the whole country until the third Babylonian dynasty (eighteenth to twelfth century B.C.), when the Kassite designation of a portion of the country as Karchumash was extended and adopted in the royal inscriptions as a general name for the country—a use of the term that was retained throughout the whole period of the nation's history. The whole of Babylonia could also be expressed by the double title Šumer and Akkad, which the Babylonians adopted from the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of the land, Akkad designating the northern half of the country and Šumer the southern half. The use of the former name was extended in the Neo-Babylonian period, and the word in such phrases as 'the king of Akkad' and 'the army of Akkad' was employed to designate the whole country. The terms *kibrat arba'im*, 'the four quarters,' and *kišatu*, 'the world,' which occur in the royal titles *šar kibrat arba'im*, 'king

of the four quarters,' and *šar kišati*, 'king of the world,' were employed to express extensions of the Babylonian empire beyond the natural limits of the country (cp MESOPOTAMIA).

The natural features that bound the country of Babylonia are the Persian Gulf on the S., the Arabian desert on the W., and the Tigris on the E., while the limit from Assyria on the N. may be placed roughly at the line where the slightly elevated plain to the N. changes to the alluvial level.

At the present day Babylonia in the S. differs considerably in size and conformation from the ancient aspect of the country. The soil carried down by the Tigris and the Euphrates is considerable, and the alluvium so formed at the head of the Persian Gulf increases to-day at the rate of about a mile in seventy years; moreover, it is thought by some that the rate of formation was considerably more rapid in ancient times. Thus in the early period of Babylonian history the Persian Gulf extended some 120 to 130 miles farther north than it extends at present, the Tigris and the Euphrates each entering the sea at a separate mouth. The country was thus protected on the S. by the sea, and on the W. by the desert which, using a few feet above the plain of Babylonia, approached within thirty

¹ On Sammuramat the wife of Ramman-nirari (or Addu-nirari) III., see ASSYRIA, § 12. Apparently the only queen who reigned in her own right was Azaga-Bau or Ištar-Bau, in whose reign (c. 1000 B.C.) the country was similar to those belonging to the time of Sargon of Achaë and his son were conquered. She belongs to a very early period.

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The principal cities of the country were situated in two groups: one in the north; the other in the south, nearer the sea. The southernmost city was

3. Cities. nearer the sea. The south-eastmost city was Eridu, the modern Abu-Shahrain, situated on the Euphrates not far from the ancient coast-line of the Persian Gulf. To the W. of Abu-Shahrain the mound of Mukayyar marks the site of the ancient city of Ur (see UR). Between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the NW. of Ur stood Larsam or Larsa, the modern Senkerah, and to the W. of Larsam the city of Erech, the remains of which are buried under the mounds of Warka. To the E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Shatt-el-Hid, the mounds of Telloh¹ represent the city of Sirpurla, or Lagas (as it was known in the later period of its history); the two cities, Isin and Mari, the sites of which have not yet been identified with certainty, complete the list of the principal cities in the S. Mesopotamia. The S. Mesopotamia of the

The N. group of cities consists of Balyion, situated on the Euphrates, near the modern town of Ullah (see BALLYON); Borsippa, marked by the mound of Birs-Nimrûl, not far from Babylon, on the SW.; Uthah, the modern Tell-İbrahim (see UTHAH), to the N. of Babylon; Sippar, the modern Abu-Hablah; the city of Kis, still nearer the metropolis; and Nippur, the modern Niffer (the southernmost city of the group), to the N. of the Shatt-en-Nil. The site of the city of Agadê, which was in the northern half of the country, probably not far from Babylon, has not been satisfactorily identified.

The present state of the country differs considerably from that presented by it in ancient times. All

4. Natural resources. ancient writers describe Babylonia as exceedingly fertile and producing enormous quantities of grain ; but at the present day long neglect of cultivation has rendered the greater part of it an arid waste, varied in the neighbourhood of the rivers by large tracts of marsh land. There are still visible throughout the country embankments and trenches which mark the courses of ancient canals, by which the former dwellers in the land regulated their abundant water-supply, which was not allowed to swell the areas covered by the swamps, but was utilised for the systematic irrigation of the country. The whole land, in fact, was formerly intersected by a network of canals, and to the systematic irrigation of its alluvial soil may be traced the secret of Babylonia's former fertility.

The principal products of the country were wheat and dates. The former gave an enormous return. The latter supplied the Babylonians with wine, vinegar, and a species of flour for baking; from the sap of the date tree was obtained palm-sugar; ropes were made from its fibrous bark, and its wood furnished a light but tough building material. Wine was also obtained from the seed of the sesame plant; and barley, millet, and vetches were grown in large quantities. In addition to the palm, the cypress was common; poplars, acacias, and pomegranates grew in the neighbourhood of the streams; but the cultivation of the vine, and of oranges, apples, and pears, was artificial. The enormous reeds which abound in the swamps were used by the Babylonians for the construction of huts and light boats and for facing round the fields.

The domestic animals of the Babylonians were camels, horses, oxen, sheep, goats, and dogs; while the lion, the wild ox, the wild boar, and the jackal were the principal wild animals found in the country; gazelles and hares were not uncommon; a great variety of birds

¹ Perhaps = Tell L3b.

haunted the marshes and the plains; and fish, principally barbel and carp, were abundant in the rivers.

The language spoken by both the Babylonians and the Assyrians is usually referred to as 'Assyrian'. It

5. Language, etc. belongs to the northern group of the Semitic languages, claiming a closer relationship to Phœnician, Hebrew (see III BRILW LANG. AGEL, SYRIAC, and the other ARAMIC dialects (see ARAMIC LANG. AGEL), than to the more southern group, which comprises the Sabœan or Hamaïritic, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic tongues. But while in its nominal and verbal formations it exhibits the Semitic idea of inflection from roots, and while those roots themselves are found in the other Semitic languages, it has been subjected to a stronger foreign influence and has assimilated, to an extent that is not met with in any other of the Semitic languages, a considerable body of non-Semitic words and expressions. The influence exerted by the previous inhabitants of Babylonia upon their Semitic conquerors was indelible, and throughout their whole literature, especially in their mythological and religious compositions, words of non-Semitic origin are constantly met with.

The language possessed the vowel sounds $\bar{a}, \bar{e}, \bar{i}, \bar{u}, \bar{o}, \bar{u}$ and the consonantal sounds $b, g, d, z, \bar{b}, m, n, s, p, \bar{s}, k, r, \bar{s}$, and t , representing the

[illegible]

The existence of the *e* sound in Assyrian has been questioned, and it is true that the signs containing *e* and *i* are constantly interchanged; but that the *e* sound was used, at least for a certain period, may be regarded as practically certain, for not only is it required to explain certain vowel-changes which occur, but it is also vouched for by the Greek and Hebrew forms of certain Babylonian words, and by the occurrence of some of the signs in the syllabary, the existence of which is more naturally explained by the supposition that they contain the vowel *e*, than by the assumption that they are merely duplicates for certain other signs which undoubtedly contain the vowel *i*. The pronunciation of the consonants is in the main the same as that of the equivalent consonants in Hebrew. With regard to the pronunciation of the consonants *k, g, d, k, p, and t*, it is possible that in Assyrian, as in Hebrew and Aramaic, they were pronounced as spirants when coming between two vowel sounds; in writing, however, no distinction is indicated. It may be noted, that, while the Assyrians made no distinction in their pronunciation of *k* and *g*, the Babylonians pronounced the latter as *g*; that among the later Babylonians, *t* and *m* appears to have been pronounced as *n*; and that the pronunciation of *š* by the Assyrians gradually approximated to *š*. The Semitic sounds represented by the Hebrew consonants *א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, ק, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, צ, ת* and *ש* are not distinguished in the Assyrian syllabary, as will be apparent from the following examples given in transliteration, the equivalent roots in Hebrew or Arabic being added in parentheses: *akālu*, 'to eat' (אָכַל); *aliku*, 'to go' (אָלַק); *elēshu*, 'to be alive' (עָלַם); *elēru*, 'to cross' (עָבַר); *erēbu*, 'to enter' (עָרַב); *alēdu*, 'to bear' (אָלַד); and *enēku*, 'to suck' (אָנַק). That these sounds were not distinguished is due to the fact that the Babylonians did not originate their own system of writing, but borrowed the system they found in use among the earlier inhabitants of the country.

This method of writing has been termed 'cuneiform,' since the wedge (Latin *cuneus*) forms the basis of the written character in the later periods.

7. **Writing.** written character in the later periods of its development. Each character or sign, in fact, consists of a single wedge, or is made up of different kinds of wedges in various combinations, the wedges of most common occurrence being the upright wedge , the horizontal wedge , and the arrow head , while the sloping wedges , , and occur in several characters. The characters are written from left to right, and, except in some poetical compositions, no space is necessarily left between the words; every line, however, with one or two isolated exceptions, ends with a complete word. The following Assyrian signs will serve to illustrate some of the methods of combination adopted in the formation of the later characters: , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , . In the earliest forms

of the writing, however, there is no trace of the wedge; the characters consist of straight lines. This is due to the fact that cuneiform was merely a descendant of a system of picture-writing.

In the case of many of the characters which occur in the most ancient inscriptions it is still possible to recognise the original pictures which underlie them. For example the sign for 'heaven,' 'god,' 'high,' is a star with eight points, or possibly a circle intersected by four diameters; the sign for 'sun' is a rough circle representing the sun's disk; the sign for 'ox' is the head of an ox with horns; the sign for 'grain' is an ear of corn.

All the characters, however, did not descend from pictures. Some were formed artificially by combination. Thus the sign for 'water' when placed within that for 'mouth' gave a new sign with the meaning 'to drink'; the sign for food placed within the sign for 'mouth' gave a sign with the meaning 'to eat'; the sign for 'wild-ox' was formed by placing the sign for 'mountain' within that for 'ox'; while other signs were formed by writing a character two or three times. Moreover, it is possible that the artificial formation of characters was customary to a considerable extent. According to a theory recently put forward by Heltzsch, certain strokes and combinations of strokes to be traced in the oldest forms of many of the characters had a meaning inherent in themselves, and formed the motive on the basis of which the signs containing them were developed. This question, however, is one on which it is impossible to form a conclusion until more of the inscriptions of the earliest period, recently discovered, have been published.

In the later forms which the characters assumed the original lines gave way to wedges from the fact that the scribes employed extensively soft clay instead of stone as a material on which to write. A line formed by a single pressure of the style naturally assumed the form of a wedge, while the increased clearness and uniformity which resulted secured for the wedge its final adoption. In addition to the changes which occurred in the forms of the characters, there was a development in their signification. Originally representing complete words or ideas, they were gradually employed to express the sounds of the words they represented apart from their meaning; and thus were developed their syllabic values.

The Babylonians adopted this method of writing from the non-Semitic race (see below, §§ 43-71 d) whom they found in possession of the country, and they adapted the system to their own idiom.

To characters or groups of characters representing Sumerian words they assigned the Semitic words which were equivalent to them in meaning; they also employed the signs phonetically, the syllables they represented consisting either of a vowel and a consonant (simple syllables) e.g., *ba, bi, bu*—or of a vowel between two consonants (compound syllables) e.g., *mat, kit, lul*. The system was further complicated by the fact that the majority of signs were polyphonous, that is to say, they had more than one syllabic value and could be used as ideograms for more than one word. A sign, therefore, might be used in one of three ways: as a syllable in a word written phonetically, or as an ideogram for a complete word, or as one sign in a group of two or more signs which together formed an ideogram for a complete word.

That this mixed method of ideographic and phonetic writing was often found ambiguous is attested by the methods which the Babylonians took to simplify it. (1) One of these methods consisted in adding to a word what has been termed its *determinative*, a sign attached to a word to indicate the class of thing to which it refers. Thus a special sign was placed before male proper names, another before female proper names; the sign for 'god' was placed before the names of deities; the sign for 'country' regularly preceded the names of countries; similar determinatives were used before the names of cities, mountains, rivers, tribes, professions, woods, plants, stones, garments, vessels, certain animals, the names of the months, stars, etc., while in a few classes the determinative is placed after the word, as in the case of places, birds, fish, etc. A determinative was never pronounced; it was designed only as a guide to the reader, indicating the character of the word it accompanied. (2) Another aid to the reader consisted in adding to an ideogram what has been termed its *phonetic complement*—that is to say, the final syllable of the word for which it is intended. By this means the reader is not only assisted in assigning the correct word to the ideogram, but also, in the case of verbs, is enabled to detect with greater ease the stem and tense intended by the writer. Even with this assistance, the writing, with its list of more than five hundred characters, was necessarily complicated. The use of ideograms was never entirely given up, and, although in the Neo-Babylonian period simple syllables were employed in preference to compound syllables, the Assyrians and Babylonians never attained the further development of an alphabet.

The decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions resulted from the labours of scholars who had previously devoted themselves to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions in old Persian.

From the sixth to the fourth century B.C. the Persians made

¹ *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1897).

use for their inscriptions of a character which they had borrowed originally from the Babylonians. Other nations of W. Asia, such as the Sumerians and the people dwelling around Lake Van, borrowed from Babylon the idea of cuneiform writing, in some cases making use of the Babylonian characters, in others modifying them to a greater or less extent. The changes introduced by the Persians when they borrowed the idea of writing by means of wedges were considerable, for, instead of employing a sign of several hundred characters representing syllables and complete words, they confined themselves to thirty-nine, each of which represented a single alphabetic value. Of the various systems of cuneiform writing, therefore, the Persian was by far the simplest. The Achaemenian kings who ruled in Persia at this period numbered among their subjects the peoples of Susa and Babylonia, these countries having by conquest been added to their empire. When, therefore, they set up an inscription recording their campaigns or building operations, they added by the side of the Persian text, Susian and Babylonian translations inscribed in the cuneiform characters employed by these two nations. There are thus engraved on the palaces and rocks of Persia trilingual inscriptions in the old Persian, Susian, and Babylonian characters, and it will be obvious that as soon as one of these three characters could be read the way would be opened for the decipherment of the other two. Of the three the Persian, with its comparatively small number of signs, is (as we have said) the simplest, and it was therefore natural that it was the first to attract the serious attention of scholars.

Grotefend, in a paper published in 1802, supplied the key to a correct method of decipherment. Taking two short inscriptions in the old Persian character which Niebuhr had copied at Persepolis, he submitted them to an analysis.

The inscriptions, he found, coincided throughout, with the exception of certain groups of characters, which, he conjectured, might represent proper names. On this assumption each inscription contained two proper names, the name of the king who set it up, and, it might be supposed, that of his father. But the name which occurred first in one inscription was the name which stood second in the other—that is to say, the three different groups of characters must represent the names of three monarchs following one another in direct succession. From the fact that the inscriptions were found in the ruins of Persepolis it might be concluded that their writers were Persian kings; and when he applied, by way of experiment, the three names Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, he found that they fitted the characters admirably. On his further deciphering the name of Cyrus he obtained correct values for more than a quarter of the alphabet.

Of the forty Persian signs, of which one is merely a diagonal stroke employed for dividing the words from one another, Grotefend's first alphabet included thirty. He subsequently suggested values for thirty-five characters; but he did not improve upon his original alphabet. He correctly identified *a, u, d, p, f, r, s*, and *z*; his values *kh, dh, th* were practically correct; and his *z* was not far off the correct value *b*. About 1222 St. Martin took up the investigation, working at the decipherment for the next ten years, but without much result; he identified *t* and *r*, however, and for the vowel *i*, which had been read as *u* by Grotefend, he gave the improved reading *y*. The characters for *m* and *n* were identified by Rask in 1826, and Burnouf in his memoir, published ten years later, identified *k, h, and z*, while his readings *g* and *gh* for two other characters were great improvements on the suggestions of Grotefend and St. Martin. In the same year Lassen produced his first alphabet, improvements on which he published in 1830 and 1844, in a few cases making use of the suggestions of Jaquet and Beer which had been published soon after the appearance of his first alphabet. He suggested correct readings for at least ten characters, and improved readings of some others. This final alphabet did not contain many incorrect identifications.

The scholar who did most, however, for the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions was the late Sir Henry Rawlinson. He first turned his attention to the subject in 1835, when stationed at Kirmanshah, on the western frontier of Persia. At that time he had only heard of Grotefend's discovery;

he had not seen a copy of his alphabet, and did not even know on what inscriptions it had been based. Thus he began the work of decipherment from the beginning. For his first analysis he took two short inscriptions similar to those used for the purpose by Grotefend, which yielded him the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. During the next year he had increased his list of names by the correct identification of Arsames, Ariamnes, Teispes, Achemenes, and Persia. It was not until the autumn of 1836 that he first had an opportunity of seeing the works of Grotefend and St. Martin. Then he perceived that his own alphabet, based as it was on longer inscriptions, was far in advance of the results obtained by them. In 1837 he copied the greater part of the long inscription at Behistun, containing the annals of Darius, and forwarded a translation of the first two paragraphs to the Royal Asiatic Society; but next summer, while at Teheran, he heard that Burnouf's publication had meanwhile anticipated many of his improvements. In the autumn of 1838 he obtained the published copies of the Persepolitan inscriptions, and with the help of the allied languages of Sanskrit and Zend, analysed every word in the inscriptions that had up to that time been copied. He then found that Lassen's alphabet confirmed most of his own conclusions; but he obtained assistance from it in the case of only one character.

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It will thus be seen that Rawlinson worked out the characters of the Persian alphabet for himself independently of his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was not on this achievement that he himself based his title to originality. He justly claims that, whereas his predecessors had succeeded only in reading a few proper names and royal titles, he had been the first to present to the world a correct grammatical translation of over two hundred lines of cuneiform writing. This translation was in the hands of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was being prepared for publication in 1839, when his duties in Afghanistan put an end to his studies for some years. It was not until 1845 that he found leisure to complete the work, in which year he published his memoir containing a complete translation of the whole Persian text of the Behistun inscription.¹

Now that he had completed the decipherment of the old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, Rawlinson turned his attention to the Babylonian cuneiform. A comparison of the third column of the Behistun inscription with the now known Persian text occurring in the first column was the starting-point of his studies, and in 1851 he published the text and translation of the Babylonian part of this inscription, at the same time demonstrating the fact that the Babylonian characters were polyphonous. The historical inscriptions on cylinders, slabs, and stelai that had been found in Assyria and Babylonia meanwhile afforded ample material for study, and other workers lent their aid in the decipherment. In the years 1849-1852 Hincks contributed papers to the Royal Irish Academy. His most important discovery was the determination of the syllabic nature of Babylonian writing. Subsequently Rawlinson, Hincks, Norris, and Oppert, while devoting themselves to the further interpretation of the historical inscriptions, classified the principal grammatical rules of the language, and so brought the work of decipherment to an end.

The earliest explorers of Babylonia did not undertake systematic excavation. They devoted themselves to surveying and describing the ruins that were still visible upon the surface. The most valuable memoirs on the subject are those on the site of Babylon compiled by Rich, who from 1808 till 1821 was the Hon. East India Company's resident at Bagdad. Systematic excavations were first undertaken in Babylonia during the years 1849-55, under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson assisted by Loftus and Taylor.

In 1854 Rawlinson excavated at Birs Nimrud near the Euphrates a few miles SW. of Hillah, a mound that marks the site of a great zikkurat erected by Nebuchadnezzar II. within the boundaries of the ancient city of Borsippa. Here, in addition to tracing the plan of the building, he found five cylinders recording Nebuchadnezzar's building operations. He also successfully excavated the mounds Kasr and Babil, to the N. of Hillah, within the site of ancient Babylon; and during the same period excavations were conducted at the mound of Niffer to the SE. of Hillah, marking the site of the ancient city of Nippur, and in S. Babylonia at the mounds of Warka, the site of Erech, Senkerah, the site of Larsa, and Mukayyar the site of Ur. While Rawlinson was carrying on these extensive excavations, the French furnished an expedition which was placed under the direction of Fresnel and Oppert, and during the years 1851-54 did valuable service, especially in surveying and describing the site of the ancient city of Babylon. In 1873 the Trustees of the British Museum again undertook systematic excavations, which were continued down to the year 1883 under the direction of their agent H. Rassam. Excavations were undertaken in the neighbourhood of Hillah, at Tell-Ibrahim, the site of the ancient city of Cuthah, and at Abu-Habbah, the site of Sippar, where exceedingly rich finds of tablets and cylinders were made. The various expeditions of George Smith and E. A. Wallis Budge resulted in the recovery of many Babylonian inscriptions. The French have obtained rich finds of sculptures and inscriptions of the early period at Tellah, in consequence of the exertions of the Sarren, who, since his appointment as French vice-consul at Bassorah (*Basra*) in 1877, has devoted himself to the thorough excavation of the mounds that mark the site of the ancient city of Sippara. The most recent excavations are those of the Americans at Niffer, which were begun in 1888; they were ably conducted by Haynes, and have only recently been discontinued.

With the exception of those at Tellah, the mounds of Babylonia, unlike those of ASSYRIA (*q.v.*, § 10), do not yield many sculptures or reliefs; but the excavations have enabled us to trace the history of the brick-built

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palaces and temples, while the finds—comprise votive tablets of stone and inscribed alabaster vases, building-inscriptions upon cylinders, and thousands of inscribed clay tablets, many of which are of great literary, historical, and scientific interest.

As the soil of Babylonia is alluvial, it is entirely without metals, and even without stone, both of which had to be imported from other countries.

15. Building.

This scarcity of stone had a considerable influence on the character of Babylonian architecture. The difficulties of transport prohibited its adoption as a building material except to a very small extent, and as excellent clay was obtainable throughout the whole of Babylonia, all the temples and palaces as well as private dwellings were composed throughout of brick. The bricks were of two kinds, baked and unbaked. The former, though merely dried in the sun, formed a serviceable building-material, and in some cases entire buildings are composed of them. The usual practice, however, was to build the greater part of the structure of sun-dried bricks, and then to face it with bricks dried in the kiln, the thin layer of harder material on the surface protecting the whole structure from rain and flood and change of temperature. Buildings of unbaked brick were often strengthened by thick layers of matting composed of reeds, while the interior structure of faced walls was in some cases strengthened at intervals by courses of baked brick. The bricks themselves vary considerably in size. Many of them were stamped with the name of the king for whose use they were made, which lends considerable aid in settling the date and history of many structures. For binding the bricks together two kinds of cement were employed, the one consisting of bitumen, the other of plain clay or mud, in some cases intermixed with chopped straw. The latter was used the more extensively, bitumen being employed only where there was special need of strength, as at the base of a building where injury from rain was to be feared (see BITUMEN). Conduits of baked bricks were employed for carrying off the water from the larger buildings (see also BRICK, § 4).

The principal building with the Babylonians was the *zikkuratu* or temple, consisting of a lofty structure

16. Temples.

rising in huge stages one above the other, composed for the most part of solid brick and ascended by a staircase on the outside; the image of the god to whom it was dedicated was placed in the shrine at the top. The remains of these temple-towers at the present day are covered by huge mounds of earth and debris, and thus it is difficult to trace their plan and estimate their original dimensions. The larger ones, however, have been examined at different times. That at Warka, which at the present day rises more than a hundred feet above the plain, measures some two hundred feet square at its base, and consisted of at least two stories. The temple at Mukayyar is built on a platform raised about twenty feet above the plain; it is in the form of a parallelogram, the sides measuring 108 ft. and 133 ft., and the angles pointing to the cardinal points. Only two stories are at present traceable, of which the lower one is strengthened by buttresses. The upper story does not rise from the centre of the lower, but is built rather at one end. There are said to have been trees on it, at the beginning of the century, of the chamber or shrine which may have originally contained the image of the god. The zikkurat at Nippur is of a somewhat similar construction. It is built in the form of a parallelogram, on the NW. edge of a large platform, the four corners also pointing to the four cardinal points. In this temple three stages have been traced, and it is not probable that there were more. In the later Babylonian period the number of stages was increased, as in the temple of Bel or Marduk at Babylonia, and that of Nabû at Borsippa, both of which were finally rebuilt with great magnificence by Nebuchadnezzar II. (see BABYLON, NEBUCHAD-

¹ See *J.R.A.S.* 10.

REZZAR). Rising on their platforms high above the houses of the city and the surrounding plain, these ancient temples must have been impressive, though in the early period they were entirely without ornament or colour.

The remains of but few Babylonian palaces have been unearthed, that at Telloh being the one belonging to the early period that has been most systematically excavated, while the finest example of the later period is the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon with its hanging gardens (see BABYLON, § 5.7.1). Of the domestic architecture of the Babylonians not many remains have been recovered.

The site from which the most examples of early Babylonian art have been obtained is Telloh, where

18. Art. excavations have afforded evidence of an art so highly developed that its origin must be set back at least 2000 years before the consolidation of the Semite kingdom of Babylonia (see below, § 5.4). Large seated statues, of diorite, of Ur-Tam and Gudea, carved in the round, stone slabs and plates sculptured in relief, small figures and carvings in marble, stone, ivory, and bronze, bronze and silver vessels, cylinder seals, and ornaments of various kinds attest the skill of these early Sumerian artists, who were the teachers of the Semites by whom they were eventually displaced.

At a later period the Babylonians ornamented the interior of their palaces and houses by covering the backwork with plaster, on which they painted; or they coated the walls with enameled bricks. The development of sculpture, however, unlike that of Assyria, was hampered by the lack of material in which to work, and it is not surprising that the carvings that have come down to us never approach the level attained by the reliefs of the later Assyrian kings.

Of the many thousands of Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions that have been recovered only a small proportion can be classified as literature in the strict sense of the term. Perhaps

19. Literature. the largest section of the inscriptions consists of the contract tablets, which throw an interesting light on the social and commercial life of the people, but in no single instance can be regarded as of literary value.¹ Similarly the many texts of a magical and astrological nature (see below, § 3.3.7), tablets containing forecasts and omens, tablets prescribing offerings and ceremonies to be performed before the gods (§ 3.0), can hardly take rank as literature, though their classification and study is leading to a more accurate knowledge of Babylonian religion and belief; while the great body of letters and despatches dealing with both public and private affairs, written as most of them are in a terse, abbreviated style, are worthy of study from a philological rather than a literary standpoint.²

When all these deductions have been made, however, there remains a considerable number of texts on the basis of which the Babylonians and Assyrians may justly lay claim to the possession of a literature consisting of both poetry and prose. The principal examples

20. Poetry. of Babylonian poetry are presented by the legends,³ the majority of which are written throughout in metre, by mythological and religious compositions and penitential psalms, many of which are composed in Sumerian with interlinear Assyrian translations, and by the many prayers, hymns, incantations, and litanies

which occur on tablets by themselves, or are preserved in the ritual texts interspersed with directions for the performance of ceremonies.⁴ It has long been recognised that Babylonian poetical compositions, like those of the Hebrews, are written in a rough metre consisting of verse and half-verse, the Babylonian scribes frequently emphasising the central division of the verse in the compositions they copied by writing its two halves in separate columns. More recently it has been pointed out⁵ that in many compositions, in addition to this central division, each verse is divided by a definite number of accented syllables or rhythmical beats.

The feet or divisions so formed do not contain a fixed number of syllables, but consist of a single word or of not more than two or three short words closely connected with each other, such as prepositions and the substantives to which they are attached, words joined by the construct state, etc., the metre in some tablets being indicated by blank spaces left by the scribe. The commonest metre is that consisting of four divisions, in which the two halves of the verse are each subdivided; but this, in many texts, especially in some of the prayers, is interrupted at irregular intervals by a line of only three feet.

In many of the legends, moreover, the single verses are combined both by sense and by rhythm into strophes consisting of four or two lines each.

The best examples of Assyrian and Babylonian prose are the longer historical inscriptions belonging to the later periods. This class of inscription demands a more detailed treatment.

21. Historical inscriptions. Apart from its literary value, it is the principal source of our knowledge of the history of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves, and supplements and supports in many particulars the biblical narrative of the relations of Israel and Judah to their more powerful neighbours.

Unlike all other classes of inscriptions, which were written with a style on tablets made of clay, the historical inscriptions assume a variety of forms. The shortest form consists merely of a king's name and titles, which are stamped or inscribed on bricks built into the structure of a temple or palace which he had erected or restored. In some cases the actual stamps that were used for this purpose have been recovered. Similar short inscriptions were engraved during the old Babylonian period on door-sockets of stone. Another class of short inscription records the dedication of temples on their erection or when they have been rebuilt; these are frequently written on clay cones fashioned in the form of pegs or nails, which may very possibly have had a phallic significance. The cones of Gudea and Ur-Bau are those most frequently met with, while clay cones of different shapes were engraved by Msh-Babbar, patesi of Isan, Sin-gasid, Kudur-Mabug and other early Babylonian kings; cones of bronze, ornamented with the figure of a god clasping the thicker end, have also been found at Telloh. Dedicatory inscriptions were also written on circular stones, perforated through the centre; when these are small they are usually described as 'mace-heads'; but the use to which the larger ones were put has not been ascertained. The 'mace-heads' of Sargon I., Manishtush, and Naram-Sin are good examples of the former class. Small square tablets of diorite, but more commonly larger oblong tablets of limestone inscribed on both sides, were employed for votive inscriptions; those of Rim-Aku and of his wife, of Hammu-rabi and of Samsu-iluna, are particularly fine examples of this class of inscription. In the later Babylonian period, when such a votive inscription of an early Babylonian king was found in the ruins or ancient archives of a temple, a pious Babylonian would frequently have an accurate copy of it made in clay.

¹ See IV. R.; Haupt, *Akk. und sum. Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881-2); Zimmern, *Bab. Inschr.* (Leipzig, 1895) and *Surphu* (Leipzig, 1896); Brunnow, *Z.A.F.*; Knudtzon, *Assyr. Geb. an den Sonnengott* (Leipzig, 1893); Tallqvist, *Magin* (Leipzig, 1895); King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery* (London, 1896); and Craig, *Rel. Texts* (Leipzig, 1895-7).

² Zimmern, *Z.A.F.* 8 and 10.

¹ See Oppert and Menant, *Documents juridiques* (Paris, 1877); Strassburger, *Bab. Urte* (Leipzig, 1899, etc.); Meissner, *Beitr. zum altbab. Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893); and *K.B.*

² See Budge and Beaulieu, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets* (London, 1892); Herold, *Oriental Diplomatik* (London, 1893); *K.B.* 5; Del. Reiss. 2, *Assyr.* 1; and K. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1892, etc.).

³ See George Smith, *Chaldean Genesis* (London, 1880); IV. R.; Haupt, *Bab. Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1874); E. T. Harper, *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 2; Jeremias, *Isidubar Nimrod* (Leipzig, 1891); Jensen, *Kosmologie* (Strassburg, 1890); Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung* (Göttingen, 1895); and Del. *Abh. d. Königl. Sachs. Gesells. d. Wiss.*, Bd. 17, n. 2 (190).

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which he placed as an offering in one of the temples in Babylon. Several archaic inscriptions have thus been preserved in Neo-Babylonian copies. The famous stone tablet recording the endowment of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar by Nabopolassar, which was found in a clay collar with the sculptured portion protected by clay shields provided for it by Nabopolassar nearly three hundred years after it was engraved, is unique.

Clay vases and bowls were employed by some of the Assyrian kings for recording their building operations, the inscriptions running in parallel lines round the outside, while vases of alabaster which were presented to the temples frequently bore the name and titles of the king who dedicated them. Inscriptions on statues are not frequently met with in the later periods of Babylonian and Assyrian history, the short inscriptions on the statues of Ashurnasir-pal, the longer inscription on the seated figure of Shalmaneser II., and those on the two large figures of the god Nebo, being the principal examples; at Tell-oh, however, long inscriptions of the non-Semitic kings Gudea and Ur-Bin are found engraved on their statues of diorite. Slabs of stone, marble, and alabaster were employed for longer historical inscriptions. These were sometimes treated as tablets and engraved on both sides, as in the memorial tablets of Rammam-nari I.; but more frequently they were intended as monuments, and set up in the palaces of the kings who made them; parts of many are decorated with sculpture, and in some instances with portraits in relief of the king whose deeds they record. The later Assyrian kings also engraved their records on the colossal winged bulls and lions that flanked the entrances to their palaces, and by the side of, and even upon, the bas-reliefs which lined their walls. In some places on the borders of Assyria, as in the district of Lebanon and at the source of the Tigris, inscriptions to record the farthest point reached by some military expedition were engraved in the living rock.

Clay, however, was the material most extensively employed, and for the longer historical inscriptions

22. Clay prisms, etc. some form of prism or cylinder was found to offer the greatest amount of surface in the most compact form; the two earliest prisms that have been discovered are those of Gudea, each of which contains about two thousand lines of writing.

The annals of several of the Assyrian kings also were inscribed on clay prisms, good examples of which are the four eight-sided prisms¹ of Tiglath-pileser I. (see ASSYRIA, § 22), the famous six-sided Taylor prism² of Sennacherib, which contains an account of his siege of Jerusalem (see SENECAHERIB), the six-sided prism³ of Esarhaddon (q.v.), and the fine ten-sided prism⁴ of Ashurnasir-pal.

Small barrel-cylinders were employed by some of the Assyrian kings, including Sargon, Esarhaddon, Ashurnasir-pal, and Sinsariskun, and larger ones, containing accounts of his first three campaigns, by Sennacherib. Barrel-cylinders, however, are principally associated with the later Babylonian kings. Most of them contain accounts of the building operations of NERICHADREZZAR II. (q.v.) and Nabonidus. The two finest barrel-cylinders that have been recovered are those of Cyrus (see below, § 62), describing his taking of Babylon (539 B.C.), and of Antiochus-Soter (280-270 B.C.), recording his rebuilding of the temple of E-zida in Borsippa.

Large clay tablets with one, two, or three columns of writing on each side were employed for long historical inscriptions. Among the best examples are the tablets of Tiglath-pileser III., which were found in the SE. palace at Nimrud, the tablet of Esarhaddon inscribed with his genealogy and an account of his building operations, the tablet giving an account of Ashurnasir-pal's accession to the throne of Assyria, and of the installation of his brother as viceroy of Babylon, and those recording Ashurnasir-pal's conquests in Arabia and Elam, his campaigns in Egypt, and the embassy of Gyges, king of Lydia.

The Assyrians and Babylonians themselves were ardent students of their own literature, compiling catalogues of their principal literary com-

23. Research. positions, and writing explanatory tablets and commentaries on many of the more difficult texts. Their language itself and their method of writing

¹ Translation in *KB* 14-48. ² Translation in *KB* 280-113.
³ Translation in *KB* 2124-143. ⁴ Translation in *KB* 2152-236.

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were studied in detail, archaic forms of characters being collected into lists and traced back to the pictures from which they originally sprang. Syllabaries giving the values of the characters in Sumerian and then Assyrian names and meanings, were compiled. Collections of grammatical paradigms for every class of tablet were made for the use of beginners; examples of verbal formations were collected and classified; and explanatory lists of ideographs were made, arranged in some instances according to the forms of the characters with which they began or ended, in others according to the meanings or roots of their Assyrian equivalents. Perhaps the most interesting of the grammatical lists are the lists of synonymous words, which served the purpose of a modern dictionary.

The most notable scientific achievements of the Babylonians were their knowledge of astronomy and their method of reckoning time.

24. Astronomy.

These two achievements are to a great extent connected with each other, for it was owing to their astronomical knowledge that the Babylonians were enabled to form a calendar. From the earliest times, in fact, the Babylonians divided the year into months, partly of thirty and partly of twenty-nine days, and by means of intercalary months they brought their lunar and then solar year into harmony with each other. Their achievements in astronomy are the more remarkable as their knowledge of mathematics was not extraordinary; though we possess tablets containing correct calculations of square and cube roots, most of their calculations, even in the later astronomical tablets, are based principally on addition and subtraction.

Herodotus and other ancient writers concur in tracing to Babylonia the origin of the science of astronomy, as known to the ancient nations of Europe and W. Asia. In more recent times some scholars have asserted, with less probability, that Indian and Chinese astronomers also obtained their knowledge, in the first instance, from Babylonia. That the Babylonians themselves took astronomical observations from the earliest periods of their history is attested by general tradition; and, though the forms this tradition assumed sometimes exhibit extraordinary exaggeration, as in the calculations referred to by Pliny, according to one of which the Babylonians possessed records of astronomical calculations for 490,000 years, and according to another for 720,000 years, there is not sufficient reason for rejecting the tradition as having no substratum of truth, and it is not improbable that the Babylonians, even before the era of Sargon I., were watching the stars and laying the foundations of the science. The first observations naturally belonged rather to the practice of astrology and can hardly be reckoned as scientific, and it is not until the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history that we meet with tablets containing astronomical as opposed to astrological observations.

The Assyrians made their observations from specially constructed observatories, which were 'not improbably connected with the temples; the observatory was termed a *bit lamatti*, or 'house of observation'; and we possess the reports of the astronomers sent from these observatories to the king recording successful and unsuccessful observations of the moon, the unsuccessful observation of an expected eclipse, the date of the vernal equinox, etc. The astronomers, as a rule, sign their names in the reports, and from this source we know that there were important astronomical schools at Asur, Nineveh, and Arbēla in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C.; the many fragments of tablets containing lists of stars, observations, and calendars, which date from the same period, are, however, of an astrological rather than a scientific character.

Although we first meet with astronomical inscriptions on Assyrian tablets, it is probable that the Assyrians derived their knowledge originally from Babylonia, and we may see an indication of this origin in a fragment of

an Assyrian commentary referring to an astronomical inscription which had been brought to Assyria from the ancient city of Agade. At a later period there were important schools of astronomy in Babylonia, at Sippar, Borsippa, and Uruk, but it is from inscriptions obtained from the site of the first of these three cities alone that our knowledge of Babylonian astronomy is principally derived. Excavations undertaken at Abi-Bablah, the site of Sippar, resulted in the discovery of many fragments of astronomical tablets (belonging principally to the Seleucid and Arsacid eras) written in the later cursive Babylonian; and these, though in but few instances unbroken, have sufficed to vindicate the scientific character of Babylonian astronomy. Though the Babylonians may have had no correct conception of the solar system, they had, at least in the later period of their history, arrived at the conclusion that the movements of the heavenly bodies were governed by laws and were amenable to calculation; and from the tablets we gather that they both observed and calculated the time of the appearance of the new moon, and the periodical occurrence of lunar and solar eclipses, that they noted the courses of the planets, and that they included in their observations certain of the principal constellations and fixed stars.

As in all primitive religions, the gods of Babylonia were in their origin personifications of the forces of nature. The various phenomena of the world were not regarded as the result of natural laws. They were explained as due to the arbitrary action of mysterious beings of more than human power. The tempest with its thunder and lightning was mysterious — it must therefore be the work of a god; the light of the sun is the gift of the god, to whose unwearying exertion its movements in heaven are due; heaven itself is a realm as solid as the earth on which men walk; and each must be controlled by its own peculiar deity. In fact, Babylonian religion was a worship of nature in all its parts, each part the province of a deity, friendly or hostile to man, subject to human passions, and, like man, endowed with the powers of thought and speech. Many of the gods resembled mankind in having human bodies; some resembled animals; and others were monsters, partly man and partly beast. They differed from man in the possession of superhuman powers; but no one deity was all-powerful. The authority, even of the greater gods, was specialised, and beneath them were a host of demons endowed with various qualities, but of more narrowly limited influence.

Such is the general character of the Babylonian pantheon regarded as a whole; but it was not in the mass that the Babylonians themselves worshipped their gods, and this fact serves to explain the varying theology presented by the Babylonian religious texts. Every city, for example, had its own special god (cp § 68), who was not only the god of that city but also, for its inhabitants, the greatest of the gods; so too in the temple of any god a worshipper could address him in terms of the highest praise, and ascribe to him the loftiest attributes, without in any way violating the canons of his creed, and with no danger of raising the jealousy or wrath of other deities. In fact, in the Babylonian system, there was no accurately determined hierarchy, and the rank and order of the various deities was not strictly defined, but varied at different periods and in the different cities throughout the land. The tolerant nature of the Babylonian deities and the elasticity of their character explain the ease with which foreign deities were adopted and assimilated by the pantheon, while the origin of this elasticity may be traced back to the mixture of races from which the Babylonian nation sprang.

In spite of the varying nature of the Babylonian pantheon, it is still possible to sketch the general character and attributes of the principal Babylonian

deities. At the head of the pantheon, from the earliest period, stood a powerful triad consisting of Anu, the god of heaven, Bel, the god of the earth, and Ea, the god of the abyss and of hidden knowledge. Next in order comes a second triad, comprising the two chief light gods and the god of the atmosphere: i.e., Sun, the Moon-god, Samaš, the Sun-god, and Ninurta, the god of storm, thunder and lightning, clouds and rain. All of these gods had their own cities, which were especially devoted to their worship. Thus the worship of Anu was centred at Erek, that of Bel at Nippur, and that of Ea at Uruk; the oldest seat of the worship of Sun was Ur, though in Harran also there was an important temple of the Moon-god; and the cities of Larsa and Sippar were the principal centres of the Sun-god's worship. The city-god of Babylon was Marduk, whose importance in the pantheon increased as that city became the capital of the country, until in process of time he came to be identified with Bel, 'the lord' *par excellence*. The nearness of Borsippa to the capital explains the close connection of Nabu, its city-god, with Marduk, whose attendant and minister he is represented to have been.

The god Ninkil, whose name is read by some as Adur, was of solar origin; the fire-god, who plays an important part in the magical beliefs and ceremonies of the Babylonians, was Ninsin; and the god of battle was Nergal, the centre of whose worship was at Cuthah. The Babylonian goddesses were in most cases of minor importance — they were overshadowed by the male deities with whom they were connected, and the principal function of each was to become the mother of other gods. In some cases their very names betray their secondary importance, as in that of Anatu, the spouse of Anu, and that of Belit, the spouse of Bel. The spouse of Ea was Damkina; Ningal was the lady of the Moon-god, Ai of Samaš, Sala of Ninurta, Tasmetu of Nabu, Gula of Ninkil, and Laz of Nergal.

The relationships of the gods to one another are not accurately determined, in some cases contradictory traditions having been handed down; Sin, Samaš, and Ninkil, however, were regarded as the children of Bel, though Samaš also passed as the son of Sin and Ningal, Marduk as the son of Ea, and Nabu the son of Marduk.

On a different plane from the other goddesses stands Ishtar, one of the most powerful deities in the pantheon. She appears in two distinct characters, under which she assumes different titles, and is credited with different genealogies. As the goddess of love she was hailed as Ammattu, the daughter of Sin and Ningal, and was worshipped at Agade and at Sippar of Ammattu; as the goddess of war she was termed Belit-ilani, the daughter of Anu and Anatu, and the chief seat of her worship was the temple of E-sana at Erek; it was here that the unchaste rites, referred to by Herodotus as having been paid to the goddess Mylitta, with whom Ishtar is to be identified, were performed. Her name was connected in legend with Dumuzi or Tammuz, her youthful lover, on whose death, it is related, she descended to the lower world to recover him.

The conception of the Babylonian deities as actual personalities endowed with the bodies and swayed by the passions of mankind, and related to one another by human bonds of kindred, was not inconsistent with the other and more abstract side of their character which underlay and was to a great extent the origin of the human attributes with which they were credited. Thus, the return of Tammuz and Ishtar to earth was the mythological conception of the yearly return of spring. Moreover, as each force in nature varies in its action at different seasons, so each of its manifestations may be connected with a separate deity. The attributes of several gods can thus be traced to a solar origin. Whilst Samaš represented the sun in general, special manifestations of his power were connected with other deities; Nergal, the god of war, for example, represents

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the sun's destructive heat in summer and at noon-day. Nimb the sun on the horizon at sunrise and sunset, and Marduk, the special friend of man, its temperate lord in the morning and in spring. The apex of the heavens at night also plays a considerable part in the origin of the gods of Babylonia. Thus each of the planets was connected with one of the greater gods; the fixed stars represented lesser deities, and Bel and Ea, though ruling the earth and the abyss, also had astrological characters in virtue of which they divided with Anu the control of the sky.

The worship of their deities by the Babylonians was attended by a complicated system of ritual and ceremony.

27. Temples.

It formed one of the most important aspects of the national life, and, as their temples were the largest of their buildings, so the priests were the most powerful class in the community. In each city the largest and most important temple was that devoted to the city-god. Thus the chief temple at Babylon was Es-agila, the centre of the worship of Marduk, the great temple at Borsippa was Ezida, the temple of Nabu; the principal temple at Sippar was E-kur, the centre of Bel's worship; and Eshlul the temple of the Moon god at Harran, E-harra the temple of Samas both at Sippar and at Larsa, and Eanna the temple of Ishtar at Erech, were the principal temples in each of these cities. Situated on a lofty platform and rising stage upon stage, these zigzags or temple-towers dominated the surrounding houses, and were more imposing than the royal palaces themselves. At the summit of each the image of the god rested in his shrine, and around its base clustered the temple offices and the dwellings of the priests. To each temple was attached a trained and organised priesthood, devoted exclusively to the worship of its god, and preserving its own ritual and body of tradition. The temples were under the direct patronage of the kings, who aided themselves on the rebuilding and restoration of their fabrics as much as on the successful issue of their campaigns, while the priesthoods were supported by regular and appointed offerings in addition to the revenues they drew from the lands and property with which the temples were endowed. The

28. Priests.

influence of the priests upon the people was exerted from many sides, for not only were they the god's representatives, whose services were required for any act of worship or intercession, but they also regulated and controlled all departments of civil life. They represented the learned section of the nation, and in all probability the scribes belonged entirely to the priestly class. They composed and preserved the national records, and although some of the later Assyrian kings collected libraries in their palaces, this was probably accomplished only with the co-operation of the priesthood and by drawing on the collections of tablets preserved in the great temples throughout the country.

A still more powerful influence was exerted by the priests on the common people in connection with their social life and commercial transactions, inasmuch as the administration of the law was in their hands.

The religious functions discharged by the priesthood were twofold. On the one hand, they carried out the regular sacrifices and services of the temple to which they were attached; on the other, they were always at the service of any one who wished to present an offering or make intercession in his own behalf. In their former capacity they celebrated regular feasts in every month as well as the great festivals of the year, such as the New Year; in the latter their ministrations were more personal, and consisted in introducing the individual suppliant into the presence of the deity and performing for him the necessary rites.

29. Claims of religion.

Every Babylonian had his own god and goddess, to whose worship he dedicated himself. They, in return, were his patrons and protectors. When any misfortune happened to

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him it was a sure sign that his god and goddess were angry and had removed from him their countenance and protection, and in such a predicament he would have recourse to the temple of one of the greater gods, whose influence he would invoke for his restoration to the favour of his patron deities. The protection of his god and goddess were necessary to preserve a man from the spiritual dangers that surrounded him, for he believed that on every side were evil gods, spirits, demons, and spectres, who were waiting for any opportunity he might give them to injure him. Any sickness or misfortune, in fact, he regarded as due to a spell cast upon him which had its origin in one of several causes. It might be the result of an act of sin or impurity committed by him with or without his own knowledge; or it was the work of an evil spirit or demon; or, finally, it was due to the machinations of a sorcerer or sorceress. Whatever its cause, his only hope of recovery lay in recourse to the priests, through whom he could approach one of the gods.

From the carvings on Babylonian cylinder-seals we know the attitude that the suppliant must assume when

30 Religious observances.

led into the presence of the god. He is represented as standing with both hands raised before him, or, with one hand raised, he is being led forward by the priest, who grasps the other. The penitential psalms and incantations preserved on tablets from the library of Asur-bani-pal indicate the general character of the petitions he must make, consisting of invocations of the deity addressed, confessions of sin, and prayers for assistance, recited partly by the priest and partly by the suppliant himself. Many tablets record the offerings that must be made before the gods, comprising oxen, sheep, lambs, birds, fish, bread, dates, butter, honey, oil, date-wine, sesame wine, pieces of precious woods, gold, jewels, and precious stones, plants, herbs, and flowers. Many magical rites and ceremonies were performed by the priests, such as the knotting and unknotting of coloured threads, the burning of small images made of a variety of substances, including bronze, clay, bitumen, plaster, wood, and honey, to the accompaniment of incantations; the throwing into a bright fire of certain substances, such as a fleece, a goat-skin, a piece of wool, certain seeds or a pod of garlic, a special form of words being recited by the priest as he performed the rite; the dropping of certain substances into oil and the pouring out of libations. Such ceremonies and rites were not regarded as symbolical, but were supposed to be sufficient in themselves to secure the suppliant's release from the spell or ban to which his sufferings or misfortunes were due.

The prediction of future events also plays an important part in the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

31. Augury.

So far from being carried on in secret and by a few isolated soothsayers, augury was practised as a science by a large and organised body of the priesthood under the direct control and patronage of the king. This being the case, it is not surprising that a considerable portion of the native literature deals with the subject of omens and forecasts. Almost every event of common life was regarded by the pious Babylonian as perhaps a favourable or unfavourable sign requiring the interpretation of an expert, and necessitating a journey to the temple. Those whose duty it was to furnish the interpretation of such an event did not necessarily pretend to second sight or rely on a vision or any divine communication; their answer was based on their own knowledge, acquired by special training and study. In the course of time all events and the consequences said to result from them had been written down; the tablets on which they were inscribed had been divided into classes according to the subjects of their contents; and many were collected into series. Thus an important temple would contain a small library dealing with the subject, requiring to be mastered by

the novice and always a hand for the consultation of the augurs themselves. Many of these tablets have been preserved, and it is to them that we owe our knowledge of this important department of Babylonian religion.

The text of an omen tablet consists of short sentences, each of which generally occupies one line of the tablet.

32. Omen tablets.

The construction of the sentence is invariably the same, and may be rendered by the following formula: "When (or if) such and so is the case, such and such an event will happen." There are, therefore, two ways in which we may classify an omen: either by its protasis or its apodosis.

Regarded from the latter point of view, all omens may be roughly divided into those that relate to public affairs and those that relate to the fortunes of an individual. Thus certain occurrences may be looked upon as foretelling the death of the king or the future condition of the country, whether there will be a plentiful harvest or a famine, whether there will be war or peace, and if war, in what quarter it may be expected. Those which relate to private affairs, on the other hand, concern themselves with the health, sickness, or death of a man or of his wife or child, or foretell the stability or destruction of his house. Some few tablets indeed relate to special classes, such as those which foretell accidents that may happen to women during pregnancy; but in the majority of omen texts the apodosis is couched in general terms, and the same phrases regularly recur. In fact, the events foretold are not very many, and may generally be classed under the headings of death and life, sickness and health, famine and plenty, war and peace; the predictions are cast in a vague form, and details, such as the place or manner of a man's death, are but rarely specified.

In the protasis, on the other hand, we find an almost bewildering variety of subjects, with hardly, however, of a rough classification. What is perhaps the largest section centres round the phenomena of human birth, the predictions being based on the manner of delivery and on the appearance of the child; and not only were misshapen and the births of monstrosities regarded as of peculiar import, but variations in the appearance of normal offspring also formed the basis of prediction.

Different parts of the body of a newly-born child are dealt with independently, and to be grasped correctly the significance of every part must have required a long course of training and study of the tablets. The state of the eyes or the hair, the position and size of the ears, mouth, hands and feet, the resemblance of the face to that of certain animals, were all carefully considered. The parturition of animals also was made a special study, the appearance of the offspring of lions, oxen, horses, and other animals, the colour of their hair and the number and position of their limbs, being regarded as significant. Omens were drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body of an adult, male or female, especially in sickness. The state and colour of the eyes, the ears, and the hair, the state of the heart, the lungs, the buttocks, and other members of the body, the resemblance of the head to that of a bird or beast, the condition of the urine, etc.; with a view to predictions, studies were also made of the actions of a man, such as that of eating, and certain other of his natural functions. Another large class of omens were drawn from the appearance of animals, such as the colour of the horns of oxen and the direction in which they move, while the actions of certain animals (pigs, horses, etc.) were likewise studied. If a man is walking and wishes to know the future he must notice the direction in which an animal moves round him, and he must note if a lion, or a livera, or a bird crosses his path. If he sees a snake at the entrance of a gate or at the doors of a temple, or dogs and calves as he is going out of a door, he must visit the augur for an interpretation. The appearance of animals, snakes, or scorpions in a man's house, or in a palace or a temple, was of significance, while the sting of a scorpion was a warning of various events, different results following from stings on different toes. The appearance and flight of birds were exhaustively treated, and a man was wise if he did not disregard the flappings of a bird's wing and did not fail to observe the direction in which it flew should it flutter round his head. Another class of omens laid stress on the locality of certain events; those occurring in cities and streets received a treatment different from that of occurrences in the fields and open country. Predictions were made from the state of a house, its walls, etc., and even from the state of the furniture which it contained. The time of the events or observations was in some instances considered important, and in these cases the month and day were specially noted.

As omens were taken from so many common objects and occurrences, it was natural that dreams and visions should be regarded as indications of

33. Dreams. Future prosperity or misfortune, and that the objects or animals a man might behold in a dream had each a different signification. Thus, if he beheld in his dream certain people or seemed to be fighting with a relation, such as his father or grandfather, the visions had a special meaning, while the fact that the person he fought with was alive or dead at the time was also of importance. Appearances of spirits and demons in a house were indications of the future. In the majority of omens the conditions on which they were based were chance occurrences and events; it was, however, possible to obtain information as to the future by artificial means, such as by observing the entrails of victims, by kindling fire on an altar and noting the direction in which the smoke rose, or by observing the flickering of the flame of a lamp.

With omens it is difficult to say how far the facts on which the predictions were based were merely signs of prosperity or misfortune which would come in any case, and how far they

34. Astrology.

were regarded as in themselves the actual cause of such prosperity or misfortune. In the case of astrological forecasts, however, which are closely connected with the omens, it seems probable that the latter conception predominated. The astrological phenomena that are mentioned were not merely passive indications of the future, but active forces influencing the lives and fortunes of the individual and the state. The practice of astrology was based principally on observations of the sun and moon and stars, their relative positions at different times, and the various combinations presented by them. Another large body of forecasts was based on eclipses of the sun and moon, the results varying with the time of the eclipse, the appearance of the sun and moon during the eclipse, and the direction in which the shadow travels. Forecasts were based also on the appearance of meteors and shooting stars, on observations of lightning, clouds, and rain, on the direction of the wind, on the various directions in which a cloud may travel, and on the colour and shape of clouds and their resemblance to animals, fishes, ships, etc. As in the case of the omen tablets, the Babylonians possessed a great body of astrological literature; observations and forecasts in course of time were collected, grouped, and classified; and large works upon the subject were copied out on consecutive tablets for the training and use of the astrologers. Many tablets belonging to these larger works have come down to us; there are also preserved in the British Museum small oblong tablets containing the answers of astrologers who had been consulted as to the future, as well as their reports on recent astrological observations and the interpretation to be set on them.

Around the figures of their gods the Babylonians wove tales and legends, which, originating in remote antiquity,

35. Mythology. were handed down through countless generations, being added to and modified by the hands through which they passed. They were collected and arranged during the later periods of Assyrian and Babylonian history, and it is in these comparatively recent forms that they are preserved in the literature that has come down to us. It is true that the tablets containing the legends of Adapa and of the goddess Eriškugal were found at Tell el-Amarna and date from the fifteenth century B.C.; but not one of the tablets containing the other legends is earlier than the seventh century B.C. The antiquity of the legends themselves, however, is amply attested by the divergent forms which in some cases the same legend assumes, as related on different tablets belonging to the later Assyrian and Babylonian periods, or referred to in the works of classical writers. An additional interest attaches to two sections of the legendary literature of Babylon from their close resemblance to the narrative of the early part of

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Genesis, relating to the creation and the deluge. Whether we are to trace the ultimate origin of both the Babylonian and the Hebrew versions of these legends to the previous non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia need not concern us here. The contents of these legends and their relation to the Hebrew narratives will also be more conveniently treated elsewhere (see *Expository Bulletin*, *CAVITIES*, *EXODUS*, *NOAH*). The legends of the creation and the epic of Gogmagor are certainly the most famous portions of Babylonian mythology, but they form only a part of the legends and beliefs that were current in the various cities of Babylonia. It is to these, which have come down to us on the tablets, that we must turn for a study of subject and treatment.

The first descent into Hades is one of the best preserved of these legends. It contains a description of the lower world, and records how at each of the gates that lead thence the goddess is stripped of a portion of her apparel until she enters naked into the realm of Adapa, and how she is forbidden there but is eventually brought back to earth to put an end to the troubles of men and animals that had followed the departure of the goddess of love. The Plague god was a prominent figure in Babylonian mythology, the legends describing in detail the ravages he caused among the cities of the land. Two of our legends may be mentioned briefly: that of the Zis theft of the destiny tablets, and the legend of Adapa and the South wind. In the former, Zis is recorded to have dealt with the tablets to his mortal and, although the other gods would not venture against him, he was eventually captured by Sinas the Sun god in his net. The legend of Adapa relates how Adapa, the son of Ea, was fishing one day in the sea for his father's household when the South wind blew and dashed him under; how in anger he caught the South wind, and broke her wings; and how he came to heaven into the presence of Anu, who summoned him thither on finding that the South wind had ceased to blow. In many of the legends animals and birds

36. Legends.

endowed with thought and speech are introduced: as in the legend of Etana's flight to heaven with the eagle, the legend of the Eagle, the Serpent and the Sun god, the legend of the Fox, the legend of the Horse and the Ox, and the legend of the Calf. Not only do gods, heroes, and animals figure in the mythology of Babylonia, but also ancient kings, whose actual existence is attested by the remains of their buildings and inscriptions, were raised to the level of heroes or demi-gods in the popular imagination, and their names became centres round which in the course of ages legends have clustered. The most famous of these is the legend of the birth of Sargon of Agade, who is said to have been of lowly origin; his father he knew not, and his mother set him floating on the Euphrates in a chest of reeds smeared with bitumen; but Akki the irrigator rescued him, and while he was serving as gardener to his benefactor, the goddess Ishtar loved him. Eventually she invested him with the rule of the kingdom, Naram-Sin the son of Sargon, Dungi king of Ur, Nebuchadnezzar I., and other ancient kings, figure in the legendary literature.

The data available for the settlement of Babylonian chronology vary for each of the three periods (see below).

37. Chronology: § 40 into which the history of the country may be divided. In the first period a single date has been fixed for us by a reference in one of the cylinders of Nabonidus, from which we infer that Sargon I. lived about 3750 B.C. When Nabonidus states that 3200 years have elapsed since Sargon laid down an inscription which he himself found, he is naturally giving only an approximate estimate of the period during which it had lain buried. There is no reason, however, for doubting the general accuracy of the statement, for the Babylonians were careful compilers of their records, and Nabonidus

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had access to sources of information which have not come down to us. This one date, therefore, gives us a fixed point in the early history of the country. In settling the chronology between and after this point we do not yet know what extent of documents preserved to us the history of Babylonia, who places in the earliest period back to a year 3000 before the Christ. Similarly a tablet from Kuyuk containing the names of the kings of Babylonia from the time of the descent of the goddess of love to the time of the descent of the goddess of love, but on a fragmentary basis. In settling the chronology of this period, we have, in fact, to rely back upon the internal and external evidence of documents, and the internal evidence of documents themselves. The internal evidence consists primarily of the royal inscriptions, continued by the inscriptions of the kings, and the inscriptions of the kings, which are the most valuable of the kings, so much as to be a great deal. Good examples of the use of such evidence are afforded by some of the inscriptions of the kings and princes of Sargon's line, for example, by the inscriptions of Ishme-dunir, in which he calls himself the son of Akkad, and of Adargal, who styles himself the son of Ur-Nina, or that of Entem, in which he is called the son of Enlil-nasir, and the descendant of Ur-Nina, or the great-socket of Enlil-nasir. From which we learn that Entem was his father, or the great-socket of Enlil-nasir, or the great-socket of Enlil-nasir. The external evidence afforded by an inscription is obtained partly by a study of the general style of the writing, the forms of the characters, etc.; partly by accurately noting its relative position with regard to other inscriptions near which it may happen to be found, the different depths at which inscriptions are incised in some cases giving a rough idea of their comparative ages. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence to be obtained both from pigraphy and from systematic excavation is in its nature extremely uncertain and liable to various interpretations. Such evidence is of service when lending its weight to that obtained from other and independent sources; but when it is without such support it cannot be regarded as indicating more than a general probability.

For the chronology of the second period we have the genealogies to be obtained from the historical inscriptions, as well as the chronological notices which occur in some of them. From the latter

38. Second period. occur in some of them. From the latter source, for example, we gather that Hammurabi lived some 700 years after Hammurabi, that Sargassu-Burassu lived about 800 years before Nabonidus, and that Marduk-nadin-ahhe defeated Tiglath-pileser I. 418 years before Sennacherib conquered Babylon (see ASSYRIA, § 20). Our principal source of information, however, lies in the chronological documents of the Babylonians themselves. (1) One of the most important of these is the 'List of Kings,' a list of the names of the kings of Babylonia from about 2300 to 625 B.C., in which the kings are divided into dynasties, the length of each reign and the total length of each dynasty being added; a smaller list of kings contains the names of the kings of the first two dynasties. (2) From the document known as the 'Babylonian Chronicle' we obtain a record of events in Babylonia and Assyria from the early part of Nabonassar's reign (about 745 B.C.) to 600 B.C., the first year of the reign of Samsu-Adad, and this information is supplemented by (3) the 'Prophetic Canon' (see CHRONOLOGY, § 24 ff.), which also begins with the reign of Nabonassar. The fragment of a second Babylonian chronicle refers to kings of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh dynasties, while part of a third chronicle supplements the narrative

¹ K B 34 90 ff.

² K B 34 16 ff.

³ Babylonian inscription.

⁴ K B 2 250 ff., or R P 2 115 ff.

⁵ K B 2 258 ff., or R P 1 113 ff.

⁶ K B 2 274 ff., or R P 2 122 ff.

¹ See K B 34 100 ff.

² K B 34 104.

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of the 'Synchronic History' for certain portions of the third dynasty. Finally, (4) the 'Synchronic History' (see ASSYRIA, § 21, leg.) itself connects the history of Babylonia with that of Assyria, with certain breaks, from about 1480 to 810 B.C.

For the third period of the history the succession of the kings is known from the Ptolemaic Canon, which, in addition to the names of the kings, gives the lengths of their respective reigns; and the information so obtained is controlled by the many Babylonian contract tablets which have been found dated according to their regnal years.

39. Third period.

The history of Babylonia falls naturally into three main periods. The first period comprises the history of the country from the earliest times down to the consolidation of its various elements into a single empire ruled by Semitic kings with their capital at Babylon. The second period begins with the first dynasty of Babylon, to whose greatest king, Hammurabi, was principally due the consolidation of the Babylonian empire, and extends to the fall of the power of Assyria, whose later kings included Babylonia in their dominions. The third period comprises the history of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

The length of the first period can only be approximately determined, for it reaches back into remote antiquity; the second period deals with the history of some seventeen hundred years, extending from about 2300 to 625 B.C.; the third period is by far the shortest of the three, for it contains the history of an empire which lasted for less than a hundred years, from Nabopolassar's accession to the throne of Babylon in 625 B.C. to the capture of the city by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 538 B.C.

During the first period the name of Babylon is not known. The country is under the successive domination of the more ancient cities of the land until the Semite element eventually predominates. During the second period Babylon holds her place as the centre of the country in spite of the influx of Kassite and Chaldean tribes and the opposition of Assyria. In the third period the magnificence of Babylon became one of the wonders of the ancient world.

In treating the earliest period of the history of the country we are, to a great extent, groping in the dark.

41. Earliest period.

Our principal sources of information are the archaic inscriptions found on many of the sites of the old Babylonian cities, and these have been considerably increased by recent excavations. In order, then, to understand clearly the problems they present, it will be necessary to proceed gradually from the points that may be regarded as definitely fixed into the regions where conjecture still holds her own. As the earliest date that can be regarded as settled is that of Sargon I., it necessarily forms the basis or starting-point from which to reconstruct the history of the period.

Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, on a clay cylinder found at Abu-Habbah records the fact that while restoring the temple of the Sun-god in that city he came upon the foundation-stone of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon, which for 3200 years no king that went before him had seen. As the cylinder of Nabonidus was inscribed about the year 550 B.C., we conclude that Naram-Sin lived about 3750 B.C., and Sargon his father about 3800 B.C.

During the French expedition to Mesopotamia (1851-1854) Oppert found in Babylon an alabaster vase inscribed in archaic characters with the name of Naram-Sin, to which was added the title 'king of the four quarters.' The vase, which was lost in the waters of the Tigris on 23rd May 1855, formed the only remains of this king that were recovered until the American expedition in 1888.

¹ K 3194 J

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Of Sargon, however, two inscriptions were known, the one on the cylinder in the possession of M. de Clerq, the other on a mace-head in the British Museum. Some doubt was thrown on the identification of this king with the Sargon of Nabonidus; for, whilst the name of the latter was written Sargina, that of the former was Sargani-Sin. Such an abbreviation, however, was not unusual in the names of many of the early kings, and the identity of the two names is now put beyond a doubt by the discovery at Sippar of inscriptions of Sargani-Sin in the same stratum which held bricks stamped with the name of Naram-Sin.

That the empire over which Sargon ruled was extensive is attested by the legends that at a later period gathered round his name (see above, § 36). His name and that of Naram-Sin occur in an astrological tablet,¹ in which expeditions against Phoenicia, Elam, etc., made by these two kings during certain lunar phases and astrological conditions, are recounted; and, although it would be rash to regard such statements as historical on the authority of this tablet alone, they at least bear witness to the permanent hold which the name of Sargon had attained in the popular imagination. In a cylinder² of Nabonidus found at Mukayyar (I'r) the title 'king of Babylon' is ascribed to both Sargon and Naram-Sin, but it is probable that the city of Agade, not Babylon, formed the centre of their empire, as 'king of Agade' is the title by which Sargon invariably describes himself. The site of this city has not been identified; but it is probably to be sought in Northern Babylonia.

Both Sargon and Naram-Sin were Semites, and the extent of their empire shows the progress which the Semite invaders were making towards the final subjugation of the country.

The name of another king who was probably of Semite origin is Urukma, possibly to be read as Urukma, and from the fact that his inscriptions were found at Nippur near those of Sargon, which they closely resemble in character, it may be assumed that he belonged to about the same period. His name has been found on alabaster vases which he dedicated and placed in the great temple at Eridu; the vases, he states, formed part of the spoil captured on a successful expedition against Elam and Elamite to the E. of Babylonia. Moreover, Manishtush, whose name occurs on a mace-head preserved in the British Museum, must also be assigned to about the same period.

In addition to the empire established by Sargon, there is not lacking evidence of the existence at this time of other Semite kings and principalities. The inhabitants of Lulubi spoke a Semite dialect, as is evidenced by the inscription engraved on the face of the rock at Ser-i-pul, a place on the frontier between Kurdistan and Turkey. The inscription accompanies and explains a relief representing the goddess Nini granting victory over his foes to Annabum, king of Lulubi, and from the archaic forms of the characters the work must be assigned to a period not later than that of Sargon. It is also probable that the inhabitants of Gutti, a district to the NE. of Babylonia, were Semites; for an archaic inscription of a king of Gutti, which was found at Sippar, is written in Semitic Babylonian. This, we may assume, was carried to Sippar as spoil from the land of Gutti, though it is also possible that the stone containing the inscription was a gift of the king of Gutti to the temple at Sippar, the inscription being composed, not in the king's own language, but in the Semite dialect of Sippar.

Still, whilst a few of the inscriptions of this early period are undoubtedly Semitic and may be adduced as evidence of the first settlements of the Semites in Babylonia, the majority of the inscriptions that have come down to us are written in a non-Semitic tongue (to which the late Sir H. Rawlinson gave the name Accadian), now generally known as Sumerian.³ These inscriptions

¹ K 3194 J

² K 3194 J

³ For many years a controversy has raged around the character, and even the existence, of this language. The theory put forward by Halévy that Sumerian was not a

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have been found in the mounds which mark the sites of the ancient cities of the Euphrat, and were the work of the previous inhabitants of the country whom the invading Semites eventually displaced. One of the most important of their ancient cities is to-day represented by the mounds known as Telleh, situated to the N. of Mukdavar and E. of Warka, on the E. bank of the Sudd el-Hind. These mounds mark the site of a city called by the kings and governors who ruled there Sirpula, but known at a later time as Lagas. The excavations that were begun on this site by De Sarzeu in 1877 have resulted in a rich harvest of inscriptions on statues, cylinders, cones, tablets, bricks, etc., from which it is possible to trace the history of the city throughout a long period. Its earlier rulers called themselves 'kings,' the later ones bearing the title of patesis, which is equivalent to the Assyrian issakku. The word patesis, whilst implying that the ruler is the representative of the national god, indicates the possession of a power less supreme than that attaching to the word lugal (esen, sumu, 'king'), and it has been ingeniously suggested that the change in title was in consequence of an actual change in the fortunes of the city, the rule of the patesis being held to mark the subjection of their city to another power. The manner in which the succession of the various kings and patesis was determined has been already referred to (see above, § 371); the following is a brief description of their history based on those results.

The oldest king of Sripurā known to us is, in all probability, Urukama. After an interval, the length of which is unknown, we find Uru-Ni, the thirteenth, and, as he gives to another, his father nor grandfather, the title of king, it is not unreasonable to conclude that he was the originator of a new

44. Rulers of Sirpurla or Lagash.

several generations. Ur-Nina was succeeded by his son Akkai, who, like both the titles, king and priest, and it was in the reign of Eadlimgamag that the first recorded success in the title of king against the ruler of Eadlimgamag is mentioned. It is during the reign of Eadlimgamag, however, that we find the first record of any extensive military operations undertaken by the inhabitants of Sipurka. To his reign belongs the famous stele of the ruler, carved by command of his victory over the ruler of the kingdom of Ur-Nina. Ur-Nina himself, whose son Entana and grandson Enurata succeeded him, continued the succession. After a second interval comes Ur-Nina, from whom the throne passes through his daughter to his son-in-law Nannimgamag. After a third but shorter interval there followed Gindia, who conducted a successful campaign against Eblai, but, like his predecessors, devoted most of his energies to building operations. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirish; and finally there must be placed a second Akkai, and either before or after him Eakani, whose son Ghalalana may possibly have succeeded him on the throne.

The monumental inscriptions of these old kings and patesis of Sirpula are, with the exception of one of

45. Their inscriptions.

45. Their inscriptions. Ur-Bur and several of Gudea, comparatively short, and are generally concerned with the erection of buildings and temples in the city, an object to which both kings and patests without exception devoted themselves. The thousands of clay tablets, however, which have been discovered dating from this period, the high point of development attained in their sculpture and carving in relief, the elaborate but solid construction of their temples and palaces, are all evidence of a highly developed civilisation, and the question at once arises

46. Their date.

46. Their date. as to what date must be assigned for the rise of the kingdom of Sumeria. Additional interest is lent to the way in which this question may be answered by the fact that even the earliest inscriptions and engravings that language but merely a calligraphic method of writing invented by the Semite Babylonians; these facts was for years stoutly defended by its adherents; it has now, however, given way before the results of recent excavations. The thousands of archaic tablets found at Tellah and elsewhere are written entirely in Sumerian by a people who both in their inscriptions and in their art exhibit no traces of Semitic origin. The existence of Sumerian as the language of these early inhabitants of Babylonia is now generally admitted. See also below, § 47, p. 10.

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have been discovered cannot have been the work of a barbarous race, but demand the assumption that at least one thousand years, during which they gradually attained their high level of civilization and culture, had passed.

It will be obvious that, as the date of Sargon I. is already fixed, the simple way of answering the question of assigning a date to the earlier kings of Supulki is to determine the relation in which they stood to Sargon I. Until recently it was impossible to come to any definite conclusion, though it was generally held that the archaic forms of characters on the inscriptions of the kings of Supulki favoured the theory which assigned to them an early date. The excavations at Nippur, however, have now yielded sufficient data to supply a more complete answer.

In the same stratum as the inscriptions of Sargon and Alu-sar-ud, and not far from them, was found a fragment of a vase inscribed with the name of Entem, patet of Surpula, who is said to have presented the vase to En-hilla or Bel, the god of Nippur. It would be rash to conclude from this fact alone that Entem was the contemporary of Sargon I, though it may be held to indicate that approximately the same date may be assigned to Sargon and the earlier patet of Surpula. Excavations, however, were subsequently extended below the level at which the records of Sargon had been found, and traces of a still more ancient civilisation were disclosed. An altar with a small enclosure or embankment it, two immense vases of clay standing at short intervals from each other, probably on an inclined plane leading up to the altar, and a massive building with an ancient arch, were the principal architectural remains discovered. However, there were also found inscriptions which, though occurring at a higher level and mixed with the inscriptions of Sargon, are probably to be assigned to a pre-Sargonic period. As the majority of these are broken into small fragments, it is not unlikely that they were intentionally broken and scattered by some subsequent invader of the country. Gate sockets and blocks of diorite, however, were not broken, and so were made use of by subsequent kings. Thus both Sargon I. and Bu-Sin II. used for their own inscriptions the blocks which already bore the rough inscription of Lagal-ki-gul-en-bi, one of the kings of this early period. The characters in these early inscriptions, especially on the vases of Lagal-zi-gisgi, the most powerful of these early kings, bear a striking resemblance to those employed in the inscriptions of the earliest kings of Surpula (Ur-ka-ga, Ur-Nin, and Ur-duga-nagun), sharing with them certain peculiarities of form which are not met with elsewhere. The conclusion that they date from about the same period is therefore, not unwarranted; and, as this period must be placed before Sargon I., we are justified in assuming to Ur-ka-ga a date not later than c. 2300 B.C.

47. Before
Sargon.

To trace in detail the history of the predecessors of Sargon I, whose existence was not suspected until the lowest strata beneath the temple of Ekur at Nippur had been sifted, is a task that requires some ingenuity. Our only source of information is afforded by the fragmentary inscriptions themselves; but, as many of these are duplicates, it is possible to reconstruct their original text. The earliest rulers of Babylonia, such as Ensi-gisara, are found in conflict with the city of Kish and spoil from Kish was from time to time placed as an offering in the temple at Nippur. Sometimes Kish was victorious, and then the king of Kish, as in the case of Ur-Ninsinidda, was a competitor to the temple at Nippur in his own island. The ultimate superiority of Kish, however, was secured by its alliance with the powerful city of Isin, for Ensal-zaggisi, son of Uruk, patesit of Isin, on coming to the throne, extended his sway over the whole of Babylonia. He has left us a record of his achievements in a long inscription carved

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on more than a hundred vases, which he deposited in Nippur. Though he especially favoured his own city of Isban, Erech was probably his capital, while Ur, Larsa, and Nippur were important centres. Lugal-zaggisi's empire did not long survive him, and the lead in Babylonian politics passed to the city of Sirpurla. E-dugira-nagin's conquest of Isban, however, was not followed up by his successors on the throne; and the hegemony passed once more to the north, this time to Sargon of Agade, who had all Babylonia under his sway, the rulers of Sirpurla exchanging the title of king for that of patesi in consequence of their subjection to him. Such may be taken as a general sketch of the course of Babylonian history up to the time of Sargon I.

It is impossible to say to what race or nationality Lugal-zaggisi and the earlier kings belonged, though we may mention the theory of Hilprecht, who sees in their successes against the cities of Babylonia the earliest Semitic invasions of the country; regarding Kis as their first military outpost, and Isban, which he is probably wrong in identifying with Harran, as their military base. Another patesi of Isban who may be placed in this early period is Mul-Babbar (in Semitic, Amel-Samir), whose inscription on three clay cones is preserved in the British Museum.

After the fall of Sargon's empire, the first city that appears to have gained a considerable supremacy throughout Babylonia is Ur. Under Lugal-kigub-urdu Ur had already risen to some importance; but the city had been included in Sargon's kingdom, and it was not until nearly a thousand

48. Ur. *circa 2800.* years after his death that it again recovered its position. Only two of her kings at this later period are known to us, Ur-gur and Dungi. In addition to their title 'king of Ur,' both style themselves kings of Sumer and Akkad, a title implying that many cities throughout both southern and northern Babylonia had tendered their submission and acknowledged allegiance to them. The monuments themselves bear witness that this title was no empty boast, but had its foundation in a real supremacy.

A seal cylinder in the British Museum bears a dedication to Ur-gur, 'the mighty hero, king of Ur,' by a patesi of the city of Isban-Sin, 'his servant,' while there is evidence that the later patesis of Sirpurla were subject to Ur, the Louvre possessing a fragment of a statue dedicated to the goddess Inan by Gialalama, 'son of Lulani, patesi of Sirpurla,' for the life of Dungi, 'the mighty king, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad'; an inscription with a similar purpose of the time of Ur-Ningirsu, Gudea's son and successor, is preserved in the British Museum. That Ur-gur was a great builder is attested by the many short inscriptions on bricks recovered from the ruins of the buildings which he either founded or restored. From these we gather that he built the great temple of the Moon-god in Ur, while in Erech he erected a temple to Ninā, the goddess Enlil. On a brick from a tomb discovered by Loftus at Senkerch, the ancient Larsa, is recorded the fact that Ur-gur built a temple to the Sun-god there, and bricks found at Nippur record his rebuilding of the great temple of E-kur in that city. Excavations at the latter place show that this temple was larger than any of its predecessors; buildings that had been standing since the time of Narām-Sin he razed to the ground in order to erect his huge platform of sun-dried bricks, in the NW. corner of which he built a huge zikkurrata (temple tower) of at least three stories. Ur-gur thus appears to have erected or rebuilt temples in most of the principal cities of Babylonia; in his zeal for religion, however, he did not neglect to strengthen his own capital, for we have evidence that he erected, or at any rate rebuilt, the city-wall of Ur. His son and successor Dungi, 'king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad,' king of the four quarters, carried on the work of temple-building to which his father had devoted himself, and restored the temple of Ištar in Erech. An interesting clay tablet in the British Museum contains a copy of an old inscription that once stood in a temple at Cuthah. The copy was made in the later Babylonian period by a scribe named Belshallit, and the archaic inscription, which his care has rescued from oblivion, records the erection by Dungi of a temple to the god Nergal in the city of Cuthah.

With Dungi our knowledge of the city of Ur and its supremacy comes to an end for a time. Whether

49. Isin. Dungi's successors retained for long their hold over the rest of Babylonia, or speedily sank into a position of dependence to some other city, we have no means of telling. When we once more

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come across inscriptions we see that the lead in Sumer and Akkad has passed into the hands of the kings of Isin.

At present we possess inscriptions of four kings of Isin: Ur-Ninib, Libit-Ištar, Bur-Sin I., and Išme-Dagani. In the case of each of them, before their chief title 'king of Isin' is given special mention is made of Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and Erech as lying under their sway. The order in which these cities are mentioned is significant. The fact that Nippur heads the list proves that Ur sank greatly in importance after the days when she held the lead in Sumer and Akkad. A fifth king of Isin, named Išbīgira, is known to us; the only evidence of his existence, however, is the occurrence of his name and title on a fragment of a clay tablet in the British Museum. The rule in Babylonia now passes once more to the city of Ur, which retains its old supremacy. Išme-Dagani was the last king of Isin who retained the title of 'king of Sumer and Akkad,' and held together the confederation of Babylonian cities which that name implies; we find his son erecting a temple for the life of Gungunu, king of Ur, as a token of homage. Under Gungunu began the second dynasty of Ur, to which the kings Bur-Sin II., Ine-Sin, and Gungib-Sin belong. The many inscriptions on clay tablets that have been recovered, dated in the reigns of these three kings, testify to the great commercial prosperity of Babylonia at this time. The rise of the city of Larsa followed

50. 2nd Dyn. of Ur. *circa 2400.* The kings of the former city held Ur as a dependency, and appear to have extended their rule still farther afield, for they assume also the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad.' The two principal kings of Larsa were Nūr-Rammān and his son Sin-iddina.

circa 2300. Both erected temples in Ur, and the latter founded also, after meeting with success in the field, turned his attention to the internal improvement of his territory. He rebuilt on a larger scale the wall of Larsa, and by cutting a canal obtained for that city a constant supply of water.

Sin-iddina does not mention the name of the enemy his victory over whom he records. It has been suggested, however, with great probability,

52. Elam. that it was Elam whom he repulsed. This must have been the period of the Elamite invasion to which Asur-bāni-pāl refers. On taking the city of Susa, about 650 B.C., Asur-bāni-pāl relates that he recovered the image of the goddess Nanā, which the Elamite Kudur-Nanhundī had carried off from Erech 1635 years before—i.e., about 2285 B.C. Though Sin-iddina repulsed the Elamites, he did not check them for long. A few years later we find them under the leadership of Kudur-Mabug, son of Smti-silbak, again invading Babylonia. This time they met with more success and obtained a permanent footing in the south. Kudur-Mabug was not king of Elam. He styles himself 'prince of the Western land'; that is to say, he was ruler of the tract of land lying on the W. frontier of Elam. From this position he invaded the country, and, having established himself as king of S. Babylonia, he erected a temple in Ur to the Moon-god in gratitude for his success. His son, Rim-aku, succeeded him and attempted to consolidate his kingdom, restoring and rebuilding Ur and extending his influence over Erech, Larsa, and other cities; his usual titles were 'exalter of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad.' It is a period of much interest for the Biblical student (see CHETORI-LOMLER).

During the second dynasty of Ur the city of Babylon had enjoyed a position of independence, with her own

53. Babylon. kings and system of government; but her influence does not appear to have extended beyond the limits of the city. It was not until the reign of Hammurabi, the contemporary of Sin-iddina

and Rim-Aku, that she attained the position of importance in Babylonia which she held without interruption for nearly two thousand years. The dynasty to which Hammurabi belongs was called by the native historians the 'Dynasty of Babylon,' and, as far as we

circa 2400. at present know, forms the limit to which they traced back the existence, or at any rate the independence, of their city.

The dynasty was founded about 2400 B.C. by Sumu-abi, who was succeeded by Sumu-ili and Zabani his son. It is possible that on Zabani's death a usurper, Iuimuru, attempted to ascend the throne; but his rule cannot have been for long, as scribes of contract tablets do not give him the title of king, and his name is omitted from the list of kings of Dynasty I., Zabani's

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son, Apil-Sin, being stated to have directly succeeded his father. Of the reign of Apil-Sin's son, Sin-imbullit, we know nothing, his only claim to remembrance being that he was the father of Hammu-rabi.

It is difficult to determine accurately the position occupied by Babylon when Hammu-rabi ascended the throne. That she was already beginning to extend her sway over the districts in her immediate neighbourhood we may conclude from a reference on a cylinder of Nabonidas, who states that the temples of the Sun-god and of the goddess Ammutu at Sippar had been falling into decay 'since the time of Zabum'; the phrase implies that Zabum had at any rate rebuilt these temples, and must, therefore, have included Sippar within his sphere of influence. We may regard it as certain, however, that the authority of the city had not penetrated into southern Babylonia.

On Hammu-rabi's accession he first devoted himself to the internal improvement of his territory. In the past both Babylon and Sippar had suffered from floods, and the recurrence of these he sought to diminish by erecting dams and cutting canals. One inscription of his, written both in Sumerian and in Semitic Babylonian on clay cylinders in the British Museum, reads as follows:—

Hammu-rabi, the mighty king, king of Babylon, king of the four quarters, the founder of the Land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing, am I. The summit of the wall of Sippar like a great mountain with earth I raised. With a swamp I surrounded it. The canal of Sippar to Sippar I dug out and a wall of safety I erected for it. Hammu-rabi, the founder of the Land, the king whose deeds unto the heart of Šamaš and Marduk are well-pleasing, am I. Sippar and Babylon in a peaceful habitation I caused to dwell continuously. Hammu-rabi, the darling of Šamaš, the beloved of Marduk, am I. That which from days of old no king for his king had built, for Šamaš my lord gloriously have I accomplished.

In addition to his works at Sippar we learn from another inscription that he cut the 'Hammu-rabi canal' on both sides of which he sowed corn-fields. He erected a granary in Babylon, in which he stored grain for use in years of famine or scarcity. The inscription recording the erection of the granary has perished; but we possess a copy of it in clay, made in the Neo-Babylonian period by Rimut-Gula, and deposited in Babylon in the temple E-šzida. Hammu-rabi's works of improvement, however, were not confined to Sippar and Babylon. As he extended his authority throughout the country, he introduced the same enlightened methods, rebuilding the temples of the gods in the various cities, conciliating the inhabitants, and out of scattered principalities forming a single and organic kingdom, with its metropolis at Babylon. The principal enemy to Babylonian independence at this period was Elam; but after a series of campaigns Hammu-rabi signally defeated her, and effectually hindered her advances to the S. and W., after which he was again at liberty to devote himself to the material improvement of his people. Hammu-rabi was not the first king of Babylonia to form a great empire out of scattered elements. Lugal-zaggisi and Sargon I. had already made this achievement, and it is not unlikely that their empires considerably exceeded that of Hammu-rabi in extent. Hammu-rabi's work, however, is distinguished from theirs by its permanence. Whilst Isban and Agadé soon sank back into comparative obscurity, Babylon remained the chief town of the kingdom throughout the whole course of its history.

Hammu-rabi was succeeded by his son Samsu-iluna, the other kings of the first dynasty being Eišum, Ammi-saduna, Ammi-zaduna, and Samsu-ditana, who follow one another in direct succession. Samsu-iluna continued his father's work of irrigation, and we know from two inscriptions that he built many temples to the gods. Of his successors, however, we possess few inscriptions, though many contracts, dated in the reign of each of the kings of this dynasty, have been found which throw an interesting light on the private and social sides of Babylonian life at this period.

The second dynasty consists of eleven kings—

55. His successors.

circa 2230.

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Huma-ilu, Itti-ilu-nibi, Dunki-ilīšu, Iš-ki-bal, and his brother Šu-ussu, Gul-kešar and his son Kirgal-dara-maš, and his grandson A-dara-kalama, A-ku-ur-ul-ana, Melam-matati, and Ea-ganil. Of this dynasty we know nothing, though it has been conjectured with some probability that it was during this period that the Kassites first invaded Babylonia. Descending from the mountainous territory on the borders of Media and Elam, they overran the country and took possession of the cities; and at the beginning of the third dynasty we find them firmly seated on the throne. So far as we know, they were never ejected by force, but were absorbed in process of time by the Semitic element of the nation, which gradually recovered its predominance.

There were thirty-six kings of the third dynasty; but only the names of the kings at the beginning and of those at the end of the dynasty have been preserved in the Babylonian list of kings.

Other sources of information, however, now become available; the 'Synchronic History' gives a résumé of the relations between Babylonia and Assyria, which during the early part of the third Babylonian dynasty attained its independence (cp. ASSYRIA, § 25); the account furnished by the 'Synchronic History' is supplemented by the mutilated text of a somewhat similar Babylonian chronicle; the official correspondence between Babylonia and Egypt during a small part of this period is preserved on some of the tablets found at Tell el-Amarna; and, finally, inscriptions of several of the kings themselves have been recovered, as well as contract-tablets dated in their reigns.

The first king of the dynasty was Gudiš, who was succeeded by Agum-šar, Gudiš, Ušši, Adu-neur, and Ušši-šar. Here the gap occurs in the list of kings; and it is probably at some point in this gap that we must place Agum, who is known to us from a long inscription, a copy of which in Neo-Assyrian characters was preserved in the library of Ashur-bani-pal; from it we learn that he recovered and restored to the temple of E-šzida in Babylon certain images of Marduk and of the goddess Zarpanitu, which had been carried off to the land of Hani.

A later place in the same gap must be assigned to Kallimma-Sin (or Kadashman-Bel; cp. KANDIZON, ZA 15 265 f.), four of whose letters are in the Amarna series; this correspondence serves to indicate the intimate relations between Egypt and Babylonia at this period, both the sister and daughter of Kallimma-Sin being among the princesses of western Asia whom the king of Egypt married. The order of the other kings, whose names have been recovered and must be placed within the same gap in the list of kings, has not yet been ascertained.

It has recently been suggested, for example, that Šagašalti-Bariš, the son of Kudur-Bel, should be placed before Kara-indaš, though a later date is possible; moreover, Kurigalzu I., the son of Kadashman-Harbe, is usually placed after and not before Kara-indaš, though a suggestion has lately been made to the contrary. According to the 'Synchronic History' Kara-indaš was a contemporary of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-nišu, between whom and Ashur-nalili at least two kings, Puzur-Ašur and Ashur-nadin-ahē, occupied the throne of Assyria; from the same document we know that between Kara-indaš and Kara-hadaš, the contemporary of Ashur-nalili, at least one king, Burma-Bariš, occupied the throne of Babylonia; yet on the similar Babylonian chronicle Kara-indaš is mentioned as the son-in-law of Ashur-nalili, and the father of Kara-hadaš. It is possible to reconcile these two accounts only on the supposition that the Kara-indaš of the 'Synchronic History' is not to be identified with the son-in-law of Ashur-nalili. On this assumption, and at the same time admitting that certain places in the order of succession are not definitely ascertained, we are still able to summarise the chief events of the period. Kara-indaš is the first Babylonian king mentioned in the 'Synchronic History', where he is said to have formed a treaty with Ashur-bel-nišu, king of Assyria; similar friendly relations with the northern kingdom were probably maintained by Kurigalzu I. and his father Kadashman-Harbe. Burma-Bariš, the son of Kurigalzu I., formed a fresh treaty with Assyria concerning the frontier between the two kingdoms, and built a temple to the Sun-god at Larsa, as we learn from a brick that has been recovered from its ruins. Ashur-nalili, who succeeded Ashur-nadin-ahē on the throne of Assyria, strengthened the ties between his kingdom and

56. 2nd Dyn. Uru-Azag.

circa 2090.

57. 3rd Dyn.

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Babylonia by marrying his daughter Mulallijāt-Šeria to a king of Babylonia, who bore the name of Kara-indaš; and when his grandson, Kara-bardas, the son of Kara-indaš, succeeded to the throne of Babylon, the relations between the two countries were still more cordial. The Kassite troops, however, possibly jealous of Assyrian influence, slew Kara-bardas and set *circa 1400*, the usurper Nazi-bugas on the throne. The death of Kara-bardas led to the invasion of Babylonia by Asurnihalli, who avenged his grandson by slaying Nazi-bugas, and putting Kurigalzu II., a son of Burna-buriš, the former king of Babylon, in his place. Kurigalzu II. was ambitious to extend the boundary of his kingdom; and with this end in view he undertook a campaign against Elam, the capital of which he conquered and sacked, as we learn from an inscription on an agate tablet which was found at Nippur. On undertaking hostilities against Assyria, however, he was defeated by Bel-nirari, and was forced to accept the terms offered the two kingdoms. By the latter with regard to the boundary between the two kingdoms. The next defeat by the Assyrians which the Babylonians sustained was in the reign of Nazi-maruttas, the son of Kurigalzu II., when Ramman-nirari inflicted a signal defeat on the Babylonian forces and extended the Assyrian boundary still farther southward. Kadašman-Turgu, whose name was also written Kadašman-Bel, the son of Nazi-maruttas, succeeded his father on the throne, and was in turn succeeded by his son, whose name, occurring in a broken inscription from Nippur, may probably be restored [Kadašman]-Buriš. The Babylonian List of Kings furnishes the names of the last kings of the dynasty. Of Isam-meš . . . we know nothing, and of Šagašalti-Šuriaš only the fact that he dedicated an object to Bel and placed it in the temple at Nippur. Šagašalti-Šuriaš was succeeded by his son Bibe, and the names of the next three occupants of the throne are Bel-Sum-iddina, Kadašman-Ḫarbe, and Ramman-Sum-iddina. We do not know the relations between Babylonia and Assyria during the early part of this period; but it is probable that the last three kings acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria. Tokal-e-Ninib, king of Assyria, to whom Ramman-nirari III. assumed the title 'king of Sumir and Akkad', invaded Babylonia, captured Babylon, and for seven years maintained his hold upon the country. On the death of Ramman-Sum-iddina, however, the Babylonian nobles placed his son Kašman-Sum-ur on the throne, and, proclaiming him king, threw off the Assyrian yoke. Subsequently, during the reign of Ramman-Sum-ur, the Assyrians suffered a crushing defeat; and although Ramman-Sum-ur, on following up his victory by an invasion of Assyria, was repulsed by Ninib-pal-Ešara, he recovered a considerable portion of Babylonian territory. During the reigns of Meli-šihu, and of his son, Marduk-pal-iddina, the Assyrians made no attempt to wipe out the reverse they had sustained. On the accession of Zamama-Sum-iddina, however, *circa 1155*, Assur-dan crossed the frontier and recaptured several Babylonian cities. Zamama-Sum-iddina reigned only one year, and was succeeded by Bel-Sum-iddina II., the last king of the Kassite dynasty. Under this king the country suffered attacks from Elam, and the discontent and misery which followed the defeats sustained by the Babylonians brought about the fall of the dynasty.

The fourth dynasty is called the dynasty of Pašē; who its founder was we do not know, though an early place in it must be assigned to Nebuchadnezzar I. In one of the two monuments that we possess of this king he styles himself 'the Sun of his land, who makes his people prosperous, the protector of boundaries'; and it is certain that to a great extent he restored the fallen fortunes of the kingdom. He successfully prosecuted campaigns against Elam on the east, he conquered the Lulubi on the north, and even marched victoriously *circa 1130* into Syria. Against Assyria, however, he did not meet with similar success.

On Nelchadrezzar's crossing the frontier, Assur-reš-išā, king of Assyria, marched against him, and Nelchadrezzar, who was not then prepared to meet an army of the Assyrians, burnt what engines of war he had with him, in order to facilitate his retreat. He soon returned with reinforcements; but Assur-reš-išā, who had also strengthened his army, defeated him, plundered his camp, and carried off forty of his chariots. A king who reigned early in the dynasty and may possibly have succeeded Nelchadrezzar is Bel-nān-apin, whose name is known from a 'boundary stone' dated in the fourth year of his reign. Under Marduk-nādin-ahē Assyria and Babylonia were again in conflict. It is probable that this king enjoyed a temporary success against Tiglath-pileser I., during which he carried off from the city of Sala which are mentioned by Sennacherib in his inscription on the rock at Bavian. This campaign is not mentioned in the 'Synchronisms History', though in the beginning of the account of the campaign there mentioned, which ended disastrously for Babylonia, the two kings, it is said, set their chariots in battle array 'a second time' (see Assyria, § 25). This second cam-

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paign consisted of a series of successes for Tiglath-pileser, who, after defeating Marduk-nādin-ahē in Akkad, captured Babylon itself and other important cities in the northern half of the kingdom. Assur-bēl-kala, Tiglath-pileser's successor on the throne of Assyria, changed his father's policy and formed treaties with the Babylonian king, Marduk-šapik-zēr-māni.¹ On this *circa 1100*, sure origin, was raised to the throne of Babylon, and Assur-bēl-kala, in pursuance of his policy, allied himself to the new king by a marriage with his daughter. Only the beginnings of the names borne by the last three kings of the dynasty are preserved in the List of Kings.

The fifth dynasty was called the dynasty of the 'Sea-land,' and was a short one, consisting of only three kings, Simmaš-šihu, Ea-mukin-zēr, and

59. 5th Dyn. Kassi-nadin-ahī. It is not improbable that the Chaldean tribes, who are not actually mentioned in the inscriptions before the time of Assur-nāsr-pal and Shalmaneser II., were even at this early period making their influence felt, overrunning southern Babylonia and spreading themselves throughout the country; and the fact that at a later time we find them especially connected with the district termed the 'Sea-land' in S. Babylonia lends colour to the suggestion that the dynasty of the Sea-land was of Chaldean origin.

Of the three kings of the dynasty Ea-mukin-zēr reigned but a few months; the other two kings, who occupied the throne for longer periods, are mentioned by Nabu-aplu-iddina in connection with the fortunes of the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar. At the time of Simmaš-šihu this temple was in ruins in consequence of the troubles and disturbances in Akkad, the powerful tribes of the Sutu having previously invaded the country, laying the temple in ruins and breaking up the sculptures. Simmaš-šihu partially restored the structure of the temple, and placed it in charge of a priest for whose maintenance he appointed regular offerings. In the violent death of Simmaš-šihu, of which we learn from the fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle, and in the shortness of the reign of Ea-mukin-zēr, we may probably see additional indications of the disturbed state of the country at this time. Under Kassi-nadin-ahī the general distress was increased by a famine, in consequence of which the regular offerings for the temple of Samas at Sippar ceased.

The first king of the sixth dynasty was Eulbar-šakin-šum, and on his accession to the throne E-kur-Sum-ušahš, the priest whom Simmaš-šihu had placed in charge of the temple at Sippar, complained to the king that the offerings had ceased. On hearing the state of the temple's resources Eulbar-šakin-šum increased the regular offerings and endowed the temple with certain property situated in Babylonia. The sixth dynasty consisted of only three kings, Eulbar-šakin-šum being succeeded by Ninib-kadurri-ur and Šilani-šakamma; it was termed the dynasty of the House of Bazi, and each of the three kings on a fragment of a chronicle is termed a 'son of Bazi.'

From this point onwards for nearly a hundred years there is a gap in our knowledge of Babylonian history. After the dynasty of the House of Bazi an **61. Gap.** Elamite occupied the throne for six years; *circa 1005*, but his name is not known, nor are the circumstances that attended his accession. He did not perpetuate his hold upon the country; for on his death the rule 'gain passed to native Babylonians, the kings of the eighth dynasty, which was the second to bear the title 'the dynasty of Babylonia.'

The names of the early kings of the dynasty are not preserved, though Šurir, a Babylonian king whom Assur-nāsr-pal mentions as having destroyed a city which he himself rebuilt, is probably to be placed in this period. The first king of this dynasty of whose reign details are known is Šamaš-mudammik, who *circa 910*, king of Assyria. Against Nabu-Sum-iškun, his successor on the throne, Ramman-nirari scored *circa 900*, another victory, several Babylonian cities falling into his hands, though we subsequently find him on good terms with Assyria and allying himself to Nabu-Sum-iškun, or possibly his successor, each monarch marrying the other's daughter. *circa 880*, Nabu-aplu-iddina is the next king who is known to have ruled in Babylonia, and though he added the people of Suti against Assur-nāsr-pal, his relations with Shalmaneser II. were of a friendly nature. He is the king who restored and endowed so richly the temple of Šamaš at Sippar, digging in the ruins of former structures till he found the ancient image of the god. He restored and redecored the shrine, and with much ceremony established the ritual and offerings for the god, placing them under the direction of Nabu-nādin-šum, the

¹ The name has also been read Marduk-šapik-kullat.

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son of the former priest E-kur-Sin-ušabši. Marduk-Siniddina succeeded his father on the throne; but his brother *circa 850*. Marduk-šar-kadān headed a revolt against him, and compelled him to call in the aid of Shalmaneser of Assyria, who defeated the rebels and restored the land to order. Shalmaneser's son and successor, Šamši-Ramman II., was not on the same terms of friendship with Babylon. He directed an expedition against that country and plundered many cities before meeting with serious opposition. Marduk-šar-kadān, the Babylonian king, had meanwhile collected his forces, which included bands from Elam, Chaldea, and other districts; and the two armies met near the city of Dūr-Papsukal. Marduk-šar-kadān was totally defeated; 5000 of his troops were slain; 2000 more were captured; and rich booty, including 1000 talents of war, fell into the hands of the Assyrians. Ramman-nirari III., the successor of Šamši-Ramman, also subjugated a considerable portion of Babylonia, carrying away to Assyria Ban-abiddina, the Babylonian king, together with the treasures of his palace.

Here the record of the 'Synchronic History' ceases, and there follows another gap, of about fifty years, in our knowledge of the history of the country.

The next king of Babylon whose name is known is Nabu-Sin-škan, the first name which occurs after the break in the List of Kings. His successor was Nabu-nassar, the Nabonassar of the Ptolemaic Canon; and with this

63. Nabonassar.

king our knowledge of the Babylonian succession becomes fuller, as, in addition to the evidence afforded by the List of Kings, the information contained in the Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon becomes available. In the third year of Nabonassar's reign, Tiglath-pileser III. ascended the throne of Assyria; and one of his first acts was an invasion of Babylonia, during which he overran the northern districts and captured several cities, carrying away many of their inhabitants. The distress in the country due to the inroads of the Assyrians was aggravated during this reign by internal dissension: Sippar repudiated Nabonassar's authority, and the revolt was subdued only after a siege of the city.

The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that after a reign of fourteen years Nabonassar died in his palace at Babylon, and was succeeded by his son Nadimr, the

733. Nadios of the Ptolemaic Canon, who is to be identified with Nabu-nadin-zēr of the list of kings. The eighth dynasty ended with the country in confusion. Nabu-nadin-zēr, after a reign of only two years, was slain in a revolt by his son Nabu-šum-ukan or Sum-ukan, 731. who had hitherto held the position of governor of a province. After his accession the dynasty soon came to an end. He had not enjoyed his position for more than a month when the kingdom again changed hands and Ukiu-zēr ascended the throne.

From the fall of the eighth dynasty until the rise of the Neo-Babylonian empire Babylonia was overshadowed by the power of Assyria, the kings of the latter country frequently ruling both at Nineveh and at Babylon. Ukiu-zēr had reigned only three years when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Babylonia, took him captive, and ascended the throne of Babylon, where he ruled under the name of

729. Pulu (see TIGLATH-PILESER). On his death, which occurred two years later, he was succeeded in Assyria by Shalmaneser IV., who, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, also succeeded him on the throne of Babylon, though in the List of Kings Pulu is succeeded by Ululai. The two accounts can be reconciled

727. by the supposition that Ululai was the name assumed by Shalmaneser as king of Babylon (see SHALMANESER). Shalmaneser died after a reign of five years, and, while Sargon held the throne, Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean from southern Babylonia, freed Babylonia for a time from Assyrian control. He sided with Ummanigaš, king of Elam, in his struggle with Assyria; but ten years later was himself captured by Sargon after being besieged in the city of Ikbi-Bel (see MERODACH-BALADAN, 709. SARGON). Sargon then ascended the throne of Babylon, which he held until his death in 705.

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According to the Ptolemaic Canon, the next two years were a period of interregnum, though the List of Kings assigns the throne to Sennacherib. However this may be, we know that in 703 Marduk-zaku-šum proclaimed himself king; but he had reigned for only one month

703. when he was murdered by Merodach-baladan, who had escaped from Assyria. Merodach-baladan thus once more found himself king in Babylon, but Sennacherib marched against him, defeated him, and caused him to seek safety by hiding himself in the Babylonian swamps. After plundering Babylon and the neighbouring cities, Sennacherib returned to

702. Assyria, leaving the kingdom in the charge of Bel-ibni, a young native Babylonian who had been brought up at the Assyrian court. On the death of Merodach-baladan, shortly afterwards, a rising headed by Šuzub, another Chaldean, brought Sennacherib again into the country. Bel-ibni also must have displeased the king; for, after defeating Šuzub, Sennacherib carried Bel-ibni and his nobles to Assyria, leaving his own son Ašur-nadin-šum upon the

700. throne. Sennacherib next planned an expedition against the Chaldeans whom Merodach-baladan had settled at Nagitu, on the Elamite shore of the Persian Gulf, whence they were able in safety to foment insurrections and plan revolt. Sennacherib determined to stamp out this disaffection, transported his troops in ships across the Persian Gulf. Disembarking at the mouth of the Eulens, they routed the Chaldeans and their allies, and returned with much booty and many captives to the Babylonian coast. Meanwhile Šuzub, who had previously escaped Sennacherib's pursuit, collected his forces and with the help of Elam captured Babylon and placed himself upon the throne.

He is to be identified with the Nergal-šuzub 694. of the Babylonian Chronicle and the List of Kings. He, however, ruled for only one year. Sennacherib, on his return from the Persian Gulf, defeated his army and sent him in chains to Nineveh. Turning his forces against Elam, he plundered a considerable portion of the country, and was stopped in his advance into the interior only by the setting in of winter. In his absence a rebel bearing the name

692. of Šuzub—the Mušezib-Marduk of the Chronicle and the List of Kings—seized the throne of Babylon. Allying his forces with those of Elam, he attempted to oppose Sennacherib in the field; but the combined armies were defeated at Habile. Next year Sennacherib returned to Babylonia, captured the city of Babylon, and deported Mušezib-Marduk and his family to Assyria. According to the Babylonian

689. Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon, there now occurred a second interregnum, though the List of Kings credits Sennacherib with the control of Babylonia.

On Sennacherib's murder in 681 his son Esarhaddon 681. was proclaimed king of Assyria. He succeeded to the rule of Babylonia also, though a son of Merodach-baladan made an attempt to gain the throne. He came to Babylon and personally superintended the restoration of the city, rebuilding the temples and the walls, and placing new images in the shrines of the gods. During his reign Babylon enjoyed a season of unusual prosperity, and was free from the internal feuds and dissensions from which she had been suffering.

On Esarhaddon's death the throne of Babylon passed 669. to his son Šamaš-šum-ukin, his elder son, Ašur-bani-pal, having already been installed on the Assyrian throne during his father's lifetime. For some years the two brothers were on friendly terms, and when Urtaku and the Elamites, with the aid of some discontented Babylonian chiefs, invaded the country, Ašur-bani-pal assisted his brother in repelling their attack. During all this time Šamaš-šum-ukin acknowledged the supremacy of Assyria and acquiesced in his brother's active control of the internal affairs of both kingdoms.

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At length, however, he wearied of this state of dependence, and seizing an opportunity, organised a general rising against Assyria among the neighbouring tribes and nations who had hitherto owned her supremacy. He bought the support of Ummanigash, king of Elam, contracted an alliance with Arabia, and at the same time enlisted the services of smaller chiefs. Though one half of the Arabian army was defeated by the Assyrians, the other half effected a junction with the Elamites. This powerful combination, however, was neutralised by the revolt of Tammartu, the son of Ummanigash, the king of Elam. In fact, the dissensions in the Elamite camp proved of great service to Asur-luni-pal, who completely crushed the confederation that Samas-sum-ukin had brought against him (see ASSUR-RAST-PAL, § 7). Samas-sum-ukin himself was besieged in Babylon, and, on the capture of the city, he set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. According to the List of Kings, he was succeeded by Kandakum, the

Kmeladanos of the Ptolemaic Canon; but this king is probably to be identified with Asur-luni-pal himself, who, on this supposition, like Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., ruled Assyria and Babylonia under different names. The last years of his reign are wrapped in obscurity; but on his death the throne was

secured by Nabopolassar, who was destined to raise the fortunes of his country and to

found an empire, which, though it lasted for less than one hundred years, eclipsed by its magnificence any previous period in the varied history of the nation. Nabopolassar, in fact, was the founder of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

During the early part of Nabopolassar's reign Asur-luni-pal's successors on the throne of Assyria did not relinquish their hold upon the southern kingdom. They retained their authority for some time over a great part of the country (see ASSYRIA, § 33.). Though we do not possess historical documents relating to this period, we may conclude that Nabopolassar during all these years was strengthening his kingdom and seeking any opportunity of freeing at least a part of it from the Assyrian yoke, and it is not improbable that conflicts between the Assyrian and Babylonian forces were constantly occurring. Towards the end of his reign he found the opportunity for which he was waiting in the invasion of Assyria by the Medes. He allied himself with the invaders by marrying Nebuchadrezzar, his eldest son, to the daughter of Cyaxares, and on the fall of Nineveh had a share in the partition of the kingdom. While N. Assyria and her subject provinces on the N. and NW. fell to the Medes, S. Assyria and the remaining provinces of the empire were added to the territory of Babylon.

Before Nabopolassar could regard these acquisitions of territory as secure, he had first to reckon with the power of Egypt. Necho II., the son and successor of Psammetichus I., soon after his accession to the throne had set himself to accomplish the conquest of Syria. In 608, therefore, he had crossed the frontier of Egypt and begun his march northwards along the Mediterranean coast. Vainly opposed by JOSHIAH (*q.v.*), he pressed forward and subdued the whole tract of country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. For three years he retained his hold on Syria, and it was only after the fall of Nineveh that Nabopolassar successfully disputed his possession of the country. Nabopolassar did not himself head the expedition against the Egyptians, for he was now old; but he placed the troops under the command of Nebuchadrezzar his son. The two armies met at Carchemish, where a decisive battle took place. Necho was utterly defeated; thousands of his troops were slain; and Nebuchadrezzar pressed after his flying army up to the very borders of Egypt.

While Nebuchadrezzar was still absent on this expedition Nabopolassar died. His son, therefore, returned to Babylon and was duly installed as king in his

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stead. It is probable that during the early part of his reign Nebuchadrezzar consolidated his rule in Syria and on the Mediterranean coast by yearly expeditions in those regions.

66. Nebuchadrezzar. After a few years, however, the country showed signs of repudiating Babylonian control. Nebuchadrezzar returned to the coast to suppress the rising. For some years things remained quiet; but soon after the accession of Apries (see EGYPT, § 69) to the throne of Egypt the ferment revived. After a siege of a year and a half Jerusalem fell (see JERUSALEM).

Tyre, the siege of which also Nebuchadrezzar undertook, held out for thirteen years, 585-572 (see PUNICIA). Built on an island, it was practically impregnable from the land, while the blockade instituted by the Babylonians did not prevent the entry of supplies by water. More successful were Nebuchadrezzar's campaigns against Egypt. We do not possess his own account of them; but an Egyptian inscription records that on one of them (undertaken against Apries) he forced his way through the country as far as Syene, the modern Assuan, on the borders of Ethiopia; and it is not improbable that the country was subject to Babylonia during the first few years of the reign of Amasis II., who succeeded Apries on the Egyptian throne (see EGYPT, § 69). Nebuchadrezzar's hold upon Egypt cannot, however, have been permanent; a fragment of one of his own inscriptions mentions his sending an expedition to Egypt in his thirty-seventh year.

During his reign the relations between Babylonia and Media were of a friendly nature, as was not unnatural from the close alliance that had been established between the two kingdoms before the fall of Nineveh. In a war between Media and Lydia, some twenty years later, the Babylonians did not take part; but, when an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of May in the year 585 put an end to a battle between the Lydians and Medes, Nebuchadrezzar, in conjunction with the king of Cilicia, used his influence to reconcile the combatants and bring the war to a close.

While constantly engaged in extending and solidifying his empire, Nebuchadrezzar did not neglect the internal improvement of his kingdom. He rebuilt the cities and temples throughout the country, and in particular devoted himself to the enlargement of Babylon, completing its walls and rebuilding its temples with such magnificence that the city became famous throughout the world (see NEBUCHADREZZAR, BABYLON). Nebuchadrezzar died after reigning forty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk, mentioned as ENLIL-MERODACH (*q.v.*) in 2 K. 561. 25-27 *ff.* Of this king we possess no inscription, though contracts dated in his reign have been found.

He was assassinated after a reign of two years in a revolt led by Neriglissar, his brother-in-law, who succeeded him upon the throne (see NERGAL-SUAREZER).

His inscriptions that have been recovered are concerned merely with his building operations. He was succeeded by his son Labasi-Marduk, who, after reigning nine months, was murdered by his nobles. Nahu-na'id or Nabonidus, the son of Nabu-balatsu-ikhi, was placed upon the throne.

Nabonidus was a ruler more energetic than his immediate predecessors on the throne. He devoted himself to rebuilding the ancient temples throughout the kingdom, and dug in their foundations until he found the ancient inscriptions of the kings who had first founded or subsequently restored them. In his own inscriptions recording his building operations he recounts his finding of several such inscriptions, and, as he mentions the number of years that had passed since they had been buried by their writers, his evidence with regard to the settlement of Babylonian chronology is invaluable.

68. Nabonidus. throughout the kingdom, and dug in their foundations until he found the ancient inscriptions of the kings who had first founded or subsequently restored them. In his own inscriptions recording his building operations he recounts his finding of several such inscriptions, and, as he mentions the number of years that had passed since they had been buried by their writers, his evidence with regard to the settlement of Babylonian chronology is invaluable.

BABYLONIA

Nabonidus, however, in spite of his zeal for rebuilding the temples of the gods, incurred the hatred of the priesthood by his attempt to centralise Babylonian religion. Although the rise of Babylon to the position of the principal city of the land had been reflected in the importance of Marduk in the Babylonian pantheon, the religion of the country had never radically changed its character. It had always remained a body of local worships, each deity retaining his own separate centre of ritual. Nabonidus set himself to centralise all these worships in Babylon. He removed the images of the gods from their shrines in the various cities throughout the country and transported them to the capital. By this act he brought down upon himself the resentment of the priests, who formed the most powerful section of the community, and they, by the support they gave to Cyrus on his capture of Babylon, considerably aided the Persian conquest of the country.

Cyrus, who had previously conquered the Medes, imprisoning Astyages and sacking Ecbatana, next turned his attention to the conquest of Babylon. The Babylonian army was commanded by Bel-shar-usur (Belshazzar), the son of Nabonidus; but it did not offer an effective opposition to the Persian forces. After suffering a defeat at Opis on the Tigris, it was broken. Cyrus marched on and entered Sippar without further fighting, and Nabonidus fled. Babylon itself was taken two days later, and Nabonidus fell into the hands of the conqueror (cp CYRUS, § 2). In restoring order to the country, Cyrus adopted the wise policy of conciliating the conquered. He restored to their shrines the images of the gods which Nabonidus had removed. The policy he acquired by this act is reflected in the inscription on his cylinder recording his taking of the city, which was probably composed at his orders by the official scribes of Babylon. Although naturally couched in flattering terms, it bears ample witness to the pacific policy of Cyrus, who therein allows himself to be represented as the vindicator and champion of Marduk, the principal deity of his conquered foe:

"He (i.e. Marduk) sought out a righteous prince after his own heart, whom he might take by the hand; Cyrus, king of Ansan, he called by his name, for empire over the whole world he proclaimed his title. The land of Katur, the whole of the tribal borders, he forced into submission at his feet; as for the men whom he had delivered into his hands, with justice and righteousness did he care for them. Marduk the great lord, the protector of his people, beheld his upright deeds and his righteous heart with joy. To his city of Babylon he commanded him to go, he made him take the road to Babylon; like a friend and helper he went by his side. His wide-spreading host, the number of which, like the waters of a river, cannot be numbered, girls with their weapons advance at his side. Without contest and battle he made him enter into Babylon his city; Babylon was spared from tribulation. Nabonidus, the king that did not fear him, he delivered into his hand. All the people of Babylon, the whole of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors beneath him bowed down, they kissed his feet, they rejoiced in his kingdom, bright was their countenance. To the lord, who through his strength raises the dead to life and from destruction and misery had spared all, joyfully they paid homage, they revered his name." Other passages in the cylinder refer to the zeal displayed by Cyrus for Marduk and the other Babylonian gods. "When into Babylon I entered favourably, with exultation and shouts of joy in the palace of the princes I took up a lordly dwelling, Marduk the great lord [inlaid] the great heart of the sons of Babylon to me and daily do I care for his worship. . . . And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which Nabonidus to the anger of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the word of Marduk the great lord one and all in their own shrines did I cause to take up the habitation of their heart's delight. May all the gods whom I have brought into their own cities pray daily before Bel and Nabû for the lengthening of my days, let them speak the word for my good fortune, and unto Marduk my lord let them say: 'May Cyrus the king that feareth thee and Cambyses his son [have prospered].'"

With the capture of Babylon by Cyrus the history of the Babylonians as an independent nation comes to an end. The country never regained her independence, but remained a province subject to the powers which succeeded one another in the rule of W. Asia. Under Cambyses, indeed, and still more under Darius Hystaspis, discontent be-

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came very prevalent in Babylonia. Soon after the accession of Darius a certain Nadintu-Bel put himself at the head of a revolt, declaring himself to be Nabuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. Darius stamped out the rebellion and executed Nadintu-Bel. A few years later he quelled a second rebellion headed by Arabu, who was captured and crucified, and during the reign of Xerxes a similar rising proved equally unsuccessful. These rebellions were the last struggles of the national spirit to reassert itself. They met with no response among the general body of the people, who were content to serve their foreign masters. Babylonia, in fact, remained subject to the Persians until the conquests of Alexander brought her under Greek control, which she exchanged only for the Ptolemaic supremacy.

(a) For the history of Babylonia, see the works by Tiele, Pommel, Deitzsch, and Winckler cited under ASSYRIA. For the early period these histories may be supplemented

by reference to the inscriptions which are being published in E. de Sarre's *Documents en Chaldée* (1894, etc.), *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* (1890, etc.), edited by Hilprecht, and *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc.* in the *British Museum* (1876, etc.). Among English histories reference may be made to George Smith's *Babylonia* (S.P.K. 1877) and G. Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Eastern World*, vols. i. and ii. (1871). In Schröter's *K.B.*, vol. iii, translations of many of the historical inscriptions of Babylonia are given, while the same author's *C.B.* describes the principal points in the O.T. which are illustrated by the monuments. For other works dealing with the inscriptions of Babylonia, the bibliographies mentioned in the article ASSYRIA (§ 34) may be consulted.

(b) On the religion of the Babylonians we have as yet only one student's handbook, *Jastrow's Religion of Assyria and Babylonia* (reviewed by D. G. Lyon, *New World*, March, 1899). Sayce's *Hebrew Lectures* (for 1889) on the same subject are less systematic. On the cosmology of Babylonia, Jensen's *Kosmologie der Babylonier* is still the most complete authority; but editions of religious texts must be consulted by the advanced student.

(c) With regard to books for the study of the language, the first dictionary to appear was N. triss's *Assyrian Dictionary* (1867-72), which he did not live to complete. In his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter* (1876), Strassmaier published an immense collection of material, which has been used in subsequent dictionaries; among these may be mentioned Delitzsch's *Assyrisch u. Wörterbuch* (1887, etc.; unfinished), the same author's *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (96), Muss-Arnolt's *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (1894, etc., in progress), and Meissner's *Supplementum zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch* (1898); Brünnow's *Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, 1889 (*Indices*, 1897), contains a full list of ideographs with their values. The best Assyrian grammar is Delitzsch's *Assy. Gram.* (1889; transl. by Kennedy).

(d) The existence of the Sumerian language, which for long was disputed, is now generally acknowledged; but a grammar of the language has yet to be written; it should be noted that the views on Sumerian which Delitzsch expressed in his *Assy. Gram.* he has since completely changed. A list of the Sumerian values of the cuneiform signs is given by Brünnow in his *Classified List*, while Weissbach's *Die sumerische Frage* (98) may be consulted for the history of the controversy.

L. W. K.

BABYLONIANS (בְּבִי כְּכָל; יְיָוִי בָּבְלוֹנוֹס [BAQ], Ez. 23:15 [BA om. B&B], 17 [-ONOC, B], 23; in Aram. בְּבִי כְּכָל. בָּבְלוֹנוֹס [BAT], Ezra 4:9), in every case the land, not the city, is referred to: cp especially Ez. 23:15, 'the Babylonians, the land of whose nativity is Chaldaea.'

BABYLONISH GARMENT, RV Babylonish Mantle (מִלְבָּשֵׁת בָּבְלוֹנִי, lit. 'mantle of Shinar,' so RV¹⁸⁸⁵), Josh. 7:21. See MANTLE.

BACA. VALLEY OF (בְּקַעַת הַבְּכָה, § 103), or Valley of Weeping (RV, ὁ ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ κλαυθῶνος [B&R], εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τ. κ. [S¹⁸⁸⁵ VI]; cp Ag. Vg. Pesh.), mentioned only in Ps. 84:7. For the meaning given above cp the Wady of Weeping (وادي البكا) found by Burckhardt near Sinai. The name is frequently explained 'Balsam vale' (so RV¹⁸⁸⁵); but cp Cheyne, who reads בְּכִים (cp B here and at Judg. 25), and supposes a play on the name Beka'im. The pl. בְּכָהִים occurs in 2 Sam. 5:22 ff. (= 1 Ch. 11:14 f.), apparently

BACCHIDES

as the name of a spot (see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF) where there were Bacc-trees. David took his stand there to wait for Yahwe's signal to attack the Philistines.¹ (2 S. 5:24) speaks of it as a 'grove,' meaning an Asherah; there is no mention of trees in G. On the meaning of Bacc-trees see McHERRY.

BACCHIDES (ΒΑΚΧΙΔΗΣ, also ΒΑΧ[Ι]ΔΗΣ; ΒΑΡΑΚΥ, [1 Mac. 7:8, A]. KAKY, [ib. 7: 12, A]. BAKYX, [ib. 9:1, N^o. A]), the chief general of DEMETRIUS I. [7: v, 1], who was sent to Judaea to enforce the claims of Alcimus to the priesthood (1 Mac. 7:8 ff.). Almost immediately after the death of NICANOR, he was sent again with Alcimus, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maccabean party at Elasa,² who lost their leader Judas (chap. 9, 10; 10:1). Judaea suffered heavily at the hands of Bacchides; nor did any real advantage accrue when Jonathan took up the leadership (9:32 ff.). The capital and other important strongholds remained in the hands of Bacchides, who was engaged in fortifying them until the death of Alcimus (159 B.C.), when he returned to Demetrius (9:57). At the end of two years the opponents of the Maccabean party (whose hands had become strengthened) agreed to betray Jonathan and his followers to Bacchides. This piece of treachery was discovered and avenged (9:58 ff.). Bacchides set out against Judaea (158 B.C.) and besieged Beth-basi, but met with ill success everywhere, until at last he was only too glad to accept Jonathan's overtures of peace (9:68). The Jewish captives of the former wars were restored, and the Maccabees had rest for four or five years.

BACCHURUS (ΒΑΚΧΟΥΡΟΣ [BA]. BAKXOYP [L], ZAG. 10:18), singer in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), 1 Esd. 9:24; but not in Ezra 10:24 [MT EV G^{ra}], though G^{ra} adds BAKXOYP.

BACCHUS (*Liber*), the equivalent of the Greek Dionysus (so RV^{mg}. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [AV]), is mentioned in 2 Mac. 6:7, where it is said that on the occasion of the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164) the unhappy Jews were compelled to attend the feast of Bacchus (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ; RV^{mg}. 'feast of Dionysia') wearing the ivy-wreath (κισσός), the peculiar emblem of the god. A few years later Nicom (the general of Demetrius) threatened to pull down the temple and supplant it by one dedicated to Bacchus unless Judas was handed over to him (ib. 14:33, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [A]). The worship of Bacchus seems to have been introduced first by the Ptolemies, of which family he was the patron-god, and according to 3 Mac. 2:29 several years previously the Jews in Alexandria had been branded by Ptolemy Philopator (222-204) with the sign of the ivy; the object of this obviously being forcibly to identify the unwilling Jews with the detested worship of Bacchus. See CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 6. His worship would be specially abhorrent to pious Jews, since one of the greatest of the Dionysian festivals fell in the month Elaphebolion (March-April), thus synchronising closely with the passover. In course of time the Hellenising Jews and Greek residents were more attracted by the cult, and when Jerusalem became a Roman colony (Aelia Capitolina) we find Dionysus with his thyrsus and panther figuring upon the coins as one of the patron gods.³

The worship of Dionysus flourished at Caesarea, at Damascus, and in the Haurân. He was the special patron of Scythopolis, and from him the town Dionysia (Soada) received its name. Dionysus, however, soon became identified with the Nabataean deity Dusares (the Baal, the god of heaven, and of wine). The

¹ In v. 24 emend צָרָה to צָרָה (συνσεισμός [L] for συν. σεισμός [BA]), 'when thou hearest the sound of a stormy wind in the top of the Bacc-trees.' It is in the tempest that Yahwe goes out against the Philistines.

² Doubtless an error for ADASA.

³ See Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, p. 252 f.

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Dionysiac character which the latter presents is not native; it is directly due to the northern influence.¹ The priest of Dionysia (see above) calls himself the priest of Dusares, and on the coins of Bostra the latter appears with the Dionysian emblem of the wine-press. Figures of the vine and wine-cup are still found upon the lintels in many of the villages in the Haurân. Although the worship of Yahwe had little in common with that of Bacchus (*nequaquam congruentibus institutis*, Tacit. Hist. 5:5), classical writers, observing the musical and joyful nature of their ceremonial rites, now and then fell into the error of naming Bacchus a Jewish god that had been worshipped by the earliest patriarchs (cp e.g. Plut. Sympos. 14:6).

For the various mythological forms of Bacchus, see Ency. Brit.⁹ s.v. 'Dionysus'; and Koschier, s.v.

BACENOR occurs in an uncertain passage, 2 Mac. 12:15, Δωδεκαθροῦ δὲ τῶν τῶν βακχόπορος [VA]. It is doubtful whether it is the name of a captain or the cognomen of a company or division in the army of Judas. See DISTURERS.

BACHRITES, THE (בְּכָרִית; Nu 26:35, G^{ra} [5:30] om.). See BECHER.

BADGER, ROCK (בֶּדֶק), Lev. 11:5 RV^{mg}; 1 V CONEY.

BADGERS' SKINS, RV SEALSKINS (עֹרֵת הַחֲזִירִים, עֹרֵת חֲזִירִים, ΔΕΡΜΑΤΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΝΑ [ιανθινα, Aq., Sym., Ezek. 16:10] [BAL]; Ex. 25:5 26:14 35:7:23 36:19 [BAL om.] 39:34 Nu. 46:8 [δερματίων υακινθίνων] 10-12 14:25 Ez. 16:10), are mentioned as the fourth or outermost covering of the tabernacle (next above the 'rams' skins dyed red'), and as outer wrappings for the ark and different vessels of the tabernacle during journeys. In Ezekiel's figurative description of Yahwe's adorning of Israel as a beautiful maiden, shoes of this material are included. As to the meaning of *tabas* there have been many opinions: five chief views may be indicated.

(1) The ancient versions with one consent understood a colour: G^{ra} Syr. Chald. Vg. render 'blue' or 'violet,' Ar. Samar. 'black' or 'dark.' This view, which has been strongly maintained by Bochart, rests, however, on no philological ground, and is refuted by the syntax of the Hebrew words.² Apart from the versions, all Hebrew tradition is in favour of the view that *tabas* is an animal.

(2) In the discussion on this animal in the Talmud (*Shabb. c. 2, fol. 28*) the opinion prevails that it is a species of *חֲזִיר* (prob. = 'ferret'), a description which would roughly suit the *badger*; and the claim of this animal has been supported (by Ges. and others) by comparison with late Lat. *Taxus* or *tavo* (Ital. *tasso*, Fr. *taisson*) and Germ. *Dachs*.³ The common badger, *Meles taxus*, found throughout Europe and Northern Asia, reaches its southernmost limits in Palestine, where it is common in the hilly and woody parts of the country. It is, however, improbable that the reference is to the skins of these animals. They would be difficult to procure either in Egypt or in the desert, and there is no evidence of their being used in those regions for such a purpose.⁴

¹ For the god Dusares (Δουσαρης, on Nah, inser. אֲדַסַרִּי; see ZDMG 14:465, 471), Baethg. *Reitr.* 92 ff., WRS, *Kins.* 292 ff., and We. *Heid.* 248 ff. The name means 'possessor (du) of אֲדַסַרִּי'. The latter is often taken to be equivalent to 'Sarah,' in which case Dusares is equivalent to Abraham—a hazardous theory.

² עֹרֵת חֲזִירִים is obviously gen. after חֲזִירִים—i.e., equivalent to עֹרֵת חֲזִירִים, in the phrase for 'rams' skins dyed red.'

³ Philological explanations involving roots common to the Aryan and Semitic languages are, however, notoriously precarious.

⁴ How little value attaches to the opinion of the Rabbis may be gathered from another view, strongly supported in the Talmud, that the *חֲזִיר* was a kind of unicorn which specially appeared to Moses for this purpose, and immediately afterwards disappeared (Bochart, i. 230).

BAITERUS

BAITERUS (ΒΑΙΤΗΡΟΣ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:17 RV, AV METEERUS; see GIBBAR.

BAJITH, RV BAYITH (בַּיִת, 'the temple'; text of $\mathfrak{S}$ differs), is taken in 1 V of Is. 15:2 as the name of a place, the article being neglected (cp AIN, 2). It is perhaps more defensible to render the stichus containing the word thus: "They go up to the temple, Dibon (goes up) to the high places to weep" (so Ges, and formerly Che). The temple referred to might be the Bethlamoth of the inscription of Mesha (L 26; cp BAYOTH-BAM), בַּיִת and בֵּית, however, are so easily confounded (see, e.g., Is. 10:2 Kt.) that it is still better to read בַּתְּרֵן בֵּית, 'the daughter (= people) of Dibon is gone up,' with Duhm and Cheyne (SNOT).

BAKBAKKAR (בַּקְבָּקָר, form strange, probably corrupt; BAKAB [B], BAKB. [AL]; Pesh. has בַּקְבָּקָר, which in 77:812, etc., Heb. יִרְחֵם, Jeroham), a Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (see EZRA, ii, § 5 [A], § 15 [1] a), 1 Ch 9:15; not in Neh. 11:16, but perhaps transposed to 7:17 (where MT and $\mathfrak{S}$ read BAKBUKIAH [7:17], though $\mathfrak{S}$ omits, $\mathfrak{S}$ = βακβιας).

BAKBUK (בַּקְבֻק, § 38, 71, 'pitcher'; but see below), BAKBUK [AL]. The line Bakkuk, a family of Nethinim in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 50, Ezra 2:51 (βακβουκ [1]), BAKB. [B] = Neh. 7:51 (βακβουκ [B], βακβουκ [8]) = 1 Esd. 5:17 (ακωφ [B], ακοιμ¹ [A]; 1 V, AAV). The name can hardly be Hebrew. It may be corrupted from Assyr. Habbakuka, a plant name (see HABBAKUK).

BAKBUKIAH (בַּקְבֻקִּיָּה, § 38, 'pitcher of Yahuwē') for else = bakkuk, $\mathfrak{S}$ being probably a simple affirmative (Hastrow, *IBL* 13:127). cp BAKBUK: BAKBAKIAH [N = om. sup. 1], BAKB. [B] = Neh. 7:51 (βακβουκ [B], βακβουκ [8]) = 1 Esd. 5:17 (ακωφ [B], ακοιμ¹ [A]; 1 V, AAV). The name can hardly be Hebrew. It may be corrupted from Assyr. Habbakuka, a plant name (see HABBAKUK).

BAKEMEATS. In his dream Pharaoh's chief baker carried on his head 'three baskets of white bread' (1. Baking, modern scholars; AV 'three white baskets'), in the uppermost of which were 'all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh,' literally, as we read in the margin of AV, 'meat [food] of Pharaoh, the work of a baker' (40:17). The best commentary on these verses is the representation of the royal bakery on the tomb of Ramses III. at Thebes, which has been reproduced by Wilkinson (*Enc. Eg.*, 1878, 1:179), and more recently by Erman (*Enc. Eg.*, 1911). The process of making the ordinary household supply is described under BREAD; here it is proposed to bring together the scattered notices in Scripture regarding other products of the baker's skill. In this connection, it is interesting to note the remarkable variety of shapes assumed by the bread and pastry in the representation referred to. Additional varieties are collected by Erman from other sources and represented on the same page. If we turn the Hebrew court bakers (1 S. 8:13) were able to imitate those of Egypt we do not know.

There is certainly no lack of names for different species of bakemeats in the OT; but it is now impossible to identify them (cp BREAD). Thus we can only conjecture, although with a fair amount of certainty, that the cake named *kikkar* (קִיקָר, AV 1 Cp ARKUN, 2. It is possible, however, that BA omit the name (L has βακβουκ), since ακωφ, etc. may be a duplicate of HAKUBIA (7:17).

BAKEMEATS

'morsel,' RV 'loaf'), 1 S. 2:36, must have been round, like a Scottish 'bannock'; which, from the context, must hold good also of the barley-cake (סֻסֵּי) of Tiele's dream (Judg 7:17). The *nikkadim* (נִקְקָדִים, possibly from נָקַד, to prick) may have been thin cakes pricked over like a modern biscuit or dotted over with the seed of some condiment (see 'dew'). They were part of the present which the wife of Jeroboam I took to the prophet Ahijah (1 K 14:1), and are rendered by 1 V cracknels, for which the American revisers prefer to read 'cakes'. Still, judging from etymology, we may consider the *halia* (חָלִיָּה, the cake which so frequently occurs in the sacrificial ritual, as having been perforated (חָלַה, to pierce) like a modern Passover cake. It was made of the finest flour (חֲלִיָּה). Mention is made of another kind of sacrificial cakes, apparently of foreign origin, which the women of Jerusalem kneaded and baked in connection with the idolatrous worship of the 'QUEEN OF HEAVEN' (1 K 14:1), Jer. 7:18 41:19. $\mathfrak{S}$ merely transliterates the Heb. word (חֲלִיָּה, χαλῖνας [BA 14]; χαλῖνας [N], χαλῖνας [Q] in Jer. 41:19), and the exegetical tradition varies. That these *halia* were some kind of bakemeats is clear from the kneading of the dough in their preparation (7:18). It is generally thought that they may have resembled the *selamti* (σέλμτι), cakes shaped like the full moon, which were offered in Athens to Artemis, the moon-goddess, at the time of full moon (see especially Kue's essay 'De meliceth des hemels,' translated in Bu's edition of his *Gesammelte Abh.* 208, and the comm. of Gail and of Giesebrecht in loc.). A similar custom is said to have prevailed in the worship of the Arabian goddess Al-'Uzza (We. *Ar. Heil.* 38 f., 2nd ed. 41 f.).

With regard to what may be called the pastry of the Hebrews, all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that a more delicate relish was imparted to **3. Pastry**, the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats in three ways. (1) The dough was baked in olive oil. Thus the taste of the manna is said in one passage (Nu. 11:9 JE) to be like the taste of 'cakes baked with oil' (RV¹⁰⁸, בִּרְצֵף, בִּרְצֵף), generally understood of some dainty cooked in oil (but 1 V 'like the taste of fresh oil'). (2) The dough was prepared by being mixed with oil and then bread. This mode of preparation was extensively used in the ritual of P; see, for example, Lev. 24:5, where a distinction is made between cakes 'mingled (מִצֵּה) — see מִצֵּה in BDB 1:11) with oil' and cakes merely 'anointed (מִצֵּה) with oil.' (3) In the passage parallel to that quoted above (1), viz., Ex. 16:31 [1], the taste of the manna is likened to 'wafers (מִצֵּה, for which see BREAD) made with honey.' From this passage, from the prohibition of honey in the ritual (Lev. 23:1), and from the post-biblical use of the verbal stem מִצֵּה (MIS), we learn that honey (*defat*) — no doubt both the product of the bee and the artificial grape-syrup (the modern *mis*; see HONEY) — was used in the preparation of certain kinds of bakemeats. $\mathfrak{S}$ BAK in both the passages discussed (Nu. 11:8 Ex. 16:31) renders by ἐγκρίσι, which, according to Atheniens (in Di. on Ex. 16:31) denoted 'a bakemeat made with oil and honey.' Saadia's word here is *kafif* (*pastill dulciant*), a species of confection still made in Syria. Landberg (*Proverbes et Dictons*, 125) defines it as 'a flaky paste (*pitte verte feuilletée*) made with walnut and sugar and, in spring, with cream'. Some sort of dainty confection is evidently intended by the obscure *libibeth* (לִּיבֵיֶת, 2 S. 13:68 107; EV 'cakes') which Tamar baked for Amnon.³ If the etymology

¹ For Josh. 9:5, the only other passage where נִקְקָדִים occurs (EV 'mouldy'), see Di. in loc.

² The curious in these matters are referred to Landberg's book for a detailed list of modern Arab confections, 125 126; cp Wetz. *ZDMG* 11:517.

³ On the reading in 7:9 see COOKING UTENSILS, § 5 (i.).

BALAAM

from 22° (heart) were more secure, we might conclude that the tit bit in question was heart-shaped.

In Ex. 27.17 we find among the trade products of Tyre a substance called *ḥammān* (27:1) which, according to the Targum, was a 'kind of conf. non'; so *Ḥammān*. The meaning is quite uncertain, and probably the text is corrupt (Cf. would not 22:1, wān; so *Ḥammān*). For the frequently mentioned *ḥammān* or grape-cake, see *Levrit*, § 5; and for the use of condiments in cooking, see *Food and Sweets*, A. R. S. K.

BAKING. See BREAD, § 2; OVEN.

BAKING PAN (תבנית), Lev. 25 7. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 7.

BALAAM (בִּלְעָם), etymology uncertain; Winckler's Bel-'am [G/122] seems improbable, perhaps Elu-him-

1. Two accounts. *name* (Am. Talm.) and see *HEBAST*, *RELA*, *NICOLAUS*; *ΒΑΛΑΑΜ* [*BAL*]; *Joseph* (*ΒΑΛΑΜΟΣ*), b. *Beor*; a soothsayer or prophet whom *BALAK*, king of Moab, made anxious by Israel's victory over the Amorites, summon¹ to curse his enemies. Instead of doing so, *Balaam* bore himself as the prophetic mouthpiece of Yahwē, whom he acknowledged as his God (Nu 22:1), and by the spirit of Elohim (21:1) foretold the future glory of Israel. No wonder that a prophet of Judah, writing probably in the dark and idolatrous days of Manasseh, recalled the history of *Balaam*, when he would remind his ungrateful countrymen of Yahwē's "beneficent deeds" (Mic 6:5). *Balaam's* character has long been regarded as an enigma, and from Bishop Butler's time onwards many subtle solutions have been offered. The enigma, however, is mainly produced by the combination of two traditions, belonging to different periods, and it is the duty of the critic to distinguish, as far as possible, the two traditions which, though one in spirit, present a palpable difference in details.

According to J. Balak, king of Moab, dismayed by the number of his new and unwelcome neighbors, called Balaam from the land of the *lûnē Ammon*² to curse Israel. Balaam protested that he could not, for all the royal treasure, go beyond Yahwē's word,³ but he saddled his ass and set out.⁴ On the road, the angel of Yahwe, invisible to Balaam, but visible to the beast he rode, stopped his way with a drawn sword. Yahwe endowed the ass with speech, and at last opened the prophet's eyes to the apparition, and, had it not been for the fear which held the animal back, Balaam would have paid for his rashness with his life. Still, he received permission to go, and was only warned to report Yahwē's oracle faithfully.

The Lohist has no occasion for these marvels. In his account, Balaam, who is an Aramean of *Pittok* (7.23) on the Euphrates (or perhaps rather a N. Arabian of Rehoboth by the river of Musri), did not yield to Balak's repeated solicitations till God (Elohim) appeared in a dream and told him to go with the Moabite ambassadors.

From this point it is not possible to separate the E and J documents with full confidence. In what follows we have four great prophecies concerning Israel's future, besides three short oracles on the destruction of the Amalekites, the Kenites, and the Assyrians. Probably the first two of the four great prophecies come to us in their present form from the hand of the Elohist.⁴

¹ The word 'confection' here used in the RVmg. refers everywhere else in EV to perfumes or spices (Ex. 30.35, RV 'perfume'; 1 Ch. 9.30, AV 'ointment, RV 'confection'; Eccles. 38.8); cp the 'confectionaries' or perfume-compounders of 1 S. 8.13.

² 2256; read 722 for 222 with Di. after Sam. Pesh. Vg., and some Heb. MSS. For a third view, however, see *Perrine*.

³ Nu. 22 (9-21) belongs to E. The reason why Balaam went is not told in the extant portions of J.

⁴ The English version of the passage — and, however, has — made some reference to Moab, and must, therefore, have contained more than is now given in chap. 23.

while the last two are derived from the narrative of the Yabwist.

Balaam prepares for his work rather than the freedom of a sorcerer than in accordance with the spiritual law as

2. Oracles
1 and 2 [E]

altars, seven oxen, seven rams, (cp. BERSHEVAH), 'Barnoth Ioni, the scene of the sacrifices was no ordinary high place,' but (probably) one of those high hills where huge dolmens still suggest pre-natal communion with God, and, as we learn, it commanded a view of at least 'the utmost part' of the Israelish encampment. This was important, for a curse must be uttered in sight of those upon whom it is to fall (cp. 23:14). When Balaam returns to Balak and his princes after meeting God, he can but break forth into jubilant praise of Israel, 'thou art inviolable. The people has a destiny of its own which parts it from the surrounding nations. The Israele hosts N. of Arnon are the token of a nightmar multitude unborn. All individual life loses itself in the sense of Israel's greatness. Happy is he who dies in Ishurim, and, dying, knows that his people is immortal.'¹ In vain Balak changes the scene's place of outlook. As Balaam beholds all Israel from the top of Pisgah,² he receives a divine oracle which confirms and transcends the former blessing: 'God, says Balaam, is not a man: he does not change his mind. Nor can trouble touch Israel, for Yahweh himself reigns in their midst; and the people fit we may trust (the reader's) greet this divine king with exultant shout. With the strength of a wild-ox, they fling their foes to the ground. No magic arts avail in Israel's case; even now all has been decided, and one can but cry 'What has God done!' Take a lion, Israel rises up to devour the prey.

Again sacrificial rites are performed, and again Balaam has to disavow the king (see *Psalm*). The third *3. Creation* prophecy (1), together with some striking

3. Oracles

3 and 4 [J]

on the numbers and prowess of Israel, but adds a touch of parody to its well-watered and trustful land, and surprises us by a delicate mention of the kindly power, as distinct from the reign of Yahweh. The king of Israel is more described as raised even above Achez, 6:31. Still more definite is the fourth prophecy (7:1-6). The scar is boldly put in spirit the rise of David, and charts the victories which are to crush Moab and subdue Edom.

The basis of the story of Balaram is evidently a patriotic legend, which, as we now have it, presupposes a

4. Origin
of story.

(Nu 22:14; cp 2 Pt. 2:6), has a lugly primitive flavour.⁵ Still, this story, though we deal with someone with a psychological skill into the surrounding narrative, is a a decoration derived from folklore, and the narrative as a whole is designed to accentuate the selflessness of the jealous and rebellious feelings in the Ammonite and Edomite neighbours of Israel. Ammon, and Edom

¹ It is Balak, not Balaam, who sacrifices; 'Balak and Balaam' in Nu. 23.2 should evidently be omitted (as in BHS).

² This is certainly E's meaning in Nu. 23:15a. The second part of v. 13, which limits Balaam's range of vision to 'the utmost part of the people', must be due to a redactor. Its object is to harmonise v. 13a [E] with 24:2(f), which tells us that Balaam is *now* taking his first complete view of the people of Israel. In reality, however, v. 13b destroys the progress which E intended from 2:41 to 23:13. Since a limited view of Israel had not resulted in the utterance of a curse, Balak decided it necessary to try the effect of the wider outlook from Pisgah.

³ Cheyne, however, reads מִן־הַכֶּלֶב , 'and the glory of the king is among them.'

⁴ It is doubtful, however, whether Nu. 2322-23 is not a Vah-wastic fragment (see Baron, *Tripitaka Tradition*, 228, and ep Di's note). According to Cheyne, 2322 occurs both in 70, 21 d and

⁵ Cf. the Babylonian beast-stories, the speaking horse in *Hom. II. 19.404*, and the speaking serpent in *Genesis*.

BALAAM

were older as nations, but Israel alone had secured permanent foothold W. of Jordan and for a time reduced the oldest nationalities to vassalage. The story of Balaam points out that Yahweh had ordained those privileges of Israel long before. The Moabitish king and the Ammonitish, Aradiah¹ or Ammonian sooth-sayer had sworn to turn aside the irreversible decree, and Yahweh had turned the very means they took into the instrument by which he announced the triumphs and the unique destiny of his people.

It is much harder to fix the date and origin of the poems. We can scarcely attribute them without reserve to J and E, for the points of contact between the prophecies (especially 23:23 and 24:3) suggest that an ancient poem has been expanded and changed in diverse ways. The kernel of the poem may go back to the early days of the kingdom, even it may be to those of Solomon. The national fortune is painted in glowing colours, and the historical references stop short at David, who was the only king to conquer both Moab and Edom. On the other hand, the clear sense of Israel's separateness from the nations (23:23) had not arisen, so far as is known, before the time of the literary prophets, and the phraseology does not permit us to place the poems, as we now have them, earlier.

The appendix (24:23-24), at any rate, is generally admitted to be comparatively modern (note the exagg. generation respecting the Amalekites). The structure shows that the oracles are from one hand (cp 24:28, end, with v. 24, end). The writer was quite familiar with the Assyrian power, and speaks of the deportation of the Kenites by the Assyrians. He speaks of the Kenites, rather than more famous peoples, because he considers them to be like the Amalekites, cp 1 S. 15:6 within Balaam's horizon. He also (if the text of 24:24 be correct) predicts that Assyria in its turn will be destroyed by ships from CHITIM (24:24). Was he thinking of the Persian empire (Assyria-Persia, *Frattini*), and its overthrow by Alexander the Great (cp 1 Mac. 1:1)? The theory has been widely accepted, and much controversy as to the limits of prophecy has grown out of it. It seems bolder than the evidence as a whole warrants (see Dr. 1), and it has lately been pointed out that 'they shall afflict' (22:1, 24) is a misreading which has arisen out of the loss of an ethnic name in v. 24. Analogy requires that the last of the three little oracles in 22:22-24 should begin thus:

6. The appendix.

And he saw . . . and began his oracle, and said, Alas who will live (survive) of . . . And the discoveries of the Tell of Zenjirli enable us to restore the missing name, which was, not 'Samuel' (שמואל), as many MSS and some editions), but 'Sham'al.' Then in v. 24 we may continue:

And there shall be ships from the direction of Cyprus, And Assyria shall afflict him (22), and Eber shall afflict him, And he too (shall come) to destruction.²

The kingdom of Sham'al in NW. Syria was not so very far from Balaam's native place Pethor. (The poet, at any rate, placed Pethor in Aram.) That it was destroyed by Assyrians and peoples from the other side of the Euphrates (= Eber), and plundered by shipmen from Cyprus, was probably within the recollection of the author, who is, therefore, not to be regarded as post-

¹ See above, § 1, second paragraph. Cp Gen. 36:32, and see FELA (2), MIZRAIM.

² The importance of this correction will appear if we compare the alternative explanation of Hommel (*UW* 245/1), which produces the following most unnatural and unworthy distich:

'Jackals (שׁוֹר) shall come from the north

And wild cats (שׁוֹר) from the coast of Kittim.'

where 'jackals' and 'wild cats' are figurative expressions for wild invaders, and Kittim is, Hommel says, 'the familiar term for the Hittites (var. chittim).' See ASSURUM, ENKUR.

BALANCE

exile. Assyria may have been no longer at the height of its prosperity, but was still a towering power.

We have passing notices of Balaam in Josh 24:16 (13) and in Dt 23:4 f., cp Neh 13:1 f., see AMMON (11 S. § 3).

7. Allusions to Balaam. In Dt 23:4 f., as in 1, he is an Aramaean from Mesopotamia, hired to curse Israel, but Yahweh turned his curse into a blessing.

The Priestly Writer represents Balaam in a much more unfavourable light, Nu 31:16-25 Josh 13:22 (cp Nu 25:1-18). He is a sorcerer, at whose instigation the Midianite women seduced the Israelites into sensual idolatry, and he died in the battle between the Israelites and the Midianites. Jos. (*Int*) is also dwell at great length on the corrupting advice of Balaam, given in the first instance (cp Rev. 2:14) to Balak, and in Rabbinical literature Balaam is the type of false teachers (*1. Hek. 5:10*; cp Rev 1:1) and sorcerers. Cp also 2 Pet 2:15 Jude 11. For Arabic parallels to the efficacy of Balaam's oracles, see Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, 26 ff.

See Dr. 8 Comm. and cp Thohuk, 'Die Gesch. Balaams,' *Vertraute Schrift.*, 1 (1864) 12; Oort, *Disput. de Nu* (1866), 1866; Kabisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. 1, 1877; Kue. *Chal. Tgd.*, 18, 497-540 (1841); van Hoonacker, 'Observations critiques sur le comment. Balaam,' *Le Muséon*, 1888; Halesy, *Rev. sem.*, 1901, pp. 20-22; Sch. (*UW* 1:14-145); We. *UW*, 1907, 1:202, 214, 220; Kautsch, *Abrah. (Sketch of his life)* appended to *178*, 141; Hommel, *G.B.* 1:9; Che. *UW*, 1892, June 1892, pp. 129-132.

8. Literature. See Dr. 8 Comm. and cp Thohuk, 'Die Gesch. Balaams,' *Vertraute Schrift.*, 1 (1864) 12; Oort, *Disput. de Nu* (1866), 1866; Kabisch, *Bible Studies*, pt. 1, 1877; Kue. *Chal. Tgd.*, 18, 497-540 (1841); van Hoonacker, 'Observations critiques sur le comment. Balaam,' *Le Muséon*, 1888; Halesy, *Rev. sem.*, 1901, pp. 20-22; Sch. (*UW* 1:14-145); We. *UW*, 1907, 1:202, 214, 220; Kautsch, *Abrah. (Sketch of his life)* appended to *178*, 141; Hommel, *G.B.* 1:9; Che. *UW*, 1892, June 1892, pp. 129-132.

BALAC (בַּלַּאק [Ti. WH]), Rev 2:14. See BALAK.
BALADAN (בַּלְדָּן), 2 K 20:12 Is. 39:1. See MERO-DACH-BALADAN.

BALAH (בָּלָה), Josh. 19:1. See BALAHU, 2.

BALAK (בָּלָק, בַּלַּאק [H.M.]), *Rev* 1:1, b. Zippor, an early king of Moab (Nu. 22-24 Judg. 11:25, and elsewhere; cp Rev 2:14, BALAC), inseparably connected with Balaam. For the alliteration cp Jabel and Jubal, Bera and Birsha, Ehlal and Medad, etc. See BAGAAM.

BALAMO, RV Balamon (בַּלְמוֹן [BNA]), Judith 8:4. See BALMER.

BALANCE (1) *Alôzandim* (אֲלוֹזָנִים),—the dual refers to the two ear-like pendants² are scales for weighing money (Jer. 32:10), hair (Ez. 5:1, מִשְׁקָל מִשְׁקָל), etc.; cp the metaphor of weighing calamity (Job 41:2), men (Ps. 62:10), cp Dan. 5:27, and hills (Is. 40:12). The dust of the balance is a simile for an insignificant or negligible quantity (Is. 40:15). The frequent metaphor of a just or even balance (שָׁקָל 's, Lev. 19:36, cp Job:116 Ez. 45:10; שָׁקָל 's, Prov. 16:11, RV 'scales'), as opposed to one that is false (שָׁקָל 's, Prov. 11:1, cp 20:21 Am. 8:5 Hos. 12:7[8]; שָׁקָל 's, Mic. 6:11), is analogous to the well-known Heb. and Aram. idiom which expresses honour and integrity by the simile of 'heaviness' (cp שָׁקָל and שָׁקָל).³

(2) For *kant*, שָׁקָל (Is. 46:6; only here in this sense), see REEL, 1, n. Other words are (3) *pfes*, שָׁקָל, Prov. 16:11 RV, AV 'weight,' Is. 40:12 (*arabûs* [BNAQ]), LV 'scales'; cp the verb in Ps. 58:2[1]; but hardly שָׁקָל in Job 37:16, 'the balancings (שָׁקָל) of the clouds?' (see Bodde). (4) שָׁקָל, Rev. 6:5, frequent in 6 for the above.

The balances used in Palestine were probably similar to those found on Egyptian monuments. One type consists of an upright pole rising from a broad base with

¹ Che. *Expositor*, 1866, pp. 77-80 (following D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten*, 1:215 f.).

² In Ar. *malân* with *z*, whereas *mal* (= מִל) has *z*; see Frankel, 1:38.

³ Cp Phoen. בַּעֲלֵמֶס, 'B. hath weighed out.'

⁴ Cp the deprecation of unfair weights (שָׁקָל, lit. 'stones') in Lev. 19:35 Prov. 11:1 Mic. 6:11.

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cross beams turning upon a pin. An arm on either side ended in a hook to which the article to be weighed was attached in loops (cp Wlk. *Im. Ag.* 2246, fig. 115, 3d, see BAL). Small ones of a particularly ingenious nature, as well as hand-scales, are found (Wlk. 1, 3, fig. 95). Above the pole is sometimes placed the figure of a baboon representing both the regulator of measures. The steelyard (in Egypt) does not seem to have been known until the Roman period.

BALASAMUS (ΒΑΛΑΣΑΜΟΣ [BAL]), 1 Esd 10:1, Neh. 8:1. **MASTIC**, 15.

BALD LOCUST (צָדִיד ATTAKHI [HAFL.]) The *afani* is apparently a species of edible locust or a locust in a particular stage of growth. See further LOCUST, 2.

BALDNESS. See CHITTEN, § 1, HAIR.

BALM (בַּיִשׁ or בַּיִשׁ; PHTNH [pit. AFI] PITHNH [1] once) cp Ezek. 27:17. **MASTIC**, 15. **AG. resin**

1. OT Sori. Gen. 37:25, 13:11, for 8:22, 10:11, 51:8, Ezek. 27:17, a valuable product of Palestine, the identification of which has given much trouble. The rendering, 'balm,' is an unfortunate inheritance from Coverdale's Bible (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). Our best look first at the Hebrew name בַּיִשׁ (*sori*). The Arabic *darra* or *dirra* is identical with it, and since the word means to 'drip' or 'bleed,' the product referred to must be *resinous*, but it need not be *aromatic*. From the OT notices we learn that *sori* (EV 'balm') was found abundantly in Gilead, that it was in early times exported thence to Egypt (Gen. 37:25), was sufficiently prized to form an appropriate gift to a lord of that country (Jer. 41:19), was applied as a remedy for violent pain (Jer. 8:1, 2), and was among the chief products of Palestine that were brought into the Syrian market (Ez. 27:17).

Next, we must point out that the modern commercial name 'balm of Gilead' has, like the botanical specific name *vitelladenia*, no foundation but the hypothesis that the substance so designated is the OT 'sori of Gilead'; and that from the earliest times resins and turpentine have been used in medicine, as stimulants and as antiseptics for wounds, and as counter-irritants for pain. The *sori* (EV 'balm') of Jer. 8:22, 46:11 is clearly a local product in Gilead; its association with *myrr* (EV 'myrrh') in Gen. 37:25, 13:11 proves that it was a valuable article of commerce.

It has been shown elsewhere (BALSAM) that the so-called 'balsam of Mecca,' produced by the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, is most probably not the 'sori of Gilead' but the Hebrew *mor*, which EV mistakenly renders 'myrrh' (see BALSAM, MYRRH). *Sori* (EV 'balm'), then, must be something else.

(1) Arabic usage is in favour of the rendering of RV: Gen. 37:25 etc., **MASTIC**—i.e., the resin yielded by the mastic tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*.

This tree is a native of the Mediterranean shores, and is found in Portugal, Morocco, and the Canaries (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacog.*, 1914). According to Tristram (*NHB* 162), it is extremely common in all the Mediterranean countries, especially on the African coasts and in the Greek islands, where it overruns a whole district for many miles. Tristram states, also, that it is indigenous in all parts of Palestine, though, according to Post (Hastings, *BD* 2:162), it is not now to be found E. of the Jordan. The mastic of commerce is mainly derived from the Isle of Sicily. Down to the seventeenth century mastic was an ingredient of many medicines. Unlike most resins, it readily softens with moderate heat, even that of the mouth.

As the Arabic word *darra* (or *dirra*) is used mainly of this tree and its products, we are not rash in concluding that a substance of this kind is intended in the biblical passages, though it seems unnecessary to limit בַּיִשׁ *sori* to the resin of *P. Lentiscus*; it may include the resins of the *terebinth* (*P. terebinthus*) and *Stipho pine* (*Pinus halepensis*; see AST). The former yields 'Chian

¹ The Syriac *partor* must be a loan-word from Arabic (Eg. *Mith.* 1234).

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turpentine,' which has recently been brought into notice as an alleged remedy for cancer. According to Tristram (*op. cit.* 400), the terebinth is not now tapped for turpentine in Palestine, where the inhabitants seem to be ignorant of its commercial value. There is abundant evidence of the medicinal use of these resins in antiquity (see Movers, *Phon.* III. iii. 1223).

(2) *Pistacia agelaea*, called *zakkum* by the Arabs (Tristram, *op. cit.* 65), yields an oil prepared by the Arabs of Jericho and sold in large quantities to the pilgrims as 'balm of Gilead'. This, however, was the *masaka* of Greek writers, and clearly, therefore, distinguished by them from *Balsamum* or *myrrh*. It is merely a modern substitute.

(3) Lastly must be mentioned Lagarde's view that *σπιθαμή* (*sori*) is *styracis*. There is great probability in this identification of the words, for *styr* is employed in several instances to designate *styracis* (*styr*); but evidence is wanting to connect *styr* with the substance *styracis*, which seems to have been called *styracis* (*styracis*). See further STYRACIS.

W. L. G. - N. M.

BALSAM (ΒΑΣΑΜ), 1 Esd 10:1, Neh. 8:1.

1. OT Sori. Gen. 37:25, 13:11, for 8:22, 10:11, 51:8, Ezek. 27:17, a valuable product of Palestine, the identification of which has given much trouble. The rendering, 'balm,' is an unfortunate inheritance from Coverdale's Bible (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). Our best look first at the Hebrew name בַּיִשׁ (*sori*). The Arabic *darra* or *dirra* is identical with it, and since the word means to 'drip' or 'bleed,' the product referred to must be *resinous*, but it need not be *aromatic*. From the OT notices we learn that *sori* (EV 'balm') was found abundantly in Gilead, that it was in early times exported thence to Egypt (Gen. 37:25), was sufficiently prized to form an appropriate gift to a lord of that country (Jer. 41:19), was applied as a remedy for violent pain (Jer. 8:1, 2), and was among the chief products of Palestine that were brought into the Syrian market (Ez. 27:17).

Next, we must point out that the modern commercial name 'balm of Gilead' has, like the botanical specific name *vitelladenia*, no foundation but the hypothesis that the substance so designated is the OT 'sori of Gilead'; and that from the earliest times resins and turpentine have been used in medicine, as stimulants and as antiseptics for wounds, and as counter-irritants for pain. The *sori* (EV 'balm') of Jer. 8:22, 46:11 is clearly a local product in Gilead; its association with *myrr* (EV 'myrrh') in Gen. 37:25, 13:11 proves that it was a valuable article of commerce.

It has been shown elsewhere (BALSAM) that the so-called 'balsam of Mecca,' produced by the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, is most probably not the 'sori of Gilead' but the Hebrew *mor*, which EV mistakenly renders 'myrrh' (see BALSAM, MYRRH). *Sori* (EV 'balm'), then, must be something else.

(1) Arabic usage is in favour of the rendering of RV: Gen. 37:25 etc., **MASTIC**—i.e., the resin yielded by the mastic tree, *Pistacia Lentiscus*.

This tree is a native of the Mediterranean shores, and is found in Portugal, Morocco, and the Canaries (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacog.*, 1914). According to Tristram (*NHB* 162), it is extremely common in all the Mediterranean countries, especially on the African coasts and in the Greek islands, where it overruns a whole district for many miles. Tristram states, also, that it is indigenous in all parts of Palestine, though, according to Post (Hastings, *BD* 2:162), it is not now to be found E. of the Jordan. The mastic of commerce is mainly derived from the Isle of Sicily. Down to the seventeenth century mastic was an ingredient of many medicines. Unlike most resins, it readily softens with moderate heat, even that of the mouth.

As the Arabic word *darra* (or *dirra*) is used mainly of this tree and its products, we are not rash in concluding that a substance of this kind is intended in the biblical passages, though it seems unnecessary to limit בַּיִשׁ *sori* to the resin of *P. Lentiscus*; it may include the resins of the *terebinth* (*P. terebinthus*) and *Stipho pine* (*Pinus halepensis*; see AST). The former yields 'Chian

¹ Curiously enough, Ar. *basima* has the contrary sense of 'leathering' (see Lag. *Leb.* 143); but *basim* denotes the balsam tree.

² Heb. does not possess the verb.

³ See STYRACIS. *styracis* is the word used in 1 K. 19:10, 23 (Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon).

BALSAM

to Judea. 'In former times it was cultivated only in two or three gardens, both of them royal; one of them was no more than twenty years in extent, and the other less. The emperor Vespasian and Titus had this shrub exhibited at Rome; . . . it bears a much stronger resemblance to the vine than to the stem; here Phry seems to borrow from Tragus resemblance to that of [vine] and it is an evergreen. . . . At the present day it is cultivated by the local authorities, and the plants were never known to be more numerous. They never exceed a couple of palms in height.

Josephus makes several references to the balsam. He says (Ant. viii, 16) that the first roots of balsam (*ἀρωματίζον*) were brought to Palestine by the queen of Sheba. In 70 A.D. he gives an idea of the site of Pompey's camp (at Jericho), he says it is where that balsam (*ἀρωματίζον*) which is of all magnets (*μαγνῆται*) the chief grows, and describes how the juice (*σύν*) is obtained (Ant. xiv, 44). Again, when speaking of the district around Jericho assigned to Cleopatra, he speaks of the preciousness of this plant, which grows there alone (Ant. vi, 42). Lastly, in a second reference to Pompey, he says that the region of Jericho bears the balsam tree (*ἀρωματίζον*), whose stems (*σύν*) were cut with sharp stones, upon which the juice 'drops down like tears' (Ant. i, 46).

Tragus, an author of the time of Augustus, is reproduced by Justin (96 d). He describes the closely shut in valley in which grows the balsam (*ἀρωματίζον*); the name of the place is Jericho (Hierichus). 'In that valley is a wood, notable alike for its fertility and its pleasantness, being adorned with a palm grove and opobalsamum. The opobalsamum trees have a form like pine trees (*πυρρα*), except that they are less tall (*ὀρθίζοντες*), and are cultivated after the manner of vineyards. These at a certain time of the year sweat balsam.'

It is remarkable that the Greek and the Roman writers dwell so constantly on the preciousness of the balsam tree of Jericho. Some of them, at any rate

3. Balsam in Arabia.

(e.g., Strabo, Pausanias, Diodorus), were not unaware that the plant grew on the coasts of Arabia; and Josephus, in his legendary style, actually attributes to importation from Arabia its presence in Palestine (Ant. viii, 65). No doubt this is substantially correct. Prosper Alpinus (*De Balstima*, 1502) and Veslingius (*Opobalsami Triductus*, 1613) long ago investigated the subject. In the time of the former, balsam plants were brought to Cairo from Arabia; Alpinus himself (*op. cit.* 94) apparently possessed a living specimen. The Arabic writer 'Abdallatif (d. 1231) also speaks of the balsam tree as in Egypt in 'Um Shems ('Fountain of the Sun'). i.e., in the gardens of Mataniya, close to Helipolis. 'It was about a cubit high, and had two barks: the outer red and fine, the inner green and thick. When the latter was macerated in the mouth, it left an only taste, and an aromatic odour. Incisions were made in the barks, and the amount of balsam oil obtained formed a tenth part of all the liquid collected.' The first balsam tree cultivated in Egypt died in 1615; but two were alive in 1612. This was the only place in Egypt where the balsam tree would grow. We can well understand, therefore, that the neighbourhood of Jericho was the only habitat of the tree in Palestine.

It would, however, be unreasonable to suppose that the needs of the luxurious class in Palestine in pre-

4 Probably OT *môr* EV myrrh.

Roman times were altogether supplied from Jericho. The precious magnet derived from the balsam tree, not less than the costly frankincense, was doubtless always one of the chief articles brought by Arabian caravans. The tree that produces the so-called 'balsam of Mecca' is the *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*. This tree, as Schweinfurth reports,¹ averages above 15 ft. in height, possesses a yellow papery exfoliating bark, and produces thin, grayish black twigs, from the ends of which a small quantity of balsam exudes. 'It is widely distributed over the coast territory of Arabia the adjacent islands, and S. Nubia'; but 'the balsam is collected only in the valleys near Mecca.' It is thus described by Dymock (*Pharmacopoeia Ind.* 1, 17): 'Balsam of Mecca, when freshly imported into Bombay, is a greenish turbid

¹ *Rural* in old editions. But Mayhoff prefers *tuber* (*tuber*).

² See 'Abdallatif, ed. Deshayes, 83 (Badger, *The Nile*, 181).

³ We quote from a *résumé* of his researches in *Pharm.*

Journal, April 1894, p. 297.

BAN

fluid of syrupy consistence, having a very grateful odour, something like oil of rosemary.' Jewish tradition seems to have held that Mecca balsam is what the OT writers call *gôr*—whence the rendering 'balm' of AV and RV (text); but the tradition was unpaginated long ago by Bockart (*Hebr.* i, 281), and does not agree with the use of the Arabic cognate word *darâ* mastic; see BALM, 1). Schweinfurth holds that the OT name for Mecca balsam was not *gôr* (EV balm, perhaps really mastic; see BALM, 1), nor *basem* (see above, § 1), but *môr* (see MYRRH). Certainly *môr* was like Mecca balsam strongly aromatic and also a *liquid* substance (Ex. 30:24 Cant. 2:13), whilst the OT references do not necessarily imply that *gôr* was aromatic. It is not unlikely that both *basem* (§ 1) and *môr* mean Mecca balsam. (Cp. *Kere Balaṭṭar* for Mar. Apr. 1896, p. 80c.) See MYRRH. S. M. W. L. I. D. I. K. C.

BALSAM TREES (בָּלְשָׁם; RV⁹⁸ 2 S. 5:24 1 Ch. 1:14 Ps. 84:6). See MYRRH.

BALTHASAR, RV Balthasar (ΒΑΛΤΑΨΑΡ [BAQT]). Bar. 1:1 f. See BALTHAZAR.

BAMAH (בָּמָה; Ez. 20:29). See HIGH PLACES, § 5.

BAMOTH (בְּמֹת; βαμωθ [BAUT], a station of the Israelites between NAHALEH (נָחַל) and 'the glen' (עֵין) which is in the field [placem] of Moab, [by] the summit of [the] Pisgah, etc.' (Nu. 21:9). Ens. (188 191 22) describes it as 'on the Arnon' (like Nahaliet), which must be wrong. See BAMOTH BAAL.

BAMOTH BAAL (בְּמֹת בָּעַל; i.e., 'the high places of Baal') lay in the Moabite territory (see Nu. 22:41, RV; εἰς τὴν τοῦ ΒΑΛΛ [BAUT], to the north of the Arnon, and was assigned to Reuben (Josh. 13:17; ΒΑΜΩΝ ΒΑΛΛ [B], ΒΑΜΩΘ Β [M]). The order of enumeration in Nu. 21:16 f., where it is called simply BAYOTH, leads to the supposition (so D.) that it must have lain somewhere on or near the Jebel 'Atarus, on the south side of the Wady Zerka Ma'in (cp. Is. 15:2 'the high places'). Conder (*Heb. and Moab.* 144) and G. A. Smith (*HB* 502), however, find the Bamoth in the dolmens immediately north of el-Masluayeh, near the Wady Jiddid. The Beth Bamoth of the Moabite stone is perhaps the same place (cp. BAYOTH); but this whole region is thickly strewn with the remains of ancient altars and other religious monuments (Conder, *op. cit.* 140 ff.). The name Bamoth-baal is suggested also by Nu. 21:28, where the בָּמֹת בָּעַל (EV 'high places of the high places of Arnon')—but see G—are mentioned in parallelism with Ar of Moab. G. A. S.

BAN, RV⁹⁸ BANAN (BAN [A], BAENAN [B]). 1 Esd. 5:37 = Ezra 2:69, TORJAM, 2

BAN (בָּן), to BAN (בָּרַן).

renders by ἀνάθω, ἀνάθω, ἀναθωσάμενος, and in a few instances ἀνάθω and other words denoting destruction; ἀναθωσάμενος and more rarely ἀναθωσάμενος, once, 1 Esd. 9:4, ἀνεπαρ, ἐξολοθίσαι, and in a few instances other verbs denoting 'kill' in 'de-roy'. Vg. has *anathema*, *consecratio*, et. i. *exco.* *consecr.* *consecr.*, etc. AV translates *curse*, *utterly destroy*, *accursed thing*, etc.; RV, *devote*, *utterly destroy*, *accursed thing*.

The root *BAW* in Hebrew denotes devoting anything to Yahweh by destroying it; *hārem* is any person or thing thus devoted. The root is found in a similar sense in all the Semitic languages, of sacred things which men are partly or wholly forbidden to use. It is especially common in Arabic; e.g., the sacred territory of Mecca and Medina is *haram*, and the *haram* (harem) is ground forbidden to all men other than the master and his eunuchs. It may be noted that the exclusive use of the root in the strong sense of devoting by destroying is characteristic of Hebrew (and of the dialect spoken by the Moabites; see §§ 3 f.), and that in other languages *hārem* bears a meaning more nearly approaching *ḥārem* (ḥārem), קָדֵשׁ (consecrated).

(a) idols are *herem* in themselves. In Dt. 7:25 the Israelites are ordered to burn all heathen idols and not to bring them into their houses. The idols

2. Law of Herem.

are *herem*, and make those who keep them *herem*. (b) Public *herem*. The Israelites or their rulers are ordered to treat as *herem* in certain circumstances, guilty citizens or obvious enemies. In Ex. 22:19-20 [Book of the Covenant, 1:] any one sacrificing to any deity other than Yahweh is to be made *herem*. So in substance Dt. 18:9-11, though the term *herem* does not occur till 2:16. In Dt. 13:12-14 [12:] any idolatrous Israelite city is to be made *herem*; all living things are to be killed and all its spoil is to be burnt. So far, in (a) as in (b), the *herem* is something abominable in itself and distasteful to God. Its destruction is a religious duty, and an acceptable service to Yahweh. Similarly, in Dt. 20:16-17 all Canaanite cities are to be made *herem*, that they may not seduce Israel to idolatry. In Dt. 20:13-14, if any distant city refuses to surrender when summoned, all the males are to be slain, and all other persons and things may be taken as spoil. The term '*herem*' is not used in that paragraph, and is perhaps not applicable to it. (c) We gather from certain passages that individuals might devote some possession to destruction as a kind of service to Yahweh, and that also is called *herem* (see Vow). In a section of P concerning vows, Lev. 27, two verses (23 f.) deal with this individual *herem*. Other vows may be redeemed; but individual (like public) *herem* must be destroyed; it may not be sold or redeemed; it is most holy (*kadosh kodashim*) unto Yahweh. Among the objects which an individual may make *herem*, men are specially mentioned; they must be put to death. It is startling to find such a provision in one of the latest strata of the Pentateuch. Possibly only criminals could be made *herem*; or the text may be fragmentary. Cp Dillmann and Kalisch on Lev. 27:28-29.

In Josh. 6:24 we have a provision that metal *herem* (obviously because indestructible) is to be put into the treasury of the sanctuary. By an extension of this principle, Nu. 18:14 (P) and Ez. 11:20 ordain that *herem* shall be the property of the priests.

Herem is met with in Hebrew literature in all periods. The sweeping statements that all Canaanite cities E.

3. Practice.

and W. of the Jordan were made *herem* are late generalisations; but Nu. 21:2 (DE) and Judg. 1:7 (J), though otherwise discrepant, agree that the city on whose site Hormah was built was made *herem*. Other instances of *herem* are Jahesh-gilead (Judg. 21:6 f.), Jericho (rebuilt, forbidden under supernatural penalty, Josh. 6:26 f.), the Amalekites (1 S. 15), and the children of Ham at Gedor (1 Ch. 4:41). Similar cases in regard to which, however, the term *herem* is not used, are Gibeon and Benjamin (Judg. 20) and Saul's attempt to execute Jonathan (1 S. 14:24-26). On the Moabite stone (L. 16 f.) Mesha' says that he made the whole Israelite populace of Nebo *herem* to Ahterahemosh. The prophets speak of Israel or Yahweh making *herem* of enemies (Is. 31:2 etc.) or of enemies' property (Mic. 4:13), or, conversely, of the heathen (Jer. 25:9), or Yahweh (Is. 13:3), making *herem* of Israel. In the later literature the root *herem* often only means exterminate (2 Ch. 20:23). The old meaning, however, was not quite forgotten, and in Ezra 10:8, if any Jew failed to obey Ezra's summons to Jerusalem, his property was to be made *herem* and he himself excommunicated. In post-biblical Hebrew *herem* came to mean excommunication as well as property set apart for the priests and the temple (Levy and Brown's Dictionary, s.v.; S. Mandl, *Der Rann*, 1908, pp. 24-51). See, further, EXCOMMUNICATIO.

The character of *herem*, the diffusion of the root in a similar sense throughout Semitic languages, and its use in the Hebrew sense by the Moabites, show that it was an ancient Semitic institution belonging to Israel in common with its kinsmen. Stade (*Hebr.* I. 490) holds

that a Semitic people besieging a city vowed to make it

4. Origin and parallels.

herem to their god in order to secure his aid. Moreover, the idea of *herem* as the use of the root in allied languages shows, was kindred to that of sanctity and uncleanness. Take these, it was contagious (Lev. 11:38, §§ 2, 14); the possessor of *herem* became *herem* (Dt. 7:6 Josh. 6:17, Acham). Old legislation, as we have seen, converts the bribe to a vend. deity into a legitimate penalty. The various degrees of severity are not important in relation to the principle.

Herem has something in common with taboos, especially in its fatal effect on its possessor, e.g., in New Zealand tabooed food is fatal to any one who eats it (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. ii, 'Taboos'), but it is not so closely allied to taboos as the idea of uncleanness (§ 22, WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 12, 450 ff.). The Arab *herem* often assimilates to *herem*, e.g., clothes used at the circuit of the Kaaba are *herim*, and may not be worn or sold. Cp also the Roman ceremony of *devotio*, by which an enemy was devoted to destruction as an offering to the infernal gods (Preller, *Rom. Myth.* 124, 469). The instance of Kurba and the Amphictyonic council, in which the cultivation of land laid under a curse was made the pretext for a holy war, may also be compared with the case of Jericho. W. H. B.

BANAIAS (BANAIAE [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:25 = Ezra 10:43, BANAIAM, 10.

BAND 1. In the sense of a troop or company of men, soldiers, etc. (see ARMY, § 3).

The rendering of *bagappim*, בָּגָפִים (prop. wings, cp *Bdg. agappim*, Ez. 12:14, etc.; *goshal*, 777, 1 K. 11:24 AV, 1 K. 8:26, etc.; *havil*, 778 (prop. force), 1 S. 10:6 AV Ezra 8:22; *mag' shel*, 777, Gen. 32:7 [AV 1000000, comp. see MENASHEM]; a *band*, 778, 1 Ch. 12:1 AV Job 1:17; 'by bands', Ps. 30:27, represents a participle בָּגָפִים, 'dividing (troops)'. In this sense the common Gr. word is στρατός (cp Mt. 27:7 Mk. 1:16, etc.), 'cohort' (so RV, Acts 10:4).

2. In the sense of a ribbon.

So *habbith*, בִּבְתִּי, Ex. 28:8, RV 'cunningly woven band'; AV 'curious girdle'.

3. Finally, to denote anything that connects or encloses, the following words (also rendered 'bands,' etc.) are employed.

Yabeh, 728, Judg. 15:4, cp Aram. 728, 1 Qm. 1:53 (11220); *yabbel*, 727, Ps. 119:61 (RV Comes, q.v.), and cp. *Zeck*, 11714, where 'bands' (ing. 'binders' or 'union') is the name of one of the prophet's slaves; *yababbith*, 72275, 1 Esd. 10:43 and Ps. 73:4 (RVing. 'prongs' doubtful); *metah*, 7272, Lev. 26:13 Ez. 34:27, RV 'bars' (VARIANT, § 4); *misar*, 7273, Job 39:5 Ps. 24, *mis'cheth*, 72272, Job 38:14, of the 'bands' of Orion; see STARS, § 36; *yabboth*, 7227, Job 39:10, elsewhere (in plur.) rendered 'cords,' 'ropes,' etc.

BANI (בָּנִי, §§ 5, 52; cp Palm and Nab. 22, probably shortened from BANAIAM, 'Yah hath built up'; cp Gen. 30; Dt. 25:9 Ruth 1:1, and see Haupt, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, Ap. 22 [192]; BAN[ע] [BNM], -ai [L], -aia [BL], -aiar [NM], BAN[ע] [BNM] is a frequently occurring name (chiefly post-exilic), and in some cases it is difficult to separate the persons bearing it; there is often confusion between it, the parallel names BANAI and BANAI [q.v.], and the noun *Ben* (בֶּן). See MEY *Entsch.* 142.

1. A Gadite, one of David's 'thirty', 2 S. 23:34 (*trig. galadai* [BL], cf. *galad* [A], cf. *galadai* [L]); 1 Ch. 11:38, one which see HAVON. Cp DAVYD, § 10 (iii).

A family of *Ben Bani* occurs in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, n. §§ 9-81), Ezra 2:10 (*galadai* [L], cf. [A] Neh. 7:1, 2 (*trig. [BNM]*, *trig. [L]*) AV Ezra 11:1 (*trig.* 11:12); and various members of it are enumerated in Ezra 10:9 (*galadai* [BNM]) 1 Esd. 9:3 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:10 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:11 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:12 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:13 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:14 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:15 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:16 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:17 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:18 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:19 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:20 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:21 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:22 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:23 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:24 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:25 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:26 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:27 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:28 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:29 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:30 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:31 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:32 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:33 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:34 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:35 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:36 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:37 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:38 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:39 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:40 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:41 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:42 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:43 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:44 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:45 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:46 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:47 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:48 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:49 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:50 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:51 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:52 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:53 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:54 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:55 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:56 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:57 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:58 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:59 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:60 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:61 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:62 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:63 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:64 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:65 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:66 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:67 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:68 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:69 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:70 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:71 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:72 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:73 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:74 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:75 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:76 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:77 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:78 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:79 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:80 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:81 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:82 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:83 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:84 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:85 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:86 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:87 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:88 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:89 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:90 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:91 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:92 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:93 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:94 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:95 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:96 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:97 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:98 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:99 (*galadai* [BNM]) Ezra 10:100 (*galadai* [BNM])

BANID

BANID [L.] = MT 22:22, EV BANI and BISSI (1 Esd. 9:34 (EV BANNUS, FIHAL; Bannus, Ednalet [B], B., Ednalet [V], Bannus, kai von Bannus [L]). It is plausible, however, to correct Bani into BISSI or perhaps BISSI in 7:34 (cp 2:14). The family is also referred to on important occasions in Neh. 3:17 and 10:13 (Bannus [L]), and as in Ezra's caravan (see Ezra, i, § 2, ii, § 15 (1) d), 1 Esd. 8:25, AV BANI, RV BANNUS (Bannus [L], -v. a7- [A]). Ezra 8:13 (v. a7- [A]) where Bani should be restored in MF (see *loc. cit.*).

3. One of the exponents of the Law (Neh. 8:7; see Ezra, ii, § 13; cp i, § 8, ii, § 16 (1) 15 (1) c) who officiated at the constitution of the 'congregation' (9:4 f.; see Ezra, ii, § 12, § 13 [L]). In 9:4 (Bani Kadmiel; Bannus, v. a7- [A]) the name is repeated, possibly by an error (cp Ryssel); Ginz, after Pesh., reads Binni for the second Bani. In 9:5 Bannus has simply Bannus. Cp also Ezra 2:40 (and Kadmiel of the children of Hodaviah) Neh. 7:43 with 1 Esd. 8:20 (Kadmiel and Bannus [A]). In Neh. 11:22, Uzzi (5) b. Bani (Bannus [A]), Bannus [L] is called overseer of the Levites at Jerusalem.

4. Signatory to the covenant (see Ezra, i, § 7; Neh. 10:14 f.; Bannus [L]; v. a7- [A]; cp Bannus, i, § 1. A Merarite; 1 Ch. 6:31 [A]).

5. A Judahite; 1 Ch. 9:4 Kt. (Bannus omit).

BANID, RV Banias (Bannetac [B], i.e., BANI (q. 7, 2 [end])).

BANISHMENT. On various forms of temporary or permanent exclusion from the community as a consequence of crime or ceremonial disqualification, see BAN, § 3; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 15 f.; SYNAGOGUE; EXCOMMUNICATION.

In 2 S. 14:14 allusion is made to Absalom in the word בָּנִי (EV 'banished'), elsewhere usually rendered 'outcast' ('outcasts' or 'dispersed of Israel'); see *Interpretations*, § 1. The nature of the punishment threatened in Ezra 7:24 (בָּנִי RV 'rooting out' [B], בָּנִי [L]) was already obscure to the editor of 1 Esd. (8:24; בָּנִי [B], אֲרִימָה [L]). Ezra 10:8 ('separated [B]) from the congregation of the captivity') may give an explanation of the phrase.

BANK. For בָּנִי, בָּנִי, in 2 S. 20:15 2 K. 19:32 is 37 in AV (elsewhere EV always MOUNT) and χάρμα in Lk. 19:41 (AV TRENCH, RV PALISADE) see *FORIFICATION*.

BANK (BANKA, Lk. 19:41 EV), **BANKER** (BANKA, Mt. 25:27 RV). See *TRADE AND COMMERCE*.

BANNAIA (BANNAIYC [A]), 1 Esd. 9:33 AV = Ezra 10:33, ZABAD, 5.

BANNAS (BANNOY [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:26 RV = Ezra 2:40, BANI, 3.

BANNEAS (BANNAIAC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:26 RV = Ezra 10:25, BENAIH, 7.

BANNER (D), בָּנִי, בָּנִי. See *ENSIGNS*, § 1, a, b, c.

BANNUS (BANNOYC [BA]), 1 Esd. 9:34 = Ezra 10:38, BANI, 2.

BANQUET, Banqueting House. See *MEALS*.

BANUAS (BANNOY [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:26, apparently a misprint for Bannus (so RV). See *BANI* (3).

BAPTISM (BAPTICMA, BAPTIZEIN). Among the permanent witnesses to the birth of Christianity

1. **Origin.** out of Judaism is the primary institution of the Christian Church, the rite of baptism. With the Jews the bathing of the whole body in pure cold water—if possible, in a running stream—was a recognised means of restoration from a state of ceremonial uncleanness. Passages like Num. 19:17, 31:10, also Is. 1:6 Zech. 13:1, and especially Ezek. 36:24 f., may be compared. The pouring of water on the hands—a symbolic representation, perhaps, of baptism in a running stream—was a Pharisaic precaution insisted on before every meal (cp Mk. 7:3 Lk. 11:38). The Gentile, whose whole life had been ceremonially unclean, was required to submit to baptism among other conditions of his reception as a Jewish proselyte (Schürer, *Gal. 2:260 f.*; 3rd ed. 3:129). See *PROSELYTISM*, § 5.

The connection between Jewish and Christian baptism

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is strikingly illustrated by the regulations prescribed for the latter in the *Didache*, to be noticed presently; but, the ceremonial baptisms of Judaism, though they lie behind Christian baptism and exert an influence on its history, are not its immediate antecedent. The Jewish baptisms were the outcome of the Jewish distinction between clean and unclean—a distinction which was done away by Christianity (cp *WASHINGTONS*). Christian baptism is a purification, not from ceremonial, but from moral impurity. The historical link is found in the baptism of John in the river Jordan. John adapted the familiar ceremony of baptism to a moral purpose: his was 'a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,' a purification of the nation from that moral uncleanness of which ceremonial uncleanness was properly typical. It was by means of this development of its true significance that baptism was rescued from mere formalism, and prepared to become the initiatory rite of the new Christian society.

As Jesus' work took up John's, and as he himself had chosen to be baptized by John, it was natural that his first preaching of repentance should be coupled, like John's, with a baptism. It is significant, however, that he did not perform the rite himself; only his disciples did so (Jn. 1:7 f.). Christian baptism was not yet instituted; and when it came it was to add a spiritual element which John's baptism lacked. Meanwhile Jesus was indicating by his own action, and by his defence of the action of his disciples, that the frequent Pharisaic baptisms—the ceremonial washing of the hands, and the 'baptisms' of vessels and dishes (Mk. 7:4)—had no permanent claim on the conscience; and certain of his words are directly explained by one of the Evangelists as repealing altogether the ceremonial distinction of clean and unclean, and as 'cleansing all meats' (Mk. 7:19). Only when the whole purport of Jewish baptism was annulled was the way clear for the institution of the Christian rite, one of the essential principles of which was that it should be performed once for all, with no possibility of repetition.

On the day of Pentecost Peter answers the inquiries of the multitude in words which, whilst they recall the baptism of John, indicate the fuller significance of Christian baptism: 'Repent ye, and be baptized, each one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2:38). About three thousand were thereupon added by baptism to the original band of believers. It is expressly stated that at Samaria, as the result of Philip's preaching, both men and women were baptized 'in the name of the Lord Jesus'; but the gift of the Holy Spirit did not follow until the arrival of Peter and John from Jerusalem (8:12-17). The ennuh after Philip's instructions asks for baptism; and 'they came down both together into the water' (8:38). Saul is baptized by Ananias at Damascus (9:18). When Peter preached to Cornelius and his friends the Holy Spirit fell on all that heard the word; whereupon the apostle 'commanded them to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ' (10:48). Special stress is laid on this incident as the first occasion of the baptism of Gentiles as such (10:45 11:18). It was justified by the apostle on the ground of the previous gift of the Holy Spirit, which was the baptism promised by Christ in contradistinction to John's baptism (11:16 f.).

Baptism was thus recognised as the door of admission into the Christian Church for Jews and Gentiles alike, and certain disciples of the Baptist whom Paul found at Ephesus were baptized afresh 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (19:5). Of Lydia, the purple seller of Thyatira, found by Paul at Philippi, we read that she 'was baptized, and her household' (16:15); and of the Philippian gaoler, that he was baptized, 'he and all his straightway'—i.e., in the middle of the night (16:33). At Corinth a few of the earliest converts were baptized by Paul himself—Crispus, Gaius, and the household of

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Stephanas; but the apostle's language shows that this was quite exceptional (1 Cor. 14-17). In 1 Cor. 15:20 Paul mentions a custom, apparently prevailing in Corinth, of vicarious baptism in behalf of the dead. He neither commends nor rebukes it, and it would seem to have soon died out.¹

The earliest notice of the method of baptism is perhaps that which is found in the *Didaché*, and, as we have already said, it illustrates the recognition of a connection between the Jewish and the Christian baptisms. The *Didaché*, here as elsewhere, is strongly anti-Judaic in its tone, and at the same time shows the influence of Jewish practices upon the community which it represents. The Mishna draws six distinctions in the kinds of water available for various purificatory purposes (*Mikva'oth* 1:1-8, quoted by Schürer, 240-251), and in certain cases it insists upon the full stream of running water, in which the whole body can be immersed. The *Didaché* (chap. 7) recognises 'living water'—i.e., the running stream—'other water,' 'cold,' and 'warm'; and finally allows a triple pouring, where a sufficiency of any water for immersion cannot be had; but, though it indicates a preference in the order here given, it admits the validity of baptism under any of these conditions.

It is sometimes urged that, because βαπτίζειν means 'to dip,' Christian baptism must originally have been by immersion. In the NT, however, as in classical writers, the usual word for 'to dip' is βάπτω (Lk. 16:24 Jn. 13:26). βαπτίζειν had a wider usage, and could be used even of a mere ceremonial handwashing, as we see from Lk. 11:38, 'he marvelled that he had not first washed (ἐβαπτίσθη) before dinner.' Already the partial ablution would seem to have been regarded as symbolical of the whole. It is difficult to suppose that the 3000 converts on the day of Pentecost could all have been baptized by immersion. Such a method is indeed presupposed as the ideal, at any rate, in Paul's words about death, burial, and resurrection in baptism (Rom. 6:3 f.); but pouring water on the head was in any case symbolical of immersion, and tantamount to it for ritual purposes.

(a) *In the Name.* not 'into the name.' Although ἐν is the preposition most frequently used, we find ἐν in

3. Formula. Acts 2:38; and the interchangeability of the two prepositions in late Greek may be plentifully illustrated from the NT. Moreover, the expression is a Hebraism; cp ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Mt. 21:9 (= Ps. 118:26 ὁ κύριος); so in the baptismal formula of Mt. 28:19 the Syr. version has ܐܢܝܢ (Lat. *in nomine*).

(b) *In the name of Jesus Christ, or of the Lord Jesus.* The former expression is used in Acts 2:38; 10:48; the latter in Acts 8:16; 19:5; cp also Acts 22:16, 'Arise and be baptized and wash away thy sins, calling on his name.' From these passages, and from Paul's words in 1 Cor. 1:13 ('Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'), it is natural to conclude that baptism was administered in the earliest times—in the name of Jesus Christ, or in that of the Lord Jesus. This view is confirmed by the fact that the earliest forms of the baptismal confession appear to have been single—not triple, as was the later creed. When Philip's baptism of the eunuch appeared to have been abruptly narrated, the confession was inserted in the simple form, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (Acts

¹ Tertullian (*Res. 48 c. Marc.* 510) assumes that the custom was current in Paul's time, but is wrongly cited as attesting it for his own day. Chrysostom (*ad Ro.* 8) says that Marcionites practised it; and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 286) had heard of a tradition that the Corinthians had done the same. This is very weak evidence for a second-century custom, and it is most probable that if the practice was found it was due to the passage in Paul's Epistle, and cannot be regarded as independent testimony to the existence of the custom among primitive Christians.

The difficulties in which Commentators who reject the obvious meaning of the words find themselves involved may be seen at length in Stanley's *Corinthians* (ad loc.).

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8:37); and the formula 'Jesus is Lord' appears soon to have become a stereotyped confession of Christian faith (cp Ro. 10:9; 1 Cor. 12; Phil. 2:11); moreover the 'question and answer' (ἐπερωτήματα) connected with baptism in 1 Pet. 3:21 would appear to represent only the central section of the later creed.

On the other hand, we have in Mt. 28:19 the full formula, 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' We have no synoptic parallel at this point; and thus, from a documentary point of view, we must regard this evidence as posterior to that of Paul's Epistles and of Acts.

The apparent contradiction was felt by Cyprian, who suggested (*Ep. 73:17 f.*) that in baptizing Jews the apostles may have been contented with the one name of the Lord Jesus Christ, as they already believed in the Father; whilst in baptizing Gentiles they used the full formula, which was given (as he points out) with the command to 'make disciples of all the nations, or "Gentiles." This explanation, however, breaks down in face of Acts 10:45-48, the opening of the door to the Gentiles.

Three explanations deserve consideration: (1) that in Acts we have merely a compendious statement—i.e., that as a matter of fact all the persons there spoken of were baptized in the threefold name, though for brevity's sake they are simply said to have been baptized in the single name; (2) that Matthew does indeed report exactly the words uttered by Jesus, but that those words were not regarded as prescribing an actual formula to be used on every occasion, and that the spirit of them was fulfilled by baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus; (3) that Matthew does not here report the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, but transfers to him the familiar language of the Church of the evangelist's own time and locality.

The first of these explanations cannot be regarded as satisfactory in the absence of any historical evidence of the employment of the threefold formula in the earliest times. A decision between the second and the third would involve an inquiry into the usage of the evangelist in other parts of his Gospel, and belongs to the discussion of the synoptic problem; but in favour of the third it may be stated that the language of the First Gospel where it does not exactly reproduce an earlier document, shows traces of modifications of a later kind.

It has been argued that when Paul (Acts 19:2 f.) in answer to the statement of the Ephesian disciples of the Baptist, 'We have not so much as heard of this be a Holy Spirit' (τὴν πνεύμα ἁγίου ἔσται), said, 'Unto what, then, were ye baptized?' he presupposed the use of the longer formula which expressly named the Holy Spirit. The statement can hardly mean, however, that they had never even heard of a Holy Spirit, for disciples of the Baptist could scarcely so speak (Mk. 1:8); it must refer to the special gift of the Holy Spirit which Christians were to receive. Accordingly, Paul's question simply implies that Christian baptism could scarcely have been given without some instruction as to this gift which was to follow it. In any case, it would be exceedingly strange that at this point Lk. should not have referred to the threefold formula, had it been in use, instead of simply saying, 'When they heard it, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus' (Acts 19:5).

The threefold formula is attested by the *Didaché* (chap. 7), both in express words and by the mention of the alternative practice of triple effusion; but, as the *Didaché* shows elsewhere its dependence on Matthew, this is not independent evidence.

Justin Martyr (chap. 153), in describing baptism to his then readers, gives the full formula in a paraphrastic form (*1 Apol.* 161), 'in the name of God, Father of the Universe and Ruler, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit.' Such a paraphrase was necessary to make the meaning clear to those for whom he wrote.

We find the full formula again in Tertullian some

forty years later (*De Bapt.* 13, *Adv. Prax.* 26); and when the First Gospel was widely known it was certain to prevail. Exceptions are found which perhaps point to an old practice dying out (Cyprian (*Ep.* 73) and the Apostolic Canons (ii. 50) combat the shorter formula, thereby attesting its use in certain quarters. The ordinance of *Can. Apost.* 50 runs: 'If any bishop or presbyter fulfil not three baptisms of one initiation (*ἑνὶ βάπτισματι μίας ἀρχῆς*), but one baptism which is given (*ἵνα*) into the death of the Lord, let him be deposed'. This was the formula of the followers of Eusebius (Soer. 524), 'for they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the death of Christ' (for other references see Usener, *Relig. Untersuch.*, 1889, 1184); they accordingly used single immersion only.

No statement is found in the NT as to the age at which baptism might be administered. Circumcision,

4. Age. which Paul regards as fulfilled in Christian baptism (see below, § 5), enrolled the Jewish boy in the covenant of his fathers on the eighth day after birth, so that there could be no doubt that young children were truly members of the holy people. Thus, if children had been excluded from baptism when whole families were won to Christianity, we should almost certainly have had some record of the protest which would have been raised against what must have seemed so inconsistent a limitation to the membership of the new 'Israel of God'. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that where 'households' are spoken of as being baptized (Acts 16:15, 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:16), there must have been, at least in some cases, instances of the baptism of infants. That Paul could speak of the children of a believing husband, or of a believing wife, as 'they' is an indication in the same direction.

Paul, as we might expect, sees in baptism the means by which the individual is admitted to his place in the one body, of which he thus becomes a member; 'For as the body is one and hath many members, but all the members,

5. Interpretation. many though they be, are one body, so also is the Christ; for indeed by one Spirit (*ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι*) we all were baptized into one body—whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond-men or free' (1 Cor. 12:13 f.). Baptism was thus the fundamental witness of Christian unity (Eph. 4:5, 'one baptism'); and in both the passages here referred to it is emphasised as such in view of the variety of spiritual gifts. A parable of Christian baptism might be found in the cloud and the sea through which all the Israelites had alike passed; 'they were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 Cor. 10:2).

In Rom. 6:3 f. Paul regards baptism as effecting a union with the death of Christ: 'we were baptized into his death.' It was a kind of burial of the former self, with a view to a resurrection and a new life. The same conception recurs in Col. 2:12 f., where it is immediately preceded by the thought that it corresponds in a certain way to the circumcision of the old covenant. It is 'the putting off'—totally, not merely partially and symbolically—of the whole 'body of the flesh'; and so it is the fulfilment of the old rite: it is 'the circumcision of the Christ'.

In Gal. 3:26 f. Paul further speaks of baptism as involving a kind of identification with the person of Christ, so that the divine sonship becomes ours in him; 'For ye are all sons of God, through faith (or 'the faith') in Christ Jesus; for as many of you as were baptized into Christ put on (or 'clothed yourselves with') Christ'. The old distinctions between Jew and Gentile, male and female, 'for ye all are one [person] in Christ Jesus' (*ἓς ἐστὶν ἐν Χρ.* 1:1).

Eph. 5:26 speaks of Christ as 'cleansing the Church by the washing' (*ἀπολύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ*), probably not 'liver' [in C 402 is *ἀπολύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* is 22—Cant. 1:6—Eccles. 34:25; so Aquila renders *ἁγιάζει* in

Ps. 60:10 108:10] of water with the word' (*ἐν ῥήματι*). This last expression finds its interpretation in the *ῥήμα*, or formula of faith, to which we have already referred— which, whether as the confession in the mouth of the baptized or as the baptismal formula on the lips of the baptizer, transformed the process of ablution into the rite of Christian baptism. With this passage we may compare Tit. 3:5. He saved us through the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Spirit' (*διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀνακαίνωσιν π. ἁγ.*).

This last passage reminds us of the teaching of Jn. 3. The relation of that chapter to the sacrament of baptism is exactly parallel to that of chap. 6 to the sacrament of the eucharist (see FRUITFULNESS). We are secure in saying that the evangelist's interpretation of the significance of baptism must have followed the line of Jesus' conversation with Nicodemus as there related. That a Gentile, or even a Jew who had been neglectful of the Rabbinical discipline of ablutions, should need to begin entirely anew in the religious life, to be 'born again of water and the Spirit' as a condition of entry into 'the kingdom of God, would seem natural. The marvel and the stumbling-block was that this should be required of those who, like this 'teacher of Israel' had been strictest in their ceremonial purity. Marvel not that I said unto thee: ye must be born again'.

Jn. then, recognises, with Paul, the universal character of the initial rite; whilst at the same time the narrative touches the radical nature of the change in the individual soul.

J. A. R.

BAPTISMS (ΒΑΠΤΙΣΜΟΙ, Mk. 7, etc., RV¹⁹⁰², EV WASHINGS (*q.v.*)).

BARABBAS (ΒΑΡΑΒΒΑΣ [Vi. W11] § 48), the name of the prisoner whom, in accordance with a Passover custom, Pilate released at the demand of the Jews while condemning Jesus to death (so Mt. 27:15-20 Mk. 15:6-15 Lk. 23:17-25 Jn. 18:40 f.).

More precisely than Mt., who simply calls him a 'notable' (*ἐπίσημον*) prisoner, and Jn., who calls him a robber, Mk. describes him as lying

1. Story. bound with them that had made insurrection (*μετὰ τῶν στασιαστῶν δεδιδυμένος*), men who in the insurrection had committed murder. As Mk. has not previously referred to these insurgents, it seems all the more probable that he is borrowing verbatim from another source, although about this particular insurrection we are in as complete ignorance as about the Galileans mentioned in Lk. 13:1. Lk. (23:19), who follows Mk., adds that the insurrection had occurred in Jerusalem, but says nothing about any fellow-prisoners with Barabbas; and thus leaves the impression that Barabbas personally had committed murder. Mk. is entitled to the preference, not only on this point but also when he represents the Jews as having demanded the release of a prisoner on their own initiative, as against the less probable view that Pilate offered them this of his own accord.

Reference is sometimes made to the analogy of the Roman Festina; but of these all that Livy (v. 13) says—and that only with reference to their first celebration—is that during those days such as were bound (*vincula*) were relieved of their chains (*vincula*), and such was the religious awe inspired by the proceedings that no one dared afterwards to rebid (*revocare*) the recipients of the divine favour. Thus he says nothing about release from prison; and his contemporary Dion. Halicarn. (129 f. 100f.) on the authority of the Annals of a certain Piso, who himself had been censor, while he does indeed speak of such release, limits it to the case of slaves who had been laid under arrest by their masters (*ἀδελφῶν μὲν τῶν θεράποντων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐξόναι διασώζονται*).

Those who find some difficulty in accepting the narrative as it stands may perhaps find themselves better able to explain its origin on the lines indicated by W. Brandt, by whom every detail has been discussed with great care (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893, pp. 94-105). Brandt takes the kernel of the story to be that a certain prisoner who had been arrested in connection with some insurrection, but against whom no

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crime or at least no grave crime could be proved, was released on the application of the people, who intervened in his behalf because he was the son of a Rabban (see below, § 2). The incident, even although it was not simultaneous with the condemnation of Jesus, gave occasion in Christian circles for the drawing of this contrast: the son of the rabban was interceded for and released, Jesus was condemned. In the course of transmission by oral tradition the statement of this contrast might gradually, without any conscious departure from historical truth, have led to the assumption that the two things occurred at the same time and on the same occasion. Finally, the liberation of a seditious prisoner in any case a somewhat surprising occurrence seemed explicable only on the assumption of some standing custom to account for it: this assumption must presumably have arisen elsewhere than in Palestine.

The above theory presupposes that *Barababas* stands for *Bar* אבא 'son of the father' etc., here, of the

2. Name. rabbinical 'master'. (It was not till afterwards that *Bar* began to come into use as a proper name [of rabbi], explained by Dalman [*Gram.* 121] as an abbreviation, like *Bar* אבא in the time of Jesus it was a title of honour [Mt. 23a].)

Jerome, indeed, in his commentary on Mt. 27 said that in the Gospel of the Hebrews *Barababas* (i.e. *Bar* אבא) *Barababas* is explained as 'son of their teacher' (*Bar* אבא *magister* *eorum*), where *eorum* apparently implies an etymology similar to that found in a solution of a Venice MS in WH App. 16b-viz, that *Barababas* only another form for *Barababae*; see Winer, *Gram.* 9 § 5, n. 70 means 'son of our father'. In that case we must (with S. R. L.) write *Barababae*, taking the second element as being 'teacher', and assume that *Barababae* was explained as אבא אבא 'our teacher', or אבא אבא 'their teacher'. The meaning, however, is not essentially changed by this, as אבא אבא (אבא) is, like אבא, a title of honour for a great teacher.

The most remarkable fact in connection with the name of Barababas is that Origen knew MSS. and did not absolutely reject them, in which Mt. 27:16 is read 'Jesus' (Ιησοῦς) before 'Barababas' (a reading still extant in some cursives, is well as in the Armenian version, Syr. sin., and partly also in Syr. hr.). Whether the Gospel of the Hebrews, referred to by Jerome, also had this reading is uncertain (see WH). In this reading 'Barababas' would be only an addition made for the sake of distinction, as in Simon Bar Jona, but not yet with the full force of a proper name.

Some support for it might perhaps be found in the fact that the first mention of the name in Mk. is preceded by ὁ λεγόμενος. The meaning would then be 'He was, for distinction's sake (though it was not his proper name), was called Barababas.' Only, in that case, in Mt. the λεγόμενος (here without the article), since it is followed, on the reading at present in question, by Ιησοῦς Barababae, would simply mean 'whose name was Jesus Barababas'; and it may be so in Mk. also. In any case it is remarkable that in all the MSS. in question Barababas should have the name Ιησοῦς exclusively in Mt. and the only in two verses, while Mt. 27:16 and 28 simply gave τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ιησοῦν as an antithesis. Thus we may be tolerably certain that the name Jesus as given to Barababas has arisen merely from mistake.

A fairly obvious explanation would be the conjecture of Tregelles, that a very early transcriber had 'per incantum' repeated the last two letters of *Barab* and that these were at a later date taken for the familiar abbreviation of the name of Jesus. If this theory be adopted we must assume further that a later copyist inserted also in 27:16 the name Ιησοῦς, which he had found in 27:15; but it is specially interesting to observe that in the Latin translation of Origen the word Jesus stands in 27:17 but not in 27:16 also. Cp Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, 269f-700.

BARACHEL (ברכאל), 'God blesses,' § 28; ΒΑΡΑΧΙΛΑ [BNA], the father of Job's friend Elihu (Job 32:6).

BARACHIAH (ברכיה, ברכיהו), Zech. 1:17, 11, reading of AV ed. 1611, and some other old editions. See BERICHAH (4).

BARACHIAS, RV Barachiah (ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑC [Ti WH]), Mt. 23:35. See ZACHARIAS.

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BARAK (ברק, 'lightning,' § 66, cp Sab. ברק Palm. ברק, Psa. 134:3 [the surname of Hamileai], and the Ass. divine names *Kammon-barika* and *Uddil barika* [Del. *Ass. Hitt.* 187], b. Abinoam [Judg. 1:514; Barak [BL], ΒΑΡΑΧ [V]]. See DUBOIS.

BARBARIAN (Βαρβαρος), primarily, one who speaks in an unintelligible manner, i.e. a foreigner (cp 2:207), in which sense it is employed by Paul in 1 Cor. 14:11 Acts 28:2. This usage was not restricted to the Greeks alone; it is met with among the Romans (cp Ovid, *Trist.* v. 10-17), and according to Herod. 2:15 among the Egyptians. In agreement with this, the people of Melita, who perhaps spoke some Phoenician dialect, are called 'barbarians' (Acts 28:14), and C uses βαρβαρος to render the *gōs* of Ps. 111:1, a people 'of strange tongue' (Targ. ארמא ברבא).² The not uncommon *ΒΑΡΒΑΡΕC καὶ βαρβαροί*, accordingly, includes the whole world (cp Rom. 1:14 also Jos. *Ant.* xi. 71) and the similar 'Barbarian, Scythian, Col. 3:11; see HELLINISM, § 2.

The use of βαρβαρος became so customary that the term was used actually in referring to the speakers in their own people; cp Philo, *De Mos.* § 5, and Jos. (*Ant.* pref. § 1), who applies the designation 'upper barbarians' to his countrymen beyond the Euphrates.³ At a later date the word gets the meaning 'rueful,' 'savage,' etc. (cp Ch. *Interp.* 10-11, 'immans ac barbari consuetudo'), in which sense it occurs in 2 Mac. 2:21 4:25 1:2 and in the G of Lx 21:36 [31] (for Mt. 23:35, 'brutal').

BARBER (ברב, ברב), Ass. *gubdun*, Lx 5:14. See BLAIR.

BARCHUS (Βαρχυς [V], 1 Est. 5:2. RV 1:14 2:54. BARCOS.

BARHUMITE, THE (הברומי, 2S. 23:11; ο Βαρ ΔΙΑΜΕΙΤΗC [B], ο ΒΑΡΙΑΜ, [M], ο ΒΑΡΩ, [V], ο ΔΕΒΕΝΝΙ [L]). See BARIARI MITE.

BARIAH (בריה, ΒΑΡΙΑ [B], ΒΕΡΙΑ [M]), a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3).

BARJESUS, the Jewish sorcerer and false prophet in the train of the proconsul Sergius Paulus at Paphos, in Cyprus, who (Acts 13:6-12) withstood the preaching of Paul, and was punished with temporary blindness.

At the outset the names present great difficulties. In 13:6 his name (*Barjusa*) is expressly said to have been

1. Names. Barjusa (*Barjusa*), and such a compound 'son of a father named Jesus' can quite easily have been a proper name (cp Barababae, Barabae, Bartholomew). In 13:8, however, he is abruptly called 'Elymas the sorcerer, for so is his name by interpretation' (Ελμας ὁ μάγος, οὗτος γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ ἐννοῦν αὐτοῦ). A translation has relevance only when it is a translation into the language of the readers; in any other case it would be incumbent on the author to state what foreign language he is translating into.

(a) This being assumed, we must take it that 'the sorcerer' (ὁ μάγος) is the translation 'Elymas' (Ελμας), in that case, would be the word translated. Accordingly, the name has been identified with the Arabic *'alim*, which occurs in the Koran (7:106 [100] 26:33 and 36 [1 and 2]) as an adjective following the noun *sāhir* which denotes a sorcerer, and has thus been taken to mean 'wise, shrewd.' Less appropriate is the derivation from Aram. אלים or אלים, meaning 'strong.' Equate μάγος, however, etymologically, with Ελμας as we

¹ Del. (*Ass. Hitt.*) explains Ass. *barbaru* 'jackal.'

² Akin to this are the expressions οἱ ἔθνη (1 Cor. 5:12, 13) and τα ἔθνη (like the Heb. עַמִּים, see GENTILES, § 1) to denote the outside the Christian world. Cp the Talm. use of אֲדָמִים.

³ Similarly, the Jews frequently employed אֲרָמִים, Syr. *arāmāyā*, i.e. 'Aramæan,' in the sense of 'barbarian,' and so the Syr. translations of the NT, under their influence, return the term to translate *ΒΑΡΒΑΡΕC*, *ἔθνη*, etc. In process of time it was felt that a word which was used in the NT to designate 'heathen' could hardly be borne by a Christian people, and the old name was modified into *arāmāyā*; cp. Nö. *ZDMG* 26:113, Wright, *Comp. Gram.* 15.

may, it still has to be explained how Barjesus came suddenly to be called by the other name, Elymas. The only way in which a plausible explanation could be reached would be if Elymas (in the sense indicated) could be taken as a title or cognomen assumed by Barjesus—a foreign tongue being used to heighten still further the prestige which he sought to acquire by it. It is not as a title, however, that the author employs it. On the contrary, he gives the word without the definite article, and expressly adds that the word which he is translating was the actual name (*ὄνομα*) of the hearer.

(b) It was quite sound method, therefore, to take Barjesus for the name translated, and Elymas for the translation.

Even Pesh., in v. 8, for *Εἰσαὶς δὲ μαγὸς* arbitrarily has 'this sorcerer Barshuma' (so Pesh. reads for *Βαρισαῦς* in v. 6; see below, (d)), whose name, being interpreted, means Elymas. Klostermann (*Probleme im Apostelwerk*, 1885, pp. 21-23), however, is able to support this view only on three assumptions, each one of which is bolder than the other. We must read, he holds, not *Εἰσαὶς*, but *Εἰσαῖος*; secondly, we must read, not *Βαρισαῦς*, but *Βαρισαῖος*, or, to be exact, the Latin *Barisaius*; and, in the third place, the *ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ* so transcribed (whether we derive it etymologically from the root *ⲓⲛⲓ*, or, with more probability, from the root *ⲓⲛⲓⲛ* which underlies *ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ*) means 'son of preparedness' or 'son of finess,' and thus, by the same Hebrewism as we find in the name Barababais (*ⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ*), *Barisaius*, *Barisaius*.

a. As to the first of these assumptions, it has to be noted that the reading *Εἰσαῖος* is met with only in Lucifer of Calabria (ob. 171), and even there not as *Elymas* but as *Elymas*; D has *Εἰσαῖος*, which, indeed, we cannot explain, but which, from its ending, is clearly intended to be taken as a proper name; *Barisaius* is found only in Lucifer, one Vg. MS, and two Latin MSS, in which in many places is found the markedly divergent text of A in which Blass takes to be Luke's earliest draft (see Acts, § 7).

B. Next, as regards the second assumption, *Barisaius* is found only in *Barisaius*, only in the Latin translation of D; *Barisaius* is rather, according to the one MS known to us, *Barisaius* only in Lucifer. The corrector of D has restored *Barisaius*, which, as a restorative, fits his reading *Barisaius* for *Barisaius*, but, in spite of *Barisaius*, is found also in AHEP and the Greek margin of the Philoxenian; R, Vg., Copt., Armenian, and the Philoxenian version as well as 'nonnulli' know to Rome, read *Barisaius*—that is to say, the simple Hebrew form without a Greek termination. On this Jerome (on the Hebrew name in Acts; *Opera*, ed. Vallarsi, 302) remarks, 'nonnulli . . . sic corrupte legunt' himself declaring the right reading to be *Barion* or *Barion*, for which, by very daring etymologising from the Hebrew, he obtains the meanings *re deficiens*, *in malis*, or *in rebus*. Perhaps, however, even Jerome's aversion to *Barisaius* rests upon the very obvious idiomatic consideration put forward by Bede in the eighth century, 'non convenit hominem sagittosum et magum nomen Jesu, id est, salvatoris, appellari quem e contrario Paulus (v. 10) filium diaboli nunciat.' The form *Barion* in Jerome can readily be accounted for as merely a clerical error for *Barjesus*, or as arising out of the Greek abbreviation *ΒΙΥ* which is met with in the oldest MSS along with the more frequently occurring *ΒΙΥ* for *ΒΙΟΥ*. The explanation in the case of the reader as preferred by Klostermann is much less easy. On this account, in spite of their weak attestation, one might be inclined to regard them as the true ones; but all the authorities for the reading *Barisaius* have the word, not in v. 8 instead of *Εἰσαῖος*, but as an interpolation after *Βαρισαῖος* in v. 6, 'quod interpretatur paratus.' This addition is met with elsewhere only in E, in the form *δὲ μεταρραπνεύει Εἰσαῖος* rendered in the Latin of this MS: 'quod interpretatur Elymas.' It is evident that in neither case have we more than a late attempt to obviate the impression that Elymas, first introduced in v. 8, was the name of another person. Blass, on the other hand, regards the added words as part of Luke's earliest draft. He sees, however, that Luke could not have written at the same time in v. 8 'for this is his name' (v. 8) and 'for this is his name' (v. 8) and 'for this is his name' (v. 8); and, accordingly, he rejects these words from Luke's earliest draft. For this he has not a single authority; and how can he explain Luke's having, after all, introduced the words into his second transcript, having cut those in v. 6 instead? Are we really to believe that with his own eyes Luke changed his good and thoroughly intelligible first text into a positively misleading after-text? (Cp. Acts, § 17 (c)).

It is, however, the addition 'quod interpretatur paratus' at the end of v. 6 to be regarded as a late interpolation, Lucifer of Calabria, who has it, in open transcription; but it is more inferential adaptation to the idiom of the word *paratus*. What etymology he was following when he preferred *paratus* (one naturally introduced) the form *Barisaius* is matter of indifference. In ancient times, as the *Barisaius* text abundantly shows, people made out Hebrew cognomina in a most reckless way.

γ. Klostermann's proposed etymology, *Barisaius*, rests upon a very weak foundation, as no such word as *paratus* (A. 15. 10) can be shown to exist (the proper name *paratus*, in v. 10, 17 has no importance in this connection), and the root *paratus* which is used in Syriac frequently for *paratus*, *paratus*, *paratus*, as also for *paratus*, *paratus*, *paratus*, in compounds, is never used for *paratus*. Besides, as we have said, the codex has not *Barisaius* but *Barisaius*. Above all, however, Klostermann's hypothesis remains untenable as long as one is unprepared to accept the further assumption that *δὲ μαγὸς* after *Εἰσαῖος* (or *Εἰσαῖος*) in v. 8 is a mere gloss to be deleted; for *δὲ μαγὸς* necessarily leads to the assumption dealt with under (a). This had no doubt already been perceived by the scribe of H, who wrote *δὲ μαγὸς* (the great) for *δὲ μαγὸς*, and so also by Lucifer, if the *aditio* *paratus* (of Tilius) is right in attributing the reading *magus* to him (the only MS of Lucifer at present known has *magus*). If Lucifer really wrote *magus*, this increases the suspicion that the other variants in Lucifer are in like manner arbitrary and unauthorised alterations of the text.

(c) In order to make out Elymas to be a translation of the name of the sorcerer, stress has been laid on the remarkable Peshitta rendering *Barshuma* for *Βαρισαῖος*.

Already, in the seventeenth century, we find Castell (*De Hebræo s. v. 22*) and Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr. ad loc.*) interpreting *Βαρισαῖος* as *filius vulnaris*, and deriving Elymas from the Arabic *alima doluit* (22). Over and above the reasons to the contrary that have already been urged under (b), however, it has to be observed (see above) that a translation into Arabic would explain nothing to the readers; it would it self require to be explained.

A somewhat different turn is given to the matter by Payne Smith (*Theol. Mag.*, 1838). Barshuma was in the first instance given in v. 8 as a rendering of Elymas, and only later introduced by copyists also into v. 6 in substitution for Barisaius in the erroneous belief that it was the man's proper name. But the Peshitta in its arbitrary change of text in v. 8 (see above (b), *ad init.*) says precisely the opposite, that Barshuma was the proper name, and Elymas the translation. It must, therefore, from the outset have held Barshuma to be a reproduction of the proper name Barisaius. Thus Barshuma probably means merely 'son of the name'; and 'the name' is most easily to be accounted for as a substitute for 'Jesus' from the feeling of reverence which we have already heard expressing itself in Bede (see above (b) β), a reverence similar to that shown by the Jews when they said 'the name' instead of 'Yahweh.'

(d) Van Manen, contrariwise (*Paulus I.*, Leyden, 1890, pp. 98 f. 147), holds Elymas to be the proper name, and interprets Barjesus in the Hebrew sense as meaning 'son of Jesus'—i.e., 'follower of Jesus.'

In this he assumes that the primary document here made use of by the author of Acts did not refer to the man as a Jew, or as a sorcerer, or as a false prophet; that it simply contained the information that at Ephesus Paul came into opposition with one of the older and very conservative disciples of Jesus, and got the better of him with Sergius Paulus. This hypothesis admittedly departs so widely from the text of Acts that it is impossible to count on thereby.

(e) Dahan (*Gram.*, 129, n. 1 [194]) proposes a purely Greek explanation.

Εἰσαῖος (so accented) be regarded as a contraction from *Εἰσαῖος* (on these contractions see N. 15, § 10, *ad init.*). In *Εἰσαῖος* the Apocryphal and NT, indeed, the *Εἰσαῖος* are always *Εἰσαῖος*, *Εἰσαῖος*; but with the Greeks the forms are as invariably *Εἰσαῖος*, *Εἰσαῖος*; so in John 2 to Jewish 10; 1 Mac. 6:1 has *Εἰσαῖος*.

Philologically this derivation is the simplest of all; but it contributes nothing towards the solution of the riddle.

The failure of all the attempts enumerated above renders inevitable the suggestion that here the author of Acts has amalgamated two sources, one of which called the man Barjesus while the other called him Elymas.

2. Different sources?

Klostermann, in order to explain the peculiar distribution of the names in v. 6, 8, seeks the aid of this hypothesis in addition to the hypotheses already referred to (above (b), beg.). The addition, *οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ὄνομα* *μαγὸς* *εἰσαῖος* (for so is his name translated), however, would in any case be a very unskillful way of amalgamating the two sources unless *δὲ μαγὸς* (sorcerer), as suggested above, be deleted as a gloss.

Still, if once it is agreed to assume two sources, a further and larger question arises: the question, namely, whether the addition itself be substantially right—that is to say, whether the one name be really a translation of the other. Nay, more; it is even conceivable that the two names do not denote the same person; that accounts relating to

1. See Nestle, in private letter to the present writer.

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two different persons have been transferred to a single person. This inference is suggested also by the epithets applied, for, though it is not altogether inconceivable that a 'sorcerer' (μάγος) should be a 'false prophet' (ψευδοπροφήτης), the two ideas are widely different.

Of the critics mentioned in Acts, § 11, who discuss our present passage with reference to the distinction of sources, only Spitta and B. Weiss regard 136-12 as all of one piece; Ullrich and Hilgenfeld are convinced of the opposite, but make no definite suggestions as to separation of the portions; Sonf and Jüngst deliver 7: 6 f. from a written source, 7: 7-12 from the pen of the redactor or from oral tradition. Jüngst further attributes to the redactor the word μάγος in 7: 6. Yet not even so are all the difficulties cleared up.

How far the narrative as a whole is to be accepted as historical becomes a serious question as soon as it has been traced to more than one source; but its credibility has been doubted even by Spitta, B. Weiss, and others, who defend its unity.

3. Credibility of Narrative.

As regards the miracle in particular, one is not only surprised by its suddenness, but is also at a loss to see its moral justification. On the other hand, a misunderstanding would account for it readily enough. A sorcerer, a false prophet, may, any Jew (Acts 28: 27) is, in the judgment of the Christian, spiritually blind, and this is what Paul and Barnabas proved of Barjesus in their disputation with him. In being handed down by tradition this thought could easily undergo such a change as would lead to the representation that physical blindness had been brought on as a punishment by the words of Paul. On the other hand, one would expect the blindness, if it is to be regarded as merited, to be permanent, or, at least, would expect to be told of some reason for its subsequent removal, as, for example, that the sorcerer had ceased to withstand Paul and Barnabas, or even had become a convert to Christianity. It is very noticeable that the narrator shows but little interest in the subsequent history of the man. The conversion of the proconsul (not his existence; see Acts, § 13 *ad fin.*) also is doubtful to many.

All the more does it now become incumbent to enquire whether the narrative reveals in any measure the tendencies discerned elsewhere in Acts.

(a) In the first place, and generally, it is clear that it has a place in the parallelism between Peter and Paul (Acts, § 4), in respect alike of the miracle of chastisement, the confutation of a sorcerer, and the conversion of a high Roman officer (cp. Acts 5: 1-10; 8: 18-24; 10: 1-2). It is also in harmony with that other tendency of Acts, to represent the Roman authority as friendly, and the Jews as hostile to Christianity (Acts, § 5 (1); § 4 *ad init.*); compare very specially the Jewish exorcists in close relation to sorcery, Acts 19: 13-16).

(b) A conjecture of wider scope connects itself with what is said of Simon Magus (see SIMON MAGUS). If Paul was the person originally intended in the story of Simon, then in Acts 8: 24 we find attributed to him the one deed which used to be flung in his teeth by his Judaistic adversaries—that, by his great collections made in Macedonia and Achaia, he had sought to purchase at the hands of the original apostles that recognition of his equality with them which they had so persistently withheld. The romance of Simon Magus, however, of which we still possess large portions (see SIMON MAGUS), had for its main contents something different, viz., that the sorcerer had spread his false doctrines everywhere and supplanted them by miracles, but in one city after another was vanquished in dispute and excelled in miracle by Peter. Thus, apart from the repetition of the occurrence in many cities, we are

¹ See for example, Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1868, pp. 365-67; 176; Weiss-Oberbeck on Acts 136-12; Lipsius, *Quellen der rom. w. u. d. Trinitas*, 1872, pp. 28, 32, also *HTZ*, 1876, p. 73; Holtzmann, *ZWT*, 1885, p. 4, 1; and very specially Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lukas* 180-100 [104]. Lipsius afterwards withdrew his earlier view; see *Apokryphen*, 17. ges. u. 11 (187), p. 32; cp. § 1, n. 2.

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told of Barjesus in Acts 136-12 exactly what is told in the romance about Simon (that is, Paul), and of Paul exactly what is told in the romance about Peter. Hence the belief that in 136-12 we can discover the same purpose on the part of the author as we discover in 8: 18-24. He was acquainted with the unfriendly allegation about Paul, did not believe it, and wished to set forth another view. In the two passages, however, the method is not the same. In 8: 18-24 it is shown that Paul could not possibly have been the infamous sorcerer, inasmuch as Simon the sorcerer was a Samaritan and was quelled by Peter indeed, but before the conversion of Paul. In 136-12, on the other hand, it is shown that it was Paul himself who victoriously met a sorcerer of this kind. One of the reasons for this divergence is seen in the desire, already noted, to establish a close parallelism between Paul and Peter. It is believed possible also to explain on the same lines why in Acts 136-12 the scene is laid in Cyprus, with a Jew in the *entourage* of a high Roman officer as one of the *dramatis personae*. To Cyprus, according to Josephus (*J. Ant.* x. 7, §§ 141-143), belonged the Jewish sorcerer Simon, who, at the instance of Felix of Judaea, procurator (*i.e.*, highest Roman officer), had induced Drusilla to quit her husband, King Azizus of Emesa, and marry Felix. The purpose of the narrator would have been sufficiently served had he been able to say that the sorcerer in question—Simon, to wit, under whose name the Judaists imputed to Paul so much that was shameful, had been met and vanquished by Paul himself. That, however, was impossible; the tale had already been related of Peter. Accordingly (so it is supposed) the narrator found it necessary to give another name to the sorcerer worsted by Paul.

(c) His choice of the names Barjesus and Elymas is still unaccounted for. There is, therefore, a motive for our attributing a historical character to a certain other sorcerer, Barjesus (or Elymas), as well as to a Samaritan sorcerer named Simon. Although it is not easy to believe that Peter met the Samaritan Simon, there is no reason for assuming that Paul did not meet Barjesus. Indeed, it can easily be conceded that in Acts 136-12, just as in Acts 8: 24, the author was not consciously giving a false complexion to what he had heard. He believed himself able to offer a material correction. He assumed, that is to say, that what the Judaists were in the habit of relating of Simon the sorcerer, while really intending Paul and his opposition to the 'true' Gospel, rested in actual fact upon a mistaken identification with this Barjesus (or Elymas), and that the latter was vanquished not by Peter but by Paul. It is less easy to suppose that Cyprus was given by tradition as the scene of the occurrence. Even without any tradition, the name could be suggested by Josephus's mention of the native place of the Jewish sorcerer, and the name of Paphos would naturally present itself from the fact that the Roman proconsul had his residence there.

(d) The hypothesis has received developments to a point where we have to depend on less clear indications. If the accusations in Acts against Simon and Barjesus had originally been brought against Paul, what is said of the intimate relations of Barjesus with Sergius Paulus would belong to the same class. Now, in Acts 24: 26, it is said that Felix offered sent for Paul and commended with him. It is assumed that the Judaists had gone so far as to allege that Paul had purchased the friendship of Felix with money, or even, perhaps, to insinuate that he had been negotiator between Drusilla and Felix. It is to meet those accusations (so it is assumed) that the writer of Acts alludes to bribery by Paul as merely a hope on the part of Felix, and informs us that Paul had stirred Felix's conscience by a solemn 'remonstrance' with him about his sinful marriage (24: 26).

(e) There are two more explicit indications that what we now read about Barjesus was originally told of Paul. *Εχθρός* 'enemy', the epithet applied by Paul to Bar-

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Jesus (13.6), is, with or without the substantive *ἀνθρώπος*, the standing designation for Simon (that is, Paul) in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. The name, 'enemy of righteousness,' fits Paul and his doctrine of the abrogation of the Mosaic law through Christ (Rom. 10.4) all the more because his Judaistic opponents in Corinth came forward as 'servants of righteousness,' that is, men of strict observance of the law (2 Cor. 11.5). In that case, the temporary blinding of Barnabas will represent what befel Paul at his conversion; even the expressions *μὴ βλέπων* (without sight) and *χειραγωγούμενος* (leading by the hand) in 9.8 f. have their parallels in 13.11. Here, then, unless the whole hypothesis under consideration be rejected, we may say, with reasonable probability, that the blindness of Paul at his conversion (whether historical or not is immaterial) was originally represented by the Judaisers as a divine visitation for his hostility to the 'true' (that is, the legal) gospel, and that it was simply passed on by the author of Acts to Barnabas the Jew.

Whatever else be the result of what has been said in the present section, one thing at least is clear: it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion unless the tendency of the author is taken into account.

According to the *περὶ τοῦ Βαρνάβου*—a legendary work composed by a Cyprian about 488—Barnabas opposed the work of Barnabas when, along with Mark (Acts 15.39), Barnabas visited Cyprus for a second time. He withstood him in various ways at his entrance into the cities where he desired to preach, and at last stirred up the Jews to burn him at the stake at Salamis. (Cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap. Gesch.* ii. 2, pp. 283-286, 278-297.) P. W. S.

BAR-JONA. RV Bar-Jonah, the patronymic of Simon Peter (Mt. 16.17) *Βαρ Ἰωνᾶ* [Ti. VII]. See PL 11.18.

Jonah is a Gr. contraction of *ἰωνάνης* (cp Jn. 1.42 *Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωνᾶ*) [Ti. 2. 2. v. *Ἰωνᾶ*] [WH]; 21.16 *Σ. Ἰωνᾶν* [Ti. 2. *Ἰωνᾶν*] [WH]; L'Év. etc. present *ἰωνά*; see Var. Bib.), which corresponds to an Aram. *בִּרְיֹנָה* cp B. Talm. *Hull.* 133 a, *Dalm. Jud. Pal. Aram.* 142 n. 9, and see JOANNA.

BARKOS (בִּרְקֹס). § 82. *Βερκωκ* [L.]. The B'ne Barkos, a family of NETUNIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii. § 9), EZRA 2.51 (*Βαρκωκ* [B.], -*κωκ* [A]) = Neh. 7.55 (*Βαρκωκ* [B.N.A.], -*κωκ* [A]) = 1 Esd. 5.32, CHABRUS, RV BARCHUS (*Βαρχωκ* [B.], *Βαρχωκ* [A]). The NETUNIM (*נְתֻנִים*) were mainly of foreign origin, and the name Barkos seems to be Aramaic and to signify 'son of the God Kōs or Kaus.' The name of this god occurs in many theophorous proper names among the Northern Semites; we have Kaus-halak as king of Edom on an Assyrian inscription (Schr. *ATZ.* 150), Kōsuatnan (*קִסְוַתְנַן*) in Euting's *Nabat. Inser.* n. 12 l. 1, and a variety of Semitic names on Greek inscriptions from Egypt containing the same element (*Rev. Archéol.*, Feb. 1870, p. 109 ff.). Cp also the Edomite Kostobaros (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 79). Names designating the worshipper as son of his god are common in Aramaic—e.g., the biblical BENHADAD (probably), the Palmyrene *בִּנְיָן* 'son of Nelo' (cp BARNABAS, § 1), *בְּנֵי בִרְשֵׁת* 'sons of the son of the Sun-god,' the Syrian Bar-bi-Smūn, 'son of the lord of heaven,' Barlāhā, 'son of God,' etc. W. R. S.

BARLEY (שֵׁעֶרִים, *שֵׁעֶרִים*, *קֶמֶחַ*, *קֶמֶחַ* [B.A.], Ex. 9.31 Lev. 27.6 Dt. 8.8 Judg. 7.1, etc.) was in biblical times one of the most characteristic products of Palestine (Dt. 8.), regarded as one of the necessities of life (Joel 1.11). It comes second in the series of grains

[*κασιόβραρος* may perhaps be a scribal error for *κασιόβραρος*—i.e., *שֵׁעֶרִים*], which finds a striking parallel in the name Kaus-gabri, an Edomite king mentioned on an inscription of Esar-haddon (cp Schr. *loc.*).

The less common singular form is used for the growing crop. The name, which Helber has in common with Aramaic, but not with Arabic, is derived from a root meaning 'to be rough' or 'bristling.'

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mentioned in Ez. (49) as ingredients to be used in bread-making—wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt (cp BREAD). It may be inferred from a variety of passages, such as Ru. 2.17 Ju. 6.913, that barley was, even during the times when it was cultivated along with wheat, the staple food of the poorer class (cp FOOT). Such a reference as that in 1 K. 4.28 (58) shows us how largely it was used to feed horses and cattle.¹ It may also be gathered from the part played by the barley-cake in the dream of the Midianite, overheard by Gideon (Judg. 7.6), where it stands as a type of the Israelite peasant army, that as in other countries, so in Palestine, the cultivation of barley preceded that of wheat, and was the earliest stage in the transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life.² (Cp PL. *AN* xviii. 72, 'antiquissimum in cibus hordeum'.) This is, on the whole, more probable than the view of Jos. (*Ant.* 6.4), which has been very generally accepted, that barley-cake represented the *gableness* of Gideon's three hundred, and we are entitled to conclude that there was a time when barley was the staple food of all classes among the Israelites. The fact referred to in Ex. 9.11 f., that in Egypt barley ripens some time earlier than wheat, is supported by the testimony of Pliny (*HN* xviii. 106) as well as of modern writers (see references in Di. *ad loc.*).

In the single case in which the use of barley is prescribed in an offering under the ritual law (see JEATOT xv.

2. Ritual. ORDEAL OF, § 2), it is somewhat difficult to determine the reason. Some (e.g., Bahr, *Symbolik*, 2.445) have regarded it as expressive of the sordid nature of the alleged offence and the humiliation of the accused³ (a wife suspected of adultery). A reason which has recently found more acceptance is that in the case of a simple appeal to God for a judicial decision a less valuable offering was sufficient than was requisite when a suppliant besought God for the bestowal or continuance of his divine grace⁴ (Di. on Nu. 5.11, etc.). The prohibition to mingle oil or frankincense with the offering will, of course, receive a similar explanation.

Two-rowed barley (*Hordeum distichon*), which may be presumed to be the feral form, is a native of W. Asia.

3. Variety. It may have been cultivated by Semitic races; but it is not represented on Egyptian monuments. The kind most frequently cultivated in antiquity was six-rowed barley (*Hordeum hexastichon*). This occurs on the most ancient Egyptian monuments and on the coins of Mithradates six centuries B.C. It was no doubt derived by cultivation from the two-rowed kind (cp De Candolle, *Orig.* 294-297, and authorities quoted there).

The word 'gerah' (Ex. 39.1) is defined by Rabbinical writers as equal to sixteen barley-corns⁵; but see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

N. M.—W. T. F. D.

BARN (בִּרְנָה), Hag. 2.9; see AGRICULTURE, § 10. Also for Job 39.12 (בִּרְנָה) and (AV BARNFLOOR) 2 K. 6.27, RV correctly 'threshing floor.'

BARNABAS (ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΣ [Ti. VII]; § 48), otherwise JOSEPH (or JOSI).

According to the author of Acts (13.6), the name Barnabas (= *νῖος παρακλησεως*) is derived from the Aram. *בִּרְנָה* (son) and the same root as the Heb. *בִּרְנָה*, *פְּרוֹשָׁה* 'the duty of *פָּרוֹשָׁה* (address, exhortation)', according to 1 Cor. 14.3, and also according to 1 Th. 5.15, being one of the duties of the *פְּרוֹשָׁה*. When one

1. Name. duty of *פָּרוֹשָׁה* (address, exhortation), according to 1 Cor. 14.3, and also according to 1 Th. 5.15, being one of the duties of the *פְּרוֹשָׁה*. When one

¹ So in the *Physiognos* (Land, *Ant.*, Ser. 4.1.1, etc. 1.3.1.3.3, 27) barley is called the 'food of cattle as opposed to wheat the food of man.

² Cp, especially, the parallel cited by Budde (*ATZ.* 188) from Radloff's *Aus Sibirien*, 1.129. Cp also Mose on the passage.

³ It is noteworthy that barley formed part of the price paid by Hosea to redeem his adulterous wife (Hos. 3.2); but this may be a mere coincidence.

⁴ See, especially, the full discussion by Nowack (*Th. 2. 240 ff.*), who agrees with Dalmann's view, and points out that the offering in question is neither a sin-offering nor a guilt-offering in the ritualistic sense.

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closely examined, however, this etymology is not without its difficulties. It combines words from two different languages, and moreover fails to account for the form *παρ*. Klostermann (*Prob. im Apostelst.*, 1833, pp. 8-14) seeks to derive the meaning *παρ* from the Aram. *ܦܪܐܢܐ*, *filius quidam*, but finds in it no further reference than to the satisfaction which Barnabas owed to the apostles by becoming a convert to Christianity. Dalman's etymology (*Gram. d. jud.-paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 142), which makes *παρ* a rendering of *ܦܪܐܢܐ*, this last being an abbreviation (not elsewhere met with) of a proper name *ܦܪܐܢܐ* or *ܦܪܐܢܐ*, takes us very far from the form to be explained. Deissmann comes nearer the sound when (*Bibelstudien*, 175-178 175); *Neue Bibelstudien*, 15-17 (197)) he compares the Barnabas (225) of a Palmyrene inscription of the year 114 A.D. (see Le Voté, *La Syrie Centrale* no. 73), and the Semitic *ܦܪܐܢܐ* (son of Nebo) on a North Syrian inscription of the third or fourth century A.D. In 18.401, as also in *ܦܪܐܢܐ* (son of Nebo), Nebo is transliterated into Greek with a instead of *e*, and the termination *-ne* may possibly have been substituted for *-nos* with the view of disguising the name of the heathen divinity. (For examples of such a custom, see Winer, *Gram. d. N. T. in Griech. Sprachlehre*, § 5.274.) On this theory, the rendering *παρ* is merely a piece of popular etymology. Nestle (*Bibl. saec.*, 1896, p. 19 f.) is inclined to take the Syr. *ܦܪܐܢܐ*, which signifies *παρ*, as the starting-point of the etymological interpretation; but he refrains from explaining more minutely the structure of the form.

If Joseph really did first receive the surname of Barnabas from the apostles, this seems to have been on account of his distinction as a speaker. In this respect, however, the author of Acts (13.16 14.12) invariably subordinates him at least to Paul. Many Jews, with a view to their dealings with Greeks and Romans, assumed in addition to their Jewish name a Greek (or Latin) or at least Greek-sounding surname (e.g., Acts 13.25 14.19 Col. 4.11, and *Ἰακώβος* = 23); and it may at least be asked whether this cannot perhaps have been the case with Barnabas also (see N. VIII. § 48.84).

According to the Epistle to the Galatians (our primary source), Barnabas was a companion of Paul in his missionary journeys for at least some time before the council of Jerusalem. In the council he joined

Paul in supporting the immunity of Gentile Christians from the Mosaic Law (Gal. 2.14), which makes it all the more surprising that he afterwards retreated from the position he had taken long before, that a Jewish Christian was at liberty to eat at the same table with a brother Gentile freed from the law (Gal. 2.14). As in the case of Peter, so also in that of Barnabas, the reproach of hypocrisy hurled at both by Paul on this account may safely be toned down into one of inconsistency (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3). In point of fact, Barnabas had shaken off the Mosaic Law; but he had never thought out all the bearings of the step so fully as to be able to vindicate it when the venerable and sacred duty of observing the whole law was so authoritatively pressed upon him. From this date it was, of course, no longer possible for him to work along with Paul on the same lines; and thus the dispute at Antioch more than sufficiently explains why the two separated. The mention of Barnabas in 1 Cor. 9.6 only proves that at that time also he was a prominent missionary, and that he held to the Pauline principle of supporting himself by his own labour; it is no evidence that he was personally known to the Corinthians, or that he had again become one of the companions of Paul.

In the Acts of the Apostles the separation of Barnabas from Paul is explained as due not to a difference on a matter of principle, but to a personal question. Barnabas wished to take John Mark, a near relation of his, according to Col. 4.10, as companion on a second journey planned by Paul and himself; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion (Acts 13.13) Mark had left them in the lurch

¹ In *Die Worte Jesu*, 2 (192), Deissmann comes to the Deissmann's view, which is also fully defended by G. H. Gress, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1 (1904), p. 112 f. Cf. also Arnold Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 47 f. (1907).

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(Acts 15.36-39). Even if this be accepted as a historical explanation (and we have no means of controlling it), it cannot be said to have been the chief one (see above, § 2), as to which Acts (see Acts, § 4.6) is scrupulously silent. In virtue of the intermediate position, — as between Pauline and Jewish Christianity — which was held, as we have seen, by Barnabas, he is admirably fitted for a mediating rôle in Acts. Although a native of Cyprus, he is regarded as a member of the church of Jerusalem (11.6 f.); on the sale of his estate, see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 4.53; it is he who negotiates Paul's admission to that church (13.27); it is on that church's commission that he imparts the church which had been founded by dispersed Christians at Antioch in Syria (11.22-24); it is he who fetches Paul to Antioch from Tarsus and introduces him to his field of work (11.25 f.), and he also is the apostles' travelling companion when the collection for the poor Christians there is being brought to Jerusalem (11.30 12.25); as in this case, so also in the so-called first missionary journey, undertaken along with Paul through Cyprus and the south of Asia Minor, his name is placed first, at least till 13.7, and then again in 14.14 and even 15.22-23. All this is not easy to reconcile with Paul's well-known independence as shown in his letters; but the journey in Acts 11.30 12.25 must also on other grounds be pronounced unhistorical (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3), and the rest of what is related in Acts 11 is inconsistent with the order *τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας* in Gal. 1.21, as is the rest of what we read in Acts 9 with Gal. 1.15-20 (cp Acts, § 4), and, for the doubtfulness of the contents of Acts 13 f., and the probability of a Barnabas source there, §§ 13 and 101. But, although the object of the narrative in Acts is inconsistent with history in as far as it seeks to suggest that the missionary activity of Paul among the Gentiles was no departure from the views of the primitive church, — that on the contrary it was authorised and even set on foot by it, — we may without hesitation accept as historical (see Acts, § 4) not only the co-operation of Barnabas with Paul shortly before and at the Council at Jerusalem, which is vouched for by the Epistle to the Galatians, but also the part which he took in the first missionary journey (Acts 13 f.), and even perhaps in Paul's introduction to Jerusalem (of course according to Gal. 1.15 f.) at his first visit to that city three years after his conversion. We may also accept in all probability the second journey of Barnabas to Cyprus in company with Mark (Acts 15.39). From this point his name disappears from the NT.

Our later notices of him are of little value. According to Clem. Al. (*Strom.*, n. 20, § 116, cp Eus. *HE*

4. Later notices. n. 14), he was one of the Seventy of Lk. 10.1; in the frankly anti-Pauline *Clem. Homilies* (n. 6-19), which date from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century — or rather, in the sources from which these Homilies were drawn — he was a personal disciple of Jesus, Palestinian by origin, but Alexandrian by residence, a strict adherent of the law; according to *Hom.* 1.8, n. 4, Clement meets him in Alexandria, but in *Clem. Recogn.* (17) the meeting was in Rome. According to this presumably earlier (but none the less unhistorical) representation, he proclaimed the gospel in Rome even during the lifetime of Jesus, and tarried there before Peter. In *Hom.* 1.7 this statement is made only of some person who is left unnamed, and later means were found for the complete suppression of such tradition, so full of danger to the authority of Peter and his alleged successors. From the fifth century onwards its place was taken by the statement that Barnabas was founder and bishop of the Church of Mdun — a statement, however, accompanied by the clause "after he had been the first to preach the gospel in Rome." It was upon this tradition that the archbishops of Mdun afterwards based their claims to metropolitan authority over the

whole of Northern and part of Central Italy. In the interests of Roman supremacy (which had originally been helped by it), the allegation was violently disputed by Rom in theologians of the eighteenth century.

In complete independence of the Roman and Arabian tradition, there arose, after 411 A.D., the legend that Barnabas had been the missionary to his native island of Cyprus, and had suffered martyrdom at Salamis where he was buried. On this plea the Cyprian Church, between 485 and 488 A.D., obtained from the Emperor Zeno its independence of the Patriarchate of Antioch. The implied assumption is that Barnabas was an apostle in the full sense of the word.

Ecclesiastical writers often substitute him for Barsabbas (Acts 1:23; cp BARSABAS, § 2), perhaps on account of the name Joseph, common to both (the Salitic and Philoxenian versions have, on the other hand, Joses in both cases, and there are isolated authorities for Barnabas alone), but perhaps in order to bring him nearer the apostolic circle. This object is effected in a more pronounced way by *Clem. Recogn.* (1:6), which identifies him with Matthias (Acts 1:26). There is an isolated notice in the (monistic) *Actas Petri Perfectionis* to the effect that Barnabas was sent along with Timothy to Macedonia before Paul's journey to Spain. Cp. Lipsius, *Apok. Ap. gesch.* II, 2, pp. 270-340 (especially 310, 260, 373).

Tertullian's claim of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews for Barnabas is quite inadmissible. It is difficult to attribute to a born Levite (Acts 1:16) such grave errors about the temple (or tabernacle) as occur in Heb. 9:1 f. 7:27; or to any member of the primitive church of Jerusalem any such declaration as that in Heb. 2:4, that he had first received the gospel at second hand through hearers of Jesus. Nor is such an origin consistent with the thoroughly Alexandrian character of the Epistle. Even, however, if we must refrain from basing any argument on the statements about Barnabas in Acts 4:36, we are still confronted by a decisive fact: the man who at a critical moment was so much subject to the Mosiac law (Gal. 2:14), could not have spoken of its abolition and even of its carnal character, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks in 7:12-18:16. Doubtless the Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas because it was supposed that the λόγος τῆς παρακλήσεως of Heb. 13:22 could only have come from the λόγος παρακλήσεως of Acts 1:30.

That Barnabas should have written the anonymous epistle which since the time of Clement of Alexandria has borne his name, and on that account has been included among the writings of the 'apostolic fathers,' is still more inconceivable than his authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It goes far beyond Paul in its assertion of freedom from the law. As to its date, see under ACTS (§ 19).

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BARODIS (Βαρωδεις [BAV]), a group or children of Solomon's servants (see NECHIMIAH), in the great post-exilic list (EZRA, II, §§ 9-8 c. 15:1-17), one of the eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5:34 (om. G¹) after Pochereth-hazzebam of 1 Esd. 2:57 = Neh. 7:59.

BARREL (ῥῶ γάρβα [BAL]; 1 K. 17:12-14:16-18:33). See COOKING UTENSILS, § 2, POTTERY.

BARRICADE (בִּרְיָדָה), 1 S. 17:22 RV¹⁸⁸⁶. See CAMP, § 1.

BARSABAS or **BARSABBAS** (§§ 48, 72). The etymology is doubtful. Βαρσαβας has been derived

1. **Name.** from בָּר (son) and שָׁבַע or שָׁבַי ('Sheba'), which, however, as far as we know, is always the name of a country, never of a person), from בָּר and שָׁבַע (= 'warrior'; cp Nu. 21:15), or from בָּר and שָׁבַי ('old man's son'). Βαρσαβας (Ti. WH) the better attested form of the name suggests a child of the

Sabbath. Dahman (*Gram. d. jud.-paläst. Aramäisch*, 1894 p. 443) instances analogies to show that שָׁבַע or שָׁבַי could by contraction become שָׁבַ, though שָׁבַע שָׁבַ is what we should more naturally expect in such a case.

2. **Joseph Barsabbas**, so named Justus (Τοῖστος [Ti. WH]), was nominated, though not chosen, for the

vacancy in the apostolate caused by the death of Judas. The account of the election in Acts 1:15-26 could not be held to be historical if we regarded the number twelve for the original apostolate as having been fixed, and invested with special dignity, only after the controversy as to Paul's equality in privilege with the apostles of Jerusalem. But even were we to set aside the allusion to the δώδεκα in 1 Cor. 15:5, as being unparalleled elsewhere in the Pauline writings, we should still be at a loss to explain why Paul never vigorously protested against an innovation if innovation it was, so arbitrary and so derogatory to his own position. Occasion enough for doing so presented itself in Gal. 2 and 2 Cor. 10-13. We must, accordingly, ascribe to Jesus himself the choice of twelve of his disciples who stood in peculiarly close relations to their Master. But in that case it was very natural that these should seek to keep up their number—that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

Whether the election was in Jerusalem is more open to question. On the arrest of Jesus all the disciples, according to Mk. 14:50 Mt. 26:56, had taken to flight, and that they should have returned to Jerusalem so soon is not likely. The view of Lk. and Jn., according to which they are present in Jerusalem on the day of the resurrection of Jesus (and remain there), cannot be reconciled with what we are told by Mk. and Mt.; the explanation is that the third and fourth evangelists found the statement of the first and second in credible. According to this last, Jesus, in Jerusalem, through the women, sends the disciples, who are also in Jerusalem, to Galilee, in order that he may there show himself to them. The kernel of historical fact, however, is not in Lk. and Jn. have it, but the reverse: namely, that the apostles were not in Jerusalem at all, but in Galilee, and thus in Galilee received the manifestations of their risen Lord. It may even be questioned whether they were again in Jerusalem and able to come forward publicly and unopposed so early as at the following Pentecost (see GILLES, SPIRITUAL).

In a still higher degree must the discourse of Peter in Acts 1:16-22 be regarded as entirely the work of the author (see ACTS, § 14).

Instead of Τωσθ in Acts 1:23, there is some (though inferior) authority for Τωσθ, a reading due perhaps to a conjecture that the 'brethren of Jesus' named in Mk. 6:3 were of the number of the Twelve; the same conjecture, if in Acts 1:23 the reading Τωσθ be retained, appears to find support in the fact that in Mt. 13:55 the brother of Jesus in question is called, not as in Mk. 6:3 Τωσθ, but according to the best MSs Τωσθ. The assumption, however, is quite inadmissible (see CLOPPAS, §§ 4, 5).

According to Papias (Eus. *H.E.* III, 39:6), Justus Barsabbas drank deadly poison with impunity. From the fifth century onwards he is named as one of the seventy of Lk. 10:1; in the list of these preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* (Bonn ed. i. 400) he is identified with Thaddaeus = Lebbaeus; in that of Pseudo-Dorotheus (*ib.* II, 128), with Jesus Justus (Col. 4:11), to whom the see of Eleutheropolis is assigned. In the *Pseudo-Pasch.* attributed to Irenaeus, but really dating from the 5th or 6th cent., 'Barsabbas et Justus,' in another redaction 'Barsabbas Justus,' and in a third ὁ Βαρσαβας Τοῖστος, are enumerated among servants of Nero who, converted by Paul, are cast into prison and condemned to death by the emperor, but afterwards released after an appearance of the risen Paul to the latter. The identification of this Justus with the biblical Barsabbas seems to have

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been made at a comparatively late date. (See Lipsius, *Apok. Ap. gesch.* 1, 201-3, 24, n. 194-96, 190, 191, 281 f.)

2. Another Barsabars called Judas appears in Acts 15:12-14, along with Silas, as a prominent member of the early church in Jerusalem, and as a *πρωτοπρεσβυτερος* (Tl. 15:12).

3. Judas, *φύστης* that is to say, as a man endowed with the gift of *παρολλαγής* (see BARNABAS, § 1). The mission ascribed to him—that of conveying the decree of the council of Jerusalem—cannot, of course, be more historical than the decree itself (see COTTELL, *OF THE SACRED*, § 101).

BARTACUS (ΒΑΡΤΑΚΟΥ [BA], ΒΑΖΑΚΟΥ [L], *BAZAKOS* [Vg]), father of Apollon, a companion of Dorcas (1 Esd 1:96). His title or epithet *τῷ θαυμαστῷ* is obscure. Jos. (*Ant.* vi, 35) gives it as *τῷ θαυμαστῷ*, which may possibly be for *μαθησάτω* (old Pers. *mathrāta* (simply 'coloured'), and, at any rate, is hardly a misunderstanding of the *τῷ θαυμαστῷ* in 1 Esd (RV 'the illustrious B.'), which is not a very natural epithet. The form given by Josephus, Βαρτεζακός (cp Syr. ܒܪܬܝܐܝܬܐ), seems nearest to the original name, which was probably Artakizak. Out of this 'Bartacus' may have arisen in this way: the MS had βαζακός, and over the first four letters was written *απα*—a correction which the scribe misunderstood (so Marti, *Ev. 65*).

BARTHOLOMEW (ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟΣ [Tl. WH]) is enumerated in Mt. 10:3 Mk. 3:13 Lk. 9:12 Acts 1:13 (see APOSTLES, § 1) as one of the twelve apostles of Jesus.

1. In NT. The second portion of the name represents the OT proper name vocalised by MT as *בְּרֹחַמִּי* (*brochami*; for the variants see TALMUD). In Josephus (*Ant.* ix, 1 § 5) the name *Tholomaios* (*tholomaios*) occurs as borne by a robber chief. It is not necessary to derive from Ptolemy (*Πτολεμαῖος*); the *θ* instead of *τ* is against this, though the second *ο* for *ε* presents no difficulty (Winer, *§ 52*). Bartholomew may have been either a genuine proper name like Barnabas, Bargesus, etc., or a mere addition to the real proper name of the bearer, given for the sake of distinction, like Simon Bar-jona (cp BARNABAS, § 2); on the latter supposition we do not know the true name of Bartholomew. It is the merest conjecture that identifies him with Nathanael (see NATHANIEL). If we neglect this conjecture the NT has nothing further to tell us about Bartholomew.

Ecclesiastical tradition makes him a missionary to the most widely separated countries, and attributes to him a variety of martyrdoms. The oldest writer from whom we have 2. Post-biblical accounts of him is Eusebius (*HE* v, 103), who represents him as having preached in India (in those days a very wide geographical expression, including, for example, Arabia Felix), and as having left behind him there the Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew; but Lipsius (*Apok. Ap. gesch.* ii, 254-108; cp *Ergänz.-heft*, 110/2, 189-191), from the closely related character of the tradition regarding him and Matthew, assigns an earlier date to a tradition that the shores of the Black Sea were the scene of the labours of both, although this tradition is found only in authors later than Eusebius. According to other accounts, he preached the Gospel among the Cypriots, or (with Thomas) in Armenia, or (with Philip) in Phrygia, and, after the death of Philip, in Lycania. In the lists of the apostles his name is always coupled with that of Philip—a fact which makes it all the more remarkable that in this group of legends he is expressly designated as one of the 'seventy' disciples of Lk. 10:1. On the other hand, the Parthian legend which gives Mesopotamia and Persia as the field of his labours, identifies him with Nathanael. A heretical Gospel of Bartholomew is mentioned by Jerome in his preface to Mt.

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BARTIMÆUS (ΒΑΡΤΙΜΑΙΟΣ [Tl. WH]); on the account see below, § 2, end), the name of the blind beggar whom (according to Mk. 10:46-51)

1. Story. Jesus healed as he was leaving Jericho for Jerusalem. The parallel narratives of Mt. and Lk. show various discrepancies in points of detail. According to Lk. 18:35-43 the healing happened as Jesus was entering, not when he was leaving, Jericho, and according

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to Mt. 20:29-34 two blind men were healed. It might perhaps be suggested that each of the two evangelists, or at least Mt., was thinking of some occurrence other than that recorded in Mk.; but, as against this, the very close coincidence with the text of Mk. shows clearly that both are dealing with the story which is associated in Mk. with the name of Bartimæus.

As regards this particular class of miracle, our judgment on which must depend on our doctrine of miracles in general, so much at least may be remarked, that in speaking to the disciples of John (Mt. 11:5—Lk. 7:22) of his giving sight to the blind, and other similar wonders, Jesus meant to be understood in a spiritual, not in a physical, sense. Otherwise the closing words, 'and to the poor the gospel is preached,' would have no force; for no proof of supernatural physical power is involved in this crowning instance. It is plain, however, that the evangelists understood his words in a physical sense. For in Mt. there is recorded, before the account of the message to John, not only the healing of a leper (8:1-4) and of a lame man (9:1-8), as in Lk., but also the bringing to life of Laimis's daughter (9:18-26), which Lk. records after that message (Lk. 8:40-56), the healing of a *καυχῶς* (9:42), which Mk. does not record at all and which Lk. relates, like the raising of Laimis's daughter, after the message to John (11:14), and, above all, the healing of two blind men (12:13-15), which does not appear in the parallel narratives. It thus appears that, in the first gospel, instances of all five classes of miracle are recorded as having occurred before Jesus appears to them (if we may disregard the consideration that in Mt. 9:12, *καυχῶς* is used in the sense of dumb; while Jesus in the message to John uses it in the sense of deaf). Lk., on the other hand, in whose narrative the message to John is preceded only by the raising of the widow's son at Naim (7:11-17), in addition to the healing of a leper and a lame man (5:12-26) relates in 7:22 that Jesus wrought upon many persons in the presence of the disciples of John the miracles to which he was immediately afterwards to appeal. Of these miracles we have no indication in the other evangelists. The conclusion is that the words 'to the poor the gospel is preached' cannot have been the addition of these evangelists or of any of their predecessors. The words destroy the physical-supernatural interpretation which the evangelists seek to put upon the preceding clauses. They are the authentic words of Jesus himself, and they prove that he did not claim to be a healer of the physically blind.

Some of the critics who argue that the evangelists have misapprehended Jesus's words do not deny the historicity of the story of Bartimæus. They point out that, in Mk's narrative at least, Bartimæus, 'casting away his garment, sprang up and came to Jesus' (and thus cannot have been completely blind); also that the event helps to render intelligible the popular enthusiasm at the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem immediately afterwards. They account for the divergence of Lk. by pointing out that for the story of Zacchæus a great concourse of people before the entry of Jesus into Jericho is required, and that the evangelist erroneously believed this to have been due to the healing of the blind man. Mt's divergence they account for by supposing that he had fused together the story of Bartimæus and that of the blind man, recorded in Mk. 8:22-26, which he had previously passed over. Finally, they appeal to the express mention of the name of the person healed—a rare thing in the gospels—as guaranteeing a genuine reminiscence.

This last argument would, of course, lose its validity should the name prove to be no real name 2. Name but merely a description.

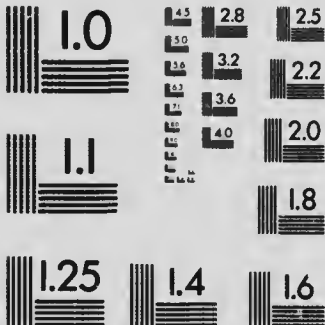
According to Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* 588, 1461-2, the Syrian lexicographers Bar 'Mi (circa 885 A.D.) and Elias of Anbar (circa 922) interpret *Timæus* as meaning blind (*ἄμαρτος*); similarly, *Bar 'Mi*, ed. Lag. ii, 176-35; *Bar 'Mi*, ed. Lag. ii, 176-35; and Jerome (*Ab. 60*) even gives the corrected form 'Bartimæus' (*ἄμαρτος*) and adds: 'quod et ipsum corrupte quidam Bartimæum legunt.' The reading *Bar 'Mi*, however, has no support except in *Bar 'Mi* (circa 885 A.D.) who found in two Greek MSS. 'Sanctus Bar 'Mi' and the interpretation

1. The reading is suspicious for the very reason that it depends on that of the Syrian translation, which could not render *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος* otherwise than by the awkward and meaningless repetition of *τῷ*. It accordingly left *ὁ υἱὸς* untranslated, thus making *Timæus* the blind man's own name, and designating him *τῷ τῷ τῷ* (so in Syr. sin. and nearly so in Syr. hr.; cp Land, *Anec.* 4141: *ܬܝܡܐܝܘܫ ܒܪ ܬܝܡܐܝܘܫ*). This might be held to indicate that the combination *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος* cannot be due to the evangelist, who habitually translates the Greek translation of an Aramaic expression by *ὁ υἱὸς* (Lk. 7:11-34) or *ὁ υἱὸς μεθρηνηνομένου* (Lk. 15:22-34). Thus *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου* is the marginal note of some very ancient reader.



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'blind' cannot be established. Hitzig, who upholds it, has only inferred an Aramaic ܕܠܡܐ , 'to be blind,' as being the intermediary step between the Syr. ܕܠܡܐ and the Arabic ʿumya in the meaning (in Merx's *Lexicon*, 1: 67 f., and *Klassisch-fachliche* 1: 104 f., 2: 3 f. 6 f.) but the inference is not sound. It would appear, to us, that the ancient interpretation 'blind' was hit upon simply because *religio* stood near. Neumann (*Stud. Bib.* 1: 57) without expressing any view as to the etymology, gives ܕܠܡܐ as the original form. This rests, however, only on the writing of the name in some MSS of the Vet. Lat. with r instead of r , and the termination -a instead of -e , to which, however, the unanimous testimony of the Greek MSS is surely to be preferred (only D has δλαρηγοϛ). Thus the most likely rendering of the name would be ' ܕܠܡܐ , 'son of the uncle in.'

As explaining this interpretation, Volkmar still regarded the name as only a description of his role, not the story. One who is blind, MK means, is the church. One of the Gentile world; what whole Gentile world is freed from an individual man, but that the that is, by the preaching of his gospel (*Matth. 23: 12; Mk. 9: 1, 42; 50: 9, 15; 7: 17 f.; Luc. 11: 17; 12: 10; 13: 16*). But in the sight of Christianity, Judaism, as well as heathenism, is blind, whose healing is described in an earlier chapter (*Mk. 8: 22-6*). The text, however, supplies in *Luc. 11: 17; 12: 10*. The in the one place the Jews, in the other the Gentiles, are intended in fact, as Bartholomäus uses, the words 'son of David' and 'Rabbi', Volk, are only himself, if considered to pronounce him not a Gentile in the full sense of the word, but a proselyte—thereby, however, destroying his own position, which is that the two he does take to better express the deliverance by the gospel of the whole of humanity from spiritual blindness.

We are shut up, then, to the conclusion that Bartimaeus is a proper name like Barnabas, Barjesus, and the like, and it is a matter of indifference whether the second element be the appellative 'רמא, 'raman,' or the personal name רמא (Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* 2 154),¹ or the place-name רמא (ib. 166), or the second part of the Syriac place-name רמא (Thes. Syr. 406, 1462), and whether any or all of the last three forms admit of being traced to a Jewish Aramaic root רמא, 'to close up' (Syr. 224).

Bartimaeus remains a proper name, also, if the second part of it is supposed to be the Greek name *Timotheos* (found, e.g., in when he called Bartimaeus *ἰσχυρὸς θεός*). Such a blending, hard, it is not impossible, is unlikely. On the other hand, if the name is supposed to be a Semitic derivation this would naturally be *Barthanaos*, as in *Marthanaos*, *Zaccharias*, and so forth. But just as, on the analogy of the very common Greek termination *-moēs*, the accepted pronunciation of Ephraim and Simeon was *Ephraimōs* and *Simeonōs* (Rom. 10. 4 Cor. 10), although in name under consideration on the penultimate, so conceivably the even without supposing it to be etymologically derived from the Greek.

For the philology see, especially, Nestle, *Handb. u. Mitt.*, 1883, pp. 8-9, and for the subject in general, Keim, *Gesch. des N. u. A.*, 3: 51-54 (h. f. 561-64).

BARUCH (בִּרְכָּיָה, 'blessed [of God]'; ΒΑΡΧΥ [ΒΑΡΧΑ]; ΒΑΡΟΥΧ[ος] [Jos.], son of Neriah and brother of SERAJAH (Jer. 41), one of Jeremiah's most faithful friends in the upper class of the citizens of Jerusalem (cp. Jos. Ant. x 91, εἰς ἐπιστάτην σφόδρα οὐκίστα). We hear of Baruch first in 604 B.C. as the scribe who committed to writing the prophecies delivered by his master up to that date, and then in 603 B.C. (1) as the fearless reader of those prophecies before the people, the princes, and the king (Jer. 36). After the roll from which he read had been burned, Baruch wrote down the substance of the former roll afresh—a fact not without significance for the criticism of the Book of JEREMIAH (q.v.). In 587 B.C., it was to Baruch that Jeremiah when in prison committed the deeds of the land which he purchased from his cousin Hananiah at Anathoth (3212), and after the fall of Jerusalem it was this faithful scribe who was charged

¹ This personal name יִשְׁרָאֵל, however, is not certainly made out, for, according to Dahmen (*Zh. d. Lit.-Blatt.*, 1895, p. 257 f., and *Agram. u. n. d. s. v. Wörterbuch*, 1898, p. 162), in the sole proof-text cited, the reading in the first edition is יִשְׂרָאֵל which he explains from יִשְׂרָאֵל.

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with having induced Jeremiah to dissuade his countrymen from seeking a refuge in Egypt (13:1). The disciple appears to have been similar in character to his master. In the language of strong emotion he complained of the troubles which had come upon him, and of the wandering life which he was forced to lead: "Seekest thou great things for thyself? (*i.e.*, the leadership of a new and better Israel?) 'Seek them not' was the answer; for still worse troubles are in prospect, but Barnab's own life will be spared (45:15; cp 12:10). We may be thankful for this brief record of Barnab's inner life. Its genuineness has been too hastily doubted; the date given in 15 is, of course, too early to suit the contents, and must be interpolated; but the prophecy itself is altogether in character with Jeremiah.

[illegible]

BARUCH, Book of, a short book which in the LXX is placed immediately after Jeremiah, and is reckoned by the Roman Catholic Church as one of the so-called deuterocanonical writings.

Its contents may be summarised as follows:—
(Chap. I-2.) The book is said to have been written

1. Contents. by Baruch the son of Neriah at Babylon in the fifth year, at the time when Jerusalem was burned by the Chaldeans.

(Chap. I-3.) Balaam reads his book in the presence of Jehoahaz (i.e., Jehoachin), the son of Jehoikim, king of Judah, and in the presence of the other Jewish exiles who dwell at Babylon by the river Sid (2005 [?]). After mourning and fasting, they send money to Jerusalem to the priest Jehoikim (Ἰωακίμ), the son of Ilikiah, commanding him to offer sacrifices in behalf of Nubuhodonosor (Nebuchadrezzar) king of Babylon and his son Belsazzar, in order that Israel may find mercy. At the same time, the Jewish exiles send the following book which is to be read publicly on feast days in the Temple (Chaps. 1-38.) This section is a confession of sin, put into the mouth of Israel and accompanied by prayers that God will at length pardon his people whom he has so justly punished. Special stress is laid upon the sin which the people committed in refusing to serve the king of Babylon, notwithstanding the solemn injunctions of the prophets.

(Chaps. 39-50.) Now follows a discourse addressed to the Israelites dispersed among the Gentiles. It begins by showing that the calamities of the people are due to their having forsaken God, the only source of wisdom, and then proceeds to console them with promises of restoration—Jerusalem will be gloriously re-established for ever and ever, and the oppressors of Israel are to be humbled to the dust.

It will be seen that the book is very far from presenting the appearance of an organic unity. After the heading of chap. 1, 'These are the words of the book which Barisch wrote,' etc., we might expect the book itself to follow immediately; but, instead of this, we have a long account of the effect produced upon the people by the reading of the book. Nor are we clearly informed whether 'the book' sent

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by the Jewish exiles to Jerusalem (1.14), which they cite at full length in the following section (1.15-3.7), is or is not identical with 'the book' written by Baruch. Moreover, the historical situation described in the narrative (1.1-14) does not agree very well with the subsequent portion, since the narrative assumes the continued existence of the temple, whereas 2.26 implies its destruction. Finally, the discourse which occupies all the latter half of the book begins quite abruptly and stands in no definite relation to what precedes; it presupposes, indeed, the dispersion of Israel; but to Baruch and to the special circumstances of the *Babylonian* captivity there is no allusion.

To these general considerations may be added several difficulties of detail. The date given in 1 is so obviously worded that several modern commentators (e.g., Ewald and Kneucker) have felt obliged to emend the text. Even if the omission of the 14th year be explained, we still have to decide whether 'the 14th year' means the 14th year of Jeremiah's captivity or the 14th year after the burning of Jerusalem; and to both views there are serious objections. Chap. 15 disturbs the series, and if it be genuine must originally have stood in some other place.

Though the Book of Baruch never formed part of the Hebrew Canon (for which reason Jerome excluded it

3. Origin. from his Latin translation of the Bible), it was regarded as authentic by many of the Christian fathers, from the second century onwards. Sometimes, owing to the place which it occupies in the LXX, it is cited as a part of Jeremiah. Even in quite recent times, it has been maintained by Roman Catholic theologians that the book is a translation of a genuine work of the well-known Baruch, the friend and secretary of the prophet Jeremiah. All competent critics, however, have long ago concluded that it dates from a very much later period, and belongs to the large class of Jewish books which were put forth under false names. Its origin and history remain, however, in some respects obscure. That 1.1-3.8 and 3.9-5.9 are by different authors is generally acknowledged; both in substance and in style there is a marked contrast, the language of the former section being simple and full of Hebraisms, while that of the latter is highly rhetorical. The dates of the various parts, however, and the question whether the whole or any part was originally written in Hebrew are matters about which critics differ.

Ewald ascribed the first half (1.1-3.8) to a Jew living in Babylonia or Persia under one of the latter Achaemenian kings, and regarded the rest of the book as having been written soon after the capture of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter (320 B.C.); 4.12 Ewald explained as a reference to the deportation of Jews to Alexandria. Very few critics, however, are now in favour of so early a date. Kneucker thinks that the work, in its original form, was composed in the reign of Domitian, and consisted of only the heading (*i.e.*, 1.1-2 in part, 3), and the discourse contained in 3.9-5.9; the confession of sin (1.15-3.8) was, according to Kneucker, probably written a little earlier (in any case after the year 73 of our era) as an independent work, and was subsequently inserted into the Book of Baruch by a scribe, who himself composed 1.4-14. Schürer, on the contrary, whilst admitting that the middle of chap. 1 does not harmonise very well with what precedes and follows, thinks it on the whole probable that all the first half of the book (1.1-3.8) is by the same author, whom he places soon after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), the second half being by a different hand but of about the same period.

With regard to the original language, Ewald, Kneucker, and others believe the whole to be a translation from the Hebrew, whilst Bertholdt, Havernick, and Nöldeke regard the Greek as the primitive text. Fritzsche, Hilgenfeld, Renss, and Schürer maintain the theory of a primitive Hebrew text in the case of the first half only. In favour of this hypothesis, it may be mentioned that on the margin of

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the Syro-Hexaplar text of Baruch there are three notes by a scribe stating that certain words in 1.17 and 2.1 are 'not found in the Hebrew' (cp. *Apocrypha*, § 6 (1)).

As to the question of historical credibility, it is obvious that if, with the majority of critics, we ascribe the book to the Roman period, its value as a record of facts is reduced to nothing. Whether,

4. Historical value. for example, the statements about Baruch's residence in Babylon, the river 2.65, and the priest Jehoiakim are based upon any really ancient tradition it is impossible for us to decide. The author of the first half borrows largely from Jeremiah and from Daniel; in the second half we find in many reminiscences of Job and of the latter part of Isaiah; and it may be that sources now lost also were employed. It is particularly important to observe that the closing passage (1.6-5.9) bears a striking resemblance to one of the pieces in the so-called 'Psalms of Solomon' (Ps. 11—see the edition of Kyle and James, pp. lxxv, lxxvi.), which probably date from about the middle of the first century B.C. Since there is every reason to believe that the Psalms of Solomon were originally composed in Hebrew (cp. *Apocrypha*, § 83), the close verbal agreement seems to indicate that the author of this part of Baruch used the Psalms of Solomon in their present Greek form.

The most important of the MSS containing the Greek text of Baruch are B, A, and the Marcianus (Q). In B this book is missing. Fritzsche's edition of the *Apocrypha*

5. Texts and comm. (*Libri apocryphi veteris testamenti graeci*, 1770) does not accurately represent the B text of Baruch; but trustworthy information about this MS may be obtained from S. J. S. *Syllabus*, iii, in the preparation of which the photographic reproduction of B was used.

The ancient versions are: (1) the old Latin, contained in the editions of the Vg.; (2) another Latin version, first published at Rome in 1628 by Joseph Maria Cato Tommasi; (3) the Old Syriac, edited by Paul de Lagarde in his *Libri veteris testamenti apocryphi syriaci*, 1871, from a MS in the British Museum, Add. 17.1.5; (4) the Syro-Hexaplar, *i.e.*, the Syriac translation of Origen's Hexaplaric text, contained in the Codex Ambrosianus, which was reproduced in photo-lithography by Ceriani in 1871; (5) the Ethiopic, a much altered form of the text—ed. by Dillmann (Berlin 1904) in the 5th vol. of his *Verus Testamentum, Ethiopicum*; (6) the Armenian, of which the first edition is contained in the Armenian Bible published at Venice in 1805; (7) the Coptic, edited by Brugsch in ZÄN, xii.

Of modern commentaries the most valuable are those of Fritzsche (in *Kurzer Handb.*, 1851), Reisch (*Erklärung des Buchs Baruch*, 1853), Ewald (*Uebersetzung des alten Bundes*, 2d ed., 1867-68), Kneucker (*Das Buch Baruch*, 1879), and Gifford (in Wace's *Apocrypha*, 1892). The best general account of the book will be found in Schürer (*GH*, 1886-90, ii, pp. 721-726, ET). The reader may consult also Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, 1812-19, pt. iv.), Havernick (*De libro Baruchi commentatio critica*, 1853), Hitzig (in *ZWT* 3.26-27), Hilgenfeld (*ibid.*, 5.199-201, 22.137-454, 23.412-422), Nöldeke (*Altliche Lit.*, 1878, p. 214 n.), Reuss (*Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften ATs*, 2d ed., 1890), and the article on this book in Smith's *DB*, 2d ed., 1893, an article valuable chiefly on account of the additions made by Prof. Kyle.

In many MSS and printed editions the apocryphal *Epistle of Jeremiah* is appended to Baruch, and it is reckoned in the Vg. as the sixth chapter of the book.

6. Appendices. The Book of Baruch is not to be confounded with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (see *Apocrypha*, § 57). The work known as 'The Rest of the words of Baruch,' extant in Greek, Ethiopic, and Armenian, seems to be a Christian imitation of the Apocalypse of Baruch. We possess, moreover, a third apocalypse of Baruch extant in Greek and in Slavonic, and a fourth extant only in Ethiopic. The Greek text of the former has been published by James in his *Apocrypha, necdota*, second series [97] (*Texts and Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1), where some information will be found also about the Ethiopic apocalypse (iii).

A. A. H.

BARZILLAI (בַּרְזַי; Βαρζελλ[αί]) [BNAI.]. The meaning can scarcely be 'iron,' for such a name would be without a parallel. According to Nestle (*ZDPV* 1897; cp. Kampfmeyer, *ib.* 9), the name is Aramaic ('son of —?'); but the latter part of it is still obscure.

1. A wealthy Gileadite of Rogellim, who befriended David in his flight from Absalom at Mahanaim (2 S. 17.27). He refused David's offer to live at the court at Jerusalem, but entrusted to him his son CHIMHAM

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(9.7; 2 S. 19.37 ff.). David on his death recommended the sons of Barzillai to Solomon (1 K. 2.7).
 2. A Gileadite (see (3)), Ezr. 2.61 ḥ (ḥapṣā'āle) [B], -ā'āle [AD].
 Neh. 7.61 ḥ (ā'āle) [AD]. 1 Esd. 5.37 ḥ (ḥapṣā'āle) [B], -ā'āle [AD].
 3. A man who married one of the daughters of (2) and changed his name to Barzillai.¹ In post-exilic times the line Barzillai were among those deposed from the priesthood because they were unable to prove their pedigree. In 1 Esd. 5.38 the original name of the founder of the family is said to have been JAMAS, AV. JAMAS (ḥapṣā'āle) [B], ḥapṣā'āle [AD]. Jaz. Jabbat (cp. Jos. Ant. vi. 84; ḥapṣā'āle). Ezr. 2.61 ḥ (ḥapṣā'āle) [B], ḥapṣā'āle [AD]. Neh. 7.61 ḥ (ḥapṣā'āle) [AD], and so 1 Esd. 5.38 (ḥapṣā'āle). The same passage gives ALGIA as the name of his wife.
 4. A man of Abel-neholai (not far, therefore, from Gilead), whose son ABRAHAM (9.7) also has been thought to bear an Aramaic name (2 S. 21.4).

BASALOTH (בסאלות) [V]. 1 Esd. 5.31 = Ezr. 2.52. BAZULUTH, 9.7.

BASCAMA (באכאמא) [ANV]; באכא. Jos. Ant. vi. 61, an unknown place, in Gilead, where Jonathan the Maccabee was put to death by Trypho (1 Macc. 13.21). Finner's identification (ZDP¹ 12.43) with *Bell. Buzuk* on the W. Golanāye (to the E. of the extreme N. of Lake Tiberias) is precarious (see Buhl, *Pal.* 241). Equally unsubstantiated is the identification with BAZEK, i.

BASE. For בַּסֵּה, *m'kōnāh*, the word employed to denote the structure upon which each of Solomon's layers rested (1 K. 7.27 f.; 2 K. 12.34 f.; 27 ff.; 2 K. 16.17 25.13 10.2 Ch. 4.14, *meṣoroth* [sing. and pl.]; Jer. 27.34) on. BNA, *meṣoroth* [Thes. 1.]; Jer. 52.17 *baseis* [Bibl. 1.], see L. V. 1.18; also for 12. *base*, L. 31.9 *base*, RV [AV 'food']. For *base*, *base*, Ex. 25.31 37.17 RV [AV 'shaft']. See CAMERON, 1. 2. n. 1; and for 22. *base*, Ezek. 43.13 RV, see ALFORD, § 11.

BASEMATH (בסמת) [B]. Gen. 36. RV; AV BASHEMATH.

BASEMENT (בסמת), Ez. 113 RV. See GABRIATH, PAVEMENT.

BASHAN (בשן), always in prose [except 1 Ch. 5.34], and sometimes also in poetry, with the art. *bāshān*; the appellative sense of the word, *bāshān*, from the Arab. *bathnāṭan*, was probably 'fertile, rich and stoneless soil'; see Wetstein, in Del. *Hibb.* [App.], 550 f.; *Basan* or *ḥapṣā'āle*, the name of the broad and fertile tract of country on the E. of Jordan, bounded (somewhat roughly) on the S. by the Yarmuk and a line passing through Edrei and Salehah (mentioned as border cities in Dt. 3.10), on the E. by the imposing range of extinct volcanoes called the Jebel Haurān, on the W. by Geshur and Ma'acah (see Josh. 12.5), and on the N. stretching out towards Hermon (cp. Dt. 33.22; see further, on the limits of Bashan, Guthe, ZDP¹, 1890, pp. 231-4). The name (in its Gk. form *Baravaia*,² and its Arabic form *Bathaniyeh*³) was, however, afterwards restricted to the southern portion of the area thus defined, other parts of the ancient 'Bashan' being distinguished as TRACHONITIS (9.7), i.e., the remarkable pear-shaped volcanic formation in the NE, now called the Lejā - Auramitis (probably the Jebel Haurān and its environs in the SE.), and Golanitis (which, however, may have included parts of Geshur and Ma'acah, beyond the limits of Bashan proper) in the West. The principal part of the Bashan of the OT must have been the broad rolling prairie now called by the Bedawin *en-Nukra*, a word properly denoting the 'hollow hearth' dug by the Bedawin in the middle of his tent, and applied to this great plain because, though it is

1 The adoption of the family name of the wife suggests that she was an heiress.
 2 See Schäfer, *GT* 1.353.
 3 Wetstein, *Hauran*, 83-83, and in the app. to Del. *Hibb.* 554-558, where it is shown also that the modern 'arab el-Bathaniyeh', or 'Land of Bathaniyeh', is the name of a comparatively small district N. of the Jebel Haurān and E. of the Lejā, which can never (as was supposed by Porter and others) have formed part of either Bashan or the province of Baravaia.

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some 1800-2000 ft. above the level of the sea, it forms a depression between the hilly Janin (across the Naher-Rukād) on the W., the Zinnich range on the S., and the Jebel Haurān and the Lejā on the E.; the S. and SE. part of en-Nukra also bears the special name of HAURAN (9.7).

Bashan, as defined above, is distinguished geologically from the country S. of it. The Yarmuk forms a natural dividing line, on the S. of which the limestone comes to the surface, while on the N. it is covered by volcanic deposits. Jebel Haurān, on the SE., is simply a range of extinct volcanoes; volcanic peaks extend from N. to S. in Janin, along the edge of the Jordan valley, on the W.;² and there are isolated volcanic hills in other parts of the country. The Lejā, that strange 'petrified ocean' NW. of the Jebel Haurān, which measures some 25 mi. from N. to S. by 10 from E. to W. (see TRACHONITIS), owes its origin entirely to streams of basaltic lava emitted from the Gharārat el Kablyeh, a now extinct volcano at the NW. corner of the Jebel Haurān. The soil both of the slopes of the Jebel Haurān and of the Nukra is a rich red loam,³ formed by the lava scoria, which has become disintegrated under atmospheric action. The soil thus constituted is celebrated for its fertility; the best corn grows upon it, and in summer time the plain is covered far and wide with waving crops. The country is, however, in general almost entirely destitute of trees; only on the slopes of Jebel Haurān, especially in its central and southern parts, are there abundant forests of evergreen oak* (cp. the allusions to the 'oaks of Bashan' in the OT: Is. 2.1; Zech. 11.2 Ez. 27.6, also Is. 34.1 ḥapṣā'āle) [B], Nah. 1.4). In ancient times, also, it must have supplied rich pastures; the strong and well-nourished herds of Bashan are mentioned in Is. 22.14 (12) (G omits) Am. 4.1 Ez. 39.6 (G omits) Dt. 32.14 (G *raṣṣān*); cp. also Mic. 7.14 Jer. 50.6 (G omits). The lofty conical summits of the volcanoes forming the Haurān range (cp. Porter, *ES*, 186, 189, 227-254) are no doubt the 'mountains with peaks,' which the poet of Ps. 68.16 f. [15 f.] pictures as looking enviously at the comparatively unimposing mountain of Zion.

The principal towns of Bashan mentioned in the OT are the two royal cities of 'Og (Dt. 14 Josh. 12.4 *basar* [B]), ASHURATH, now probably either Tell Ashtara or Tell Ash'ari, in the middle of en-Nukra, and Edrei, now Der'at, on its S. border, GOLAN (Dt. 1.43), somewhere in the W., and SALEHAN (Dt. 3.10), now Salehad, a frontier-fortress in a commanding position overlooking the desert in the SE. corner of Bashan, S. of Jebel Haurān. Basra, between Edrei and Salehah, though not mentioned till 1 Macc. 5.26 ff. (*Basor* ANV*); but see Basor), also was, no doubt, an important place; the site is still marked by extensive remains belonging to the Roman age. Threescore fenced cities, with high walls, gates and bars, forming the kingdom of 'Og, are likewise mentioned in Dt. 34 (cp. 1 K. 1.13) as situate in the 'region of Argob,' in Bashan. The position of Argob, and, consequently, the positions of those cities as well, are uncertain (see ARGOB, 1); but there are remains of many ancient towns and villages in these parts, especially in the Lejā, and on the sloping sides of the Jebel Haurān; according to Wetstein, for example (*Hauran*, 42), there are 300 such ancient sites on the E. and S. slopes of the Jebel Haurān alone.

The dwellings in these deserted localities are of a remarkable character. Some are the habitations of Troglodytes, being caverns hollowed out in the mountain-side, and so arranged as to form a series of small villages. Others are the remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants, who, like the Troglodytes, were nomadic, and so arranged as to form a series of small villages. Others are the remains of the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants, who, like the Troglodytes, were nomadic, and so arranged as to form a series of small villages.

1 Wetstein, *Hauran*, 87 n. *Hibb.* 552; GASMI, *HG* 536 f. See the excellent map of this district published in the ZDP¹, 1890, Heft 4, chiefly on the basis of Stübel's survey.
 2 S. Lammacher, *The Jordan*, 13-23.
 3 Wetstein, *Hauran*, 497. Cp. the map at the end of the volume.
 4 Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*, 2. 136, 139, 200, 202, etc.; GASMI, *Geog.* 613 f. The mountainous region of Janin, W. of the Rukād, also is well wooded.

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to form separate hamlets; these are found chiefly on the E. of the Jebel Haurān. Others are subterranean abodes entered by shafts invisible from above; these are frequent on the W. of the Zunleh range, and at Edrei the dwellings thus constructed form quite an underground city. Commonly, the dwellings are built in the ordinary manner above ground; but they are constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basalt, the regular and indeed the only building material used in the country, with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material; of this kind are, for example, the houses at Burāk, on the N. edge of the Lejā, at Sawarrah, El-Hazm, Deir Nīleh, Hiyāt, Hāt, Bahaniyeh, Shakk, Shubba, E. of it, Kanawāt and Suweideli, on the W. slopes of Jebel Haurān, Adhād, Kureiyeh, and doṣra, on its S.E. slope, and Neirām, Ezra, Kinkadi, Dūmā, and Mismeivēh, within the Lejā itself.³ Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation that it is difficult for the traveller to realise that they are uninhabited, and in the Lejā especially, where the ground itself is of the same dark and scabrous hue, unrelieved by a touch of green, or a single sign of life, a feeling of weiness comes over him as he traverses their desolate and silent streets.

The architecture of the buildings contained in these cities (comprising temples, theatres, aqueducts, churches, etc.) stamps them as belonging to the Graeco-Roman age, and is such as to show that between the first and the seventh centuries A.D. they were the home of a thriving and wealthy people. May any of these cities date from a remoter antiquity, and be actually the fortified places pointed to with wonder in Dt. 34 f. and 1 K. 41? The question was answered in the affirmative by Porter⁴ and by C. R. Graham,⁵ who believed that they had really rediscovered the cities 'built and occupied some forty centuries ago' by the giant race of the Rephaim; but this view cannot be sustained. The best authorities are unanimous in the opinion that, though in some cases very ancient building materials may be preserved in them, the extant remains are not, as a rule, of a date earlier than the first century, A.D.⁶ Dt. 34 f. and 1 K. 41 are sufficient evidence that in the seventh century B.C. there were in Bashan strongly fortified places which were popularly supposed to have belonged to the ancient kingdom of Og; but none of the existing deserted cities can be as ancient as this. At the same time, it is not improbable that some of the cities built during and after the reign of Herod may have stood upon the sites of cities belonging to a much earlier age, and that in their construction the materials employed in building the more ancient cities may in some cases have been utilised and preserved.

As regards the history of Bashan, it is stated in Nu. 21:33-35 that the Israelites after their conquest of Sihon, king of Heshbon, turned in the direction

4. History. Bashan, defeated Og its king, who came out to meet them as far as his frontier fortress of Edrei, and took possession of his territory. The passage is in the context of JE; but it agrees so closely, in form as well as in substance, with Dt. 31-33, that Dillmann and other critics consider this to have been its original place, supposing it to have been inserted afterwards into the text of Numbers for the purpose of supplying what seemed to be an omission.

All other notices of the same occurrence in the historical books are Deuteronomic (or later): Israel's ancient victories over 'Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan' being two national successes, to which, especially, the writers of the Deuteronomic school were never weary of referring (Dt. 14:31 ff., 4:7, 29:6-7, 31:4, Josh. 2:10, 9:10, 12:4 f., 13:11 f., 1 K. 4:19; see also, later, Nu. 32:33 [R], Neh. 9:22, Ps. 135:11, 139:10 f.).

The territory of Bashan fell to the possession of the half-tribe of Manasseh (Dt. 3:14, 4:43, Josh. 13:20-31 [Jahveah B 7, 30]). Golan and Ashteroth are stated in P to have

¹ See more fully Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 44 ff.; on Edrei, also, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 121 ff.

² See for particulars Porter, *Damascus*, chaps. 10-14; Heber-Percy, *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1895, pp. 40, 47, etc. (with photographs).

³ *Damascus*, 2: 257 f., 263 f.; *Giant Cities of Bashan*, 12 f., 30, etc. [82].

⁴ *Cambridge Essays for 1888*, p. 160 f.

⁵ Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 40, 103 f.; Waddington, *Inscriptions Graeco et Latines*, etc., iii. 154; and De Vogüé, the principal authority on the architecture of Haurān, *Syrie Centrale, Archéol. Civile et Relig.* 4 (cited in Merrill, *East of Jordan*, 63); GASm. *HC* 624.

BASHEMATH

an Levitical city (Josh. 21:27, cp. 1 Ch. 6:56 [71]); the former also is named as a city of refuge (Dt. 143, Josh. 20:21-27).

Bashan played no prominent part in the history; and it is rarely mentioned in a historical connection. In 1 K. 4:13 it forms one of Solomon's commissariat districts; and in 2 K. 10:3 it is included in the enumeration of trans-Jordanic regions which were 'smitten' by Hazael. Its inhabitants may be presumed to have suffered, like their neighbours, in taking on other occasions during the Syrian wars, and finally to have been carried into exile by Tiglath-pileser in 734 (2 K. 15:29); but in neither connection are they expressly mentioned. Apart from the prehistoric 'threescore cities' of the Argob, settled civilisation appears to have begun for the region of Bashan about the time of the Christian era, when its Semite inhabitants first fell under Greek and Roman influence. The most important event in the history of the country, however, was its incorporation by Trajan, in 106 A.D., in his newly-founded province of Arabia. Then it was that Roman culture impressed itself visibly upon both the surface of the country and the character of its inhabitants; and towns, with great public buildings, of which the remains, as described above, survive to this day, sprang up in every part of it and continued to thrive for many centuries.¹

The most important works on the topography of Bashan are, Wetzstein's *Reisbericht über Hauran und die Drachonen* (Gö., and Gothe and Fischer's art. in the

5. Literature. *DDP*, 1867, Heft 4, pp. 225-30, containing Dr. Stübel's itinerary and map, and numerous bibliographical references; on Southern Bashan, or the Nukra, Schumacher, *DDP*, 1867, pp. 15-26; on Western Haurān also, Schumacher, *Across the Jordan*, 20-40, 103-242; Porter, *Five Years in Damascus*; GASm. *HC* 575, p. 611 f. Descriptions (chiefly Greek and Latin) have been published by Wetzstein in the *Abh. der Berlin Ak.* 1864, p. 255-38; Waddington, *op. cit.* Nos. 207-254; Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue d'Éch. Orient.* 11-22; GASm. *Ort. Rev.* 1892, p. 55 ff.; W. Ewing, *PLPQ*, 1895 (4 papers); *CIS* 21, fasc. 2, Nos. 17-219. S. R. D.

BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR (בָּשָׁן הָהוֹת יַעֲרֵי) occurs in Dt. 3:14 (בָּשָׁן הָהוֹת יַעֲרֵי וְאֶשְׁתְּרוֹת) [B¹]. בָּשָׁן הָהוֹת יַעֲרֵי [B²], where AV renders, 'and (Jair) called them after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair.' This version does justice to the present text, but certainly does not represent the mind of the original writer. The awkward (indeed, impossible) expression Bashan-havoth-jair can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the first element in it (Bashan) is a misplaced gloss from the margin. RV seeks to evade the difficulty by rendering, 'called them, even Bashan, after his own name, HAVOTH-JAIR.' On the geographical difficulty which still remains, see HAVOTH-JAIR.

BASHEMATH, or, as RV, correctly, BASMATH (בָּשְׁמַת—ΒΑΣΜΑΤΗΝ? § 54; ΒΑΣΕΜΑΘ [AD]).

Other readings are: Gen. 26:34 βασμηαθ [AE] βασιμεαθ [D¹], βασηαθ [L], elsewhere βασμηαθ; 36:3 βασμηαθ [D]; 30:1 [D]; 4 βασμηαθ [H] βασηαθ [L], 10 βασμηαθ [E]; 11 βασηαθ [A] βασμηαθ [DE]; 17 βασμηαθ [AE] [B²] βασμηαθ [D¹].

1. Daughter of Ishmael, and wife of Esau, called MAHALATH in Gen. 28:9 and Hittite (εγγαίω [A]; χιττα [E]; χεττα [L]) in Gen. 26:34 [P]. The names and tribal origin of Esau's three wives are given twice (cp. ASAD): by P in Gen. 26:34-28:9, and by R (2) in Gen. 36:2 f. A wife Basemath, and descent from Ishmael and from Elon the Hittite occur in both accounts (see CANTLES, § 6), but differently assigned; while the other names have no connection whatever; thus—

P	Beer-Hittite	Elon-Hittite	Ishmael
	1. Judith	2. Basemath	3. Mahalath
R (or J)	Elon-Hittite	Zibeon-Hittite	Ishmael
	1. Adah	Anch	[Hittite?]
		2. Oboliamath	3. Basemath

¹ See, further, GASm. *HC* 616 ff.

BASILISK

1 K. 115 (Μασσαθα Α).

BASILISK, RV rendering of **בַּעַל** (Is. 14:29), **בַּעַל** (Is. 11:1), for which AV has COE MATRICE [q.v.].

BASKETS of various kinds were used by the Hebrews, and were doubtless not unlike those which are often found depicted upon Egyptian monuments—large open baskets for fruit etc. (cp illustration, Wolk. *Im. Egypt.* 37), which could be borne upon the head (*ib.* 33, cp Gen. 40:17), baskets to collect earth in the manufacture of bricks (on a supposed reference to which in Ps. 81:6, see Bahr— or deep wicker ones slung upon a yoke (*ib.* 380). I specially noteworthy is the large carpenter's tool-basket made of rush (a kind common throughout W. Asia), a specimen of which is now in the British Museum (cp *ib.* 401). The references to baskets in many points of interest; suffice it to refer to the difficult saying in Prov. 25:11, which RV renders, 'A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in baskets' (AV 'pictures'; RVmg. 'filigree work') of silver,' where the implied notion is that the golden-hued apples look all the more beautiful in silver baskets. But (1) golden, not golden-hued apples (quinces) must be meant, if the text be correct; 'gold' and 'silver' must both be taken literally. (2) 'Baskets' is an impossible rendering, and 'filigree work,' though more plausible, is still hypothetical. (3) 'Pity' has no sound linguistic basis. This is a case in which no weak emendation, affecting one or two letters, suffices.

Frankenberg has tried such a one; the sense produced is—

Golden graces (זָהָב) on silver chased work,
(So in) a word of gold.

(So is) a word spoken to the trustworthy (עַל־אֵזְרָאֵל, cp C),
i.e., a word spoken to the receptive is as ineffaceable as the
phased work referred to. Not very natural, and not a good
parallel to 7, 12.

By emending the text more boldly (but avoiding arbitrary guessing, and following parallels found elsewhere) it is possible to reach this excellent sense¹—

A necklace of pearls in sockets of wreathen gold,
(S) is a word of the wise to him who hears it.

It is really only a slightly different version of the first proverb:

A ring of gold and an ornament of fine gold,
(So is) a word of the wise to a hearing ear.

Of the other Hishrew words rendered 'basket,' *diat* (דִּיַּת), *tene* (תֵּנֶה), and *sal* (סַל) were used for general purposes, see *Cowling*

8. 2. Nowack (*Die alt. u. lat. W.*) suggests that these were similar in character to the clay *cooking* *trivet* *trivet* of the modern fellahin. The former may perhaps denote loosely any pot or jar, since we find it used for cooking in 1 S. 2, 22 (cf. 1 S. 2, 22). The last-named (*אֶרֶב*), a vessel (equivalent to the Gr. *ἀράβη*) which it is rendered) and Lat. *canistrum*,² has been brought into connection with the reduplicated form *אֶרֶב אֶרֶב*, Jer. 39 (EV 'grape-gatherers' baskets'; *ἡ κάλαμος*).³ This, however, is doubtful, and indeed the text is uncertain (cp Pesh.). RVGK renders 'shoots'; but this is *אֶרֶב*; cp VINE. For *אֶרֶב* (Am. 8:1; *ἀγγος* 4 [B]), used also of a bird-cage, see CAGE.

¹ Helps little; *σπαρξω* 523, which should take the place of 522; but *ἐσπαρξω* 522, which must have come from 71, 12. *σπαρξω* is a corruption of *σπαρξω* (Ex. 28 11, see Oakes).

2) מִן הַיָּם evidently conceals the name of some precious stone or the like. If so, there is but one possible explanation: מִן הַיָּם comes from מִן הַיָּם (just as מִן הַיָּם , Gen. 36:39, comes from מִן הַיָּם , see BELA, 2), which means 'pearls strung together' (see NECKLACE). Lastly, מִן הַיָּם probably comes from מִן הַיָּם (string or necklace). This is in correspondence closely to מִן הַיָּם , consequently מִן הַיָּם must correspond to מִן הַיָּם , 12, where, with lit. (Prov. 2), we should read מִן הַיָּם (see 6); מִן הַיָּם is based on מִן הַיָּם , מִן הַיָּם might come from מִן הַיָּם , 'for its purpose', but more probably comes from מִן הַיָּם , which is equivalent to מִן הַיָּם (cf. 126) מִן הַיָּם above, and cp Gouh.

² On the sacro Eucharist of early Christian times, see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, s.v.

³ The *κάρταλλος* (also in z K. 10.7 for *Σ*₂, and in Dt. 20x4 for *κ*₂²) was a basket with a tapering extremity.

⁴ ἄγρος (cp. Mt. 23.25, 1 K. 17.10, MT 16.2) used of vessels of various kinds; cp. in NT, Mt. 13.18.25.4 (WH prefer ἀγρεῖον). In Am. 2.14. Symk. more suitably, has κοιλίαν (cp. G in Jer. 24.1 for π), a vase-shaped basket; especially the basket upon the head of Demeter in ancient statues.

BASTARD

In the NT mention is made of (a) *σάβανον*, a basket of braided work (used especially of fish-baskets), in which Paul escaped from Damascus (2 Th. 1: 9, 1 Th. 2: 15, 1 Cor. 16: 25, however, the word is (b) *σύνταξ* (WH prefer *σύνταξις*), the basket, in the miracle of the *πῶς* (Mt. 15: 37 et. al.). Both were probably *σάβανον* (the *σύνταξ* is), in the miracle of the *πῶς* (Mt. 14: 29 et. al.). The *σύνταξ* is a *σάβανον* joined was an essentially Jewish article (*quoniam cophynum vocatur pellex*, Iux. 8: 14), whose size (size perhaps determined from 2 gallons (vrie *C. Corp. Inscr.*, 1925, 4). T. K. C.

BASMATH ($\pi^{\frac{1}{2}}_2$), 1 K. 115 AV; see BASHE-
MATH, 2.

EASON (Amer. RV BASIN). That all the words (one Greek and four Hebrew) denote hollow vessels adapted to receive and contain liquids is certain; but what was the general form, and wherein the peculiarity of each consisted we have no means of determining. This uncertainty is sufficiently proved by the frequent variations in the EV renderings. On the whole suggest see BOWL, CUP, GOBLET, and cp. ALFAR, & TO; COOKING UTENSILS, FOOD, MEALS, & DR. POTTERY.

1. $\beta\delta$, *aggin* (see BDB; *Zer. Sci.*; *καρπύη* BDBet.), a large basin (EV) or bowl used in the temple ritual (Ex. 24c). In Is. 24-25 EV, 'cups' (am. $\beta\delta\alpha\theta\lambda$, *ayawath* [Theol. Qmg.]). On a count of its shape, it is employed in Cant. 7:2 as a simile in the eulogy of the bride (EV 'goblet'); see Che, *ad loc.* p. 15v. April 18-19.

2. **2PES**, *kyōr* (p. III 2PES goldst), for which AV 'lason', RV 'bowl' consistently, occurs only as a vessel used in the temple. ♂ to ♂ is unintelligible. 1 Ch. 28:17 (gr.) ἡ κεφαλὴ [A] κεφ.β. and κεφωρ [I.β] Ezra. 10 (κεφωρβου [H], χεφωρ [A], κεφωρβας [I.α] 1 Est. 2:13 (βαλαί χρυσάι [E.M.] 1, and Eza 8:7 (καφουρή [H], καφωρη [A], 3 in 110) 1 Est. 8:57 (χρυσωματα [B.M.] 1, 3 in 110).

3. ³ *πίσις*, *misikē* (a vessel for throwing or tossing a liquid, *φάλαξ*).⁴ With the exception of *Λη. 6ε* (*πίσις*, τὸν ἀντιστοίχον οἶνον as though *πίσις*; see *MELLS*, § 12 and 2 Ch. 411), this utensil is used only in the temple ceremonial ritual. *1 V* renders variously 'basin' (*Ex. 27:38* & 2 K. 12:14-15) etc.) or 'bowl' (*1 A. 4c*, *Zech. 13:15* & *Nu. 7:14* etc.); see *ALVAR*, § 9.

4. $\overline{\sigma\pi\eta}$, *σπη*, a temple utensil (1 K. 7:30 = 2 K. 12:13[14], Jer. 52:19 [where *σπη* (*σπη*) *δέρμα* (*σπη*, *φάλαγγ*); AV 'horns', but RV 'cups' (so EV in Zech. 12:2)], used also in the ritual of the Passover (Ex. 12:22). The pl. $\overline{\sigma\pi\eta\sigma\eta}$ evidently denoting ritonestic utensils, occurs in 2 S. 17:28 (EBAL *λεβητες*);² but see K. *σπη*.

5. *perrep* used in Jn. 13 5 of the 'basin' (L.V.) in which Jesus washed the feet of the disciples (p *perrep* = פֶּרֶף Gen. 18 4 10). The utensil must have been larger than any of the above. The Pal.-Syr. (Evang. Hierosol.) renders by ܦܪܦܐ; cp Heb. פֶּרֶף, and see BOWL 7.

BASSA, RV Bassai (BACCAI [B]). 1 Escd. 516 = Ezra
217. BEZAI, 9.51.

BASTAI, RV **Basthai** (BACΘAI [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:31
= Ezra 2:49, BEŠAI.

BASTARD (בָּסֵטֵר). The *mamzer* is mentioned along with the Ammonite and Moabite as excluded from the congregation ³ (Dt. 23: 2-3). The Heb. word is of uncertain derivation, and the EV rendering is based upon the Vss. *ἐκ πατρὸς* [Bth. mg. et sup. ras. A¹⁴], *l'É* om.). More probably the word means one of mixed or alien birth (so Zech. 9: 6, ἀλλογενὲς [HNAQ]), and among the Rabbins it was the term applied to relations between whom marriage was forbidden (cp. Mish. *Yebam.* 1: 5). It is presupposed by **ג** in Nah. 3: 17 (ὁ σκάνδαλός σου [HNAQ]), where MT has בָּסֵטֵר (EV 'thy crowned ones'), and is rather infelicitously accepted by Wellhausen who thinks that the reference is to the mixed population of Nineveh. Ruben is certainly right in conjecturing בָּסֵטֵר, 'thy measuring

¹ In some cases where several vessels are named $\mathcal{O}$ appears to have transposed them: see e.g. Nu. 4.14.

thinks of $\pi\theta$ 'threshold,' and renders $\theta\upsilon\pi\alpha$ $\pi\theta\theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ (in Jer.

³ The only kind of *foreign* marriage which D contemplates seems to be found in Dt. 21.10-14. In Dt. 7.1-4 only Canaanitish peoples are excluded; but 1 K. 11.2 assumes the exclusion of other nations, and so, in Ezra 9, D's law is extended to cover all foreign neighbours (from MS note of WRS).

BAT

clerks' (see SCRIB). For hasty, in its religious connection, cp COUNCIL, of JERUSALEM, § 10.

BAT (בַּת) *lit.* 'night-flier' ¹ **NYCTOPUS**; *vespertilio*; ² Lev. 11:19 Dt. 14:18 Is. 29:1, also Bar. 6:20. The bats form a well-defined and very numerous order of mammalia termed by naturalists the *Chiroptera*. The position of the name at the end of the list of unclean birds, and immediately before the list of reptiles, accords with the universal opinion of antiquity that the bat, in Aristotle's words, 'belonged both to birds and to beasts, and shared the nature of both and of neither';³ nor is it in any way surprising to find them included, apparently, amongst birds, for bats alone amongst mammals have developed the faculty of true flight and have become so modified by their aerial habits that their power of progressing on the ground is markedly inferior to that of most birds and insects. They show, in fact, a strong aversion to being on the ground, and, as a rule, at once try to leave it, by crawling up some wall or tree from which they can take their flight.

The nature of their food (either insects or fruit) makes it necessary for these bats which inhabit temperate climates either to migrate at the approach of winter or to spend the cold months in a long winter sleep for which purpose they often collect in large colonies in caves, ruins, or disused buildings. As a rule the bats of the Old World choose the latter alternative, and this seems to be the case with many of those found in Palestine. When food again becomes abundant, they as a rule sleep during the day suspended head downwards by their feet, and leave their homes only to search for food at the approach of twilight. The majority of the bats of Palestine (and they are very numerous) inhabit caves, caverns, tombs, ruins, and disused buildings of all kinds, where they can avoid the light, a fact referred to in Is. 22:5f.

As many as seventeen distinct species of bats, belonging to four different families and eleven different genera, have been described by Canon Tristram. Two or three of these may be mentioned by name. The only representative of the fruit-eating bats (*Megachiroptera*) is *Xanthopygia* (*Cynomys*) *egyptiaca*, a species which is elsewhere arboreal in its habits, but in Palestine is found living in large colonies in caves and tombs. A further peculiarity of this species is that individual specimens from different localities vary markedly in size, those from Karn in the plain of Acre being much smaller than those from the hills near Tyre, which resemble in size the variety found in Cyprus and Egypt. This species is very commonly found inside the Pyramids of Egypt and is believed to be the one so often figured in Egyptian frescoes.

The horse-shoe bat *Rhinolophus ferrugineus* is the commonest bat in Palestine, swarming in immense numbers in the caverns along the Jordan and the Red Sea. It has a wide distribution, extending from England to Japan and all over Africa. It collects in large colonies (300 have been found together) in caves and ruins for its winter sleep, and these colonies are peculiar as they are exclusively of one sex.

Another British bat very common in the hill country about Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee, is the long-eared bat, *Plecotus auritus*, usually found in caverns. It is always very late in leaving its resting-place, not appearing till twilight has changed to night; but it continues to hunt for the insects on which it feeds the whole night through. N. M. —A. E. S.

¹ According to Schultens, *Cant. Dial.* 322, from the root which appears in Ar. as *gafila* 'to be dark' (of night), and *gaf* 'to fly'. It must, however, be said that compounds are very rare in Hebrew; and the modification of form involved in this case is improbable. It might be thought, from the absence of the word in the cognate languages (in the language of the Targums it is simply borrowed from Hebrew) that it is a loan-word which came in from a non-Semitic source; but there is much to be said for the view that it is connected with Aram. *gafel*, 'naked' (from the character of a bat's wings), as suggested by Low (see Ges. *HWB*), or with the root *gaf* which in Hebrew has the sense of being covered or darkened.

² The Peshitta has in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the curious rendering 'peacock', but in Is. 2:20 Bar. 6:21 employs the proper Syriac word for 'bat'; the Arabic version has 'bat' in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but (like the Targum) goes astray in a mistaken paraphrase of Is. 2:20.

³ *De Part. Animal.* 413. For other references see Buchart, *Hierozicon*.

BATHSHEBA

BATH (בַּת), deriv. uncertain; cp BDB 1:18, 500. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BATH-RABBIM (בֵּית־רַבִּימִים, 'daughter of multitudes,' [BDB]; *ὁπαγοῦς ποταμῶν* [BNA]; *hater multitudinis*; Cant. 7:4; [BDB]) The eyes of the bride are likened to the 'pools in Heshbon by the gate of Bath-rabbim.' With true insight, Grotz in 1871 recognised the impossibility of the reading Bath-rabbim; he suggested Kabbath Annon. Certainly this is possible; and NW. of Heshbon, in a lateral valley of the Wady Heitan, old reservoirs have been found. We cannot, however, suppose that these reservoirs were so famous as to be celebrated in a popular song beside Carmel and the Tower of Lebanon. 'Heshbon' as well as 'Bath-rabbim' must be wrong. Winkler's suggestion 'Heshbon' (*Job* 1:13; 14) fits in with the mention of Lebanon, but has no other recommendation. Considering that there is a despicable commentary in the next verse (see HAIR, GALLERY, 2), we are justified in making an emendation which might otherwise seem too bold. The most famous pools in Palestine, outside of Jerusalem, were no doubt those known as the Pools of Solomon (see CONDUITS, § 3). In the long green vale of 'Acre' so unusually green among the rocky knolls of Judaea, Solomon, according to poetic tradition, 'planted him vineyards, and made him gardens and paradise . . . and made him ponds of water, to water therefrom the forest where trees were reared' (Eccl. 2:46). Probably it is this scenery that has suggested several descriptive passages in Canticles (Stanley; Del.); it was worthy to be mentioned beside Carmel and Lebanon. Read בֵּית־רַבִּימִים for בֵּית־רַבִּי, and (with W.) 22 for 23, and render

Thine eyes are like Solomon's pools
By the wood of Bath-rabbim.

Beth-cerem, 'place of a vineyard,' was probably the name of some part of the garden-land referred to in Eccl. 2:46. See *QRB*, April 1869. Cp BATH-HACEREM. L. K. C.

BATHSHEBA (בֶּת־שֶׁבַע, 'daughter of the oath' [BDB], § 48; in 1 Ch. 3:5 בֶּת־שֶׁבַע, where the pointing should be corrected to בֶּת־שֶׁבַע; in *Ch* 3:5, by a strange confusion, *Beersheba* = Beersheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite, afterwards wife of David and mother of Solomon 2 S. 11:12-24 (*Beersheba* [A]) L. K. 1 f. (*Beersheba* in *Text*). Some think that she was a granddaughter of Abimelech (1 S. 16:1).

When David first saw Bathsheba, Joab was engaged in the siege of Rabbath Ammon. The king himself was resting, after his period of hardship, at Jerusalem. The story (which is omitted in Chronicles) is that, walking one evening on the flat roof of his palace, David saw a beautiful woman bathing in the court of a neighbouring house. He asked who she was, and, learning that her husband Uriah was away with the army, sent messengers and took her' (2 S. 11:4). To avert the shock which an open act of adultery would have caused to the ancient Israelitish sense of right, he devised the woful expedient related in 2 S. 11:6-25. First he had Uriah sent to him, ostensibly with a message from the camp. He dismissed him to his house with a portion from the royal table; but Uriah remained with the guard of the palace; he scrupled, if Robertson Smith may be followed (*Rel. Sem.* 215, 484), to violate the taboo on sexual intercourse applied to warriors in ancient Israel. The next night the king plied him with wine; but still Uriah was obstinate. Driven desperate, his master sent the brave soldier back to Joab, bearing a letter ordering his own destruction. Uriah was to be set in the place of danger and then abandoned to the foe. The cruel and treacherous plan was carried out, and, when Bathsheba's mourning for her husband was over, David made her his wife.

The story of the rebuke of Nathan, of the revival of the king's better self, and of the sickness and death of

BATHSHUA

the child of Bathsheba, is well known. It is a question, however (see Schwally, *Z. f. d. l. w.* 12, 131 ff.), but *SRÖF* 12, 131, whether, in the original form of the narrative, 2 S. 12:13 did not follow on 12:17, which means treating the most edifying part of the story as a later amplification (see DAVID, § 11). Considering what we know of the gradual idealisation of the life of David (which culminates in Chronicles and the titles of the Psalms), this appears far from impossible. The story gains in clearness by the omission. At any rate, Wellhausen is right in regarding 12:13 as an interpolation in the narrative of the colloquy between David and Nathan. It was suggested by an intelligent reading of the subsequent history. David's evil example was imitated in exaggerated form by Amnon; and Amnon's sin was fruitful in troubles, which culminated in Absalom's rebellion, and darkened all David's remaining years.

We meet Bathsheba for the last time, just as David's end was at hand, in the full glory of a queen-mother. Solomon rises to meet her, bows down before her, and sets her on a seat at his right hand. She gained her object, and it is interesting of Nathan really took the part assigned to him in 2 S. 12:13 to notice that Nathan was one of her chief supporters.

BATHSHUA (בַּת־שֵׁוּאָה, § 48). 1. See BATHSHEBA. 2. The words בַּת־שֵׁוּאָה rendered 'daughter of Shua' in Gen. 38:12 (*šava*, omitting בַּת [AD. L.]) are treated in RV of 1 Ch. 2:17, *šav, šava* [B¹ A¹]; *τ. θ. šavas* [B¹]; *šoue* [L.] as a proper name, Bathsheba. See SHUA.

BATHZACHARIAS (Βαθζαχαρίας [A]). 1. Marc. 6:21. See BEREZACHARIAS.

BATTERING RAM (כִּרְיִם [plur.], Ez. 4:21, 22 [27]). See WAR.

BATTLE AXE. The tendering is not very happy, as will at once be seen.

1. כִּרְיִם, *māphē* Jer. 51:20 (διασκορπιστὴς στ [B¹ A¹ Q¹ P]); or כִּרְיִם, *māphē* (Prov. 24:13 *μαχαλόν* [B¹ A¹]-*μαχόν* [A¹]). RV's rendering 'mail' introduces an arbitrary distinction. Better, 'battle hammer,' or 'club' (עֵקֶב [עֵקֶב]). In Ezek. 9:2 כִּרְיִם (עֵקֶב) should possibly be corrected into כִּרְיִם, 'his destroying weapon' (Che.); 'battle axe' (RVing), 'slaughter weapon' (EV), 'a weapon of his breaking in pieces' (AVing) are all difficult to justify.

2. כִּרְיִם Ps. 133 RVing. The usual rendering (Del., B¹, etc.), accepting M^s's vocalisation [כִּרְיִם] and Vers. 1 is 'stop the way' (שִׁטְמוֹתָם). This involves a double ellipsis—'shut up [the way] 1.12 against my pursuers.' It is improbable, however, that כִּרְיִם means 'battle axe'; *šayāpā* may mean the battle axe used in upper Asia; but this does not justify the inference of critics (D¹, G¹, K¹, L¹, etc.). *šayāpā* may mean the battle axe used in upper Asia; but this does not justify the inference of critics (D¹, G¹, K¹, L¹, etc.). The text needs emendation (see J. A. L. 18, 7).

BATTLEMENT. For כִּרְיִם, *mā'akēh*, Dt. 22:8 EV, see HOUSE, § 4. For כִּרְיִם, *šimā'āh*, 2 Ch. 26:15 Zeph. 1:16 36 RV, and כִּרְיִם, *šimā'āh* (plur.), Is. 54:12 *SRÖF*, RV 'pinnacles' (60) *šimā'āh* P. 84:12 (B¹), see EUGENIUS, § 5. כִּרְיִם, *kāmāph*, in Dan. 9:27 RVing is rendered 'battlement.' It is better to read כִּרְיִם, *kāmāph* (see Bevan, *ad loc.*).

BATUS (Βατος). Lk. 16:6 AVing; RVing. BATU. See WIGATUS AND MASTIGUS.

BAVAI (בַּוַּי), Neh. 3:19, RV Bavvai. See BISSU (13).

BAY (בַּי), Zech. 6:17. See CROATRS, § 17.

BAYITH (בַּיִת), Is. 15:2 RV; AV BAYITH.

BAY TREE (בַּיִת), Ps. 37:33, or, more plausibly, as

1. כִּרְיִם, 'destruction,' we know; but כִּרְיִם, 'breaking in pieces,' is unattested elsewhere. Co. recognises that the closing words of 1 Ch. 9:1 are no part of the true text, but represent a variant to the equivalent words in 7:2.

2. *š* has no rendering of כִּרְיִם in this passage, since for כִּרְיִם it reads כִּרְיִם (ὡς τὰς κερύβους τοῦ Αὐδίου [B¹ A¹ Q¹ P]). Ap. Symm., and Edition Sexta all render in the sense of 'indigenous tree'; and neither Pesh. nor Targ. supports the rendering of AV or that of RV.

BDELLIUM

RV, 'a tree in its native soil.' The word בִּדְלִיּוֹן, 'native born,' however (from the root בָּדַל, 'to arise,' 'spring forth' [Barth, 152, 1, 1, cannot be applied to a tree whence Celsius (*Hedych.* 1, 104) supposed the phrase to mean *ἀνὰ τὴν ἐκχυσίαν*).

As Hb., Gr., Che., B¹, We., Dr. agree, the right reading is בָּדַל 'cedar.' On the (probably) correct words בָּדַל (Dr. 'putting forth his strength') and בָּדַל (Dr. 'spreading'), see Che. *Psalm* 2.

BAZLUTH (בַּזְלוּת, 'stripping?'; Βαζαλωθ [NA]).

The fine BAZLUTH, a family of NECTARIN in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) Ezra 2:52 (*βασαδωθ* [B]), *βασδωθ* [L] = Neh 7:54 *Bazlith* (*βασαωθ* [B]), *βασωθ* [L], 1 Esd. 5:4 *BASALUTH* (*βασαλωθ* [B]), *βασαωθ* [A], *βασωθ* [L]).

BDELLIUM (בִּדְלִיּוֹן; Gen. 2:12 *ἀνθραξ* [AEL]; Nu. 11:7 *κρυσταλλοειδής* [BAEL]).

1. *Bēdhōlāh* (ONYS) as a characteristic product of the land of Havilah; whilst in Nu. 11:7 its 'appearance' (so RV, lit. 'eye,' not *Color* [Z. v. § 3], as AV) is likened to that of manna—a comparison the appropriateness of which is obvious if, as is in all probability the case, the OP *Bēdhōlāh* is the resinous substance known to the Greeks as *βδέλλιον*, *μάδελον*, *μαλγύον* (Hoscar, 180) or *βδέλλα* (*Peripl. Mar. Erythr.*, §§ 37, 39, 48 f.).

Peiser identifies בִּדְלִיּוֹן with Bab. *biddi*, a spice obtained in Babylonia, and often mentioned in contract-tablets (*Z. f. d. l. w.* 17, 317 f.); this is important in connection with the Eden-story (see PARADISE). As closer has shown (*Syriaca*, 2, 364 f.), bdellium was distinct from storax (Agabus, Hommel, *ibid.* 611 n. 1). Bochart, identifying Havilah with the Arabian coast opposite Bahrain, in the Persian Gulf, naturally explained בִּדְלִיּוֹן as meaning pearl (*Hieroz.* ii. 55). This view, however, lacks the support of any ancient version, and, though upheld by several Jewish authorities (e.g. Lag. *ibid.* 2, 44), has no solid foundation. The renderings of *βδέλλιον* and *μαλγύον* point to some kind of precious stone; but, as Dr. remarks, *βδέλλιον* is prefixed to *בִּדְלִיּוֹן*, the word following, and not to *בָּדַל*. The Pesh. *Bēdhōlāh* (in both places) seems to be due to a mere scribe's error; *β* for *δ*. It cannot be supposed to be a genuine Aramaic word.

Bdellium is described by Dioscorides (*i.e.*) as *δάκρυον δένδρον ἀραβικόον*, the best sort being 'bitter in taste, transparent, gelatinous (*ταρρακωδές*).

2. **Descriptions** of *βδέλλιον*. lit. 'like bull's hide glue', only throughout and easily softened, mixed with chips or dirt, fragrant when burnt as incense, resembling onyx; it also asks also of a black sort found in large lumps, which is exported from India, and of a third kind, brought from Petra. Pliny (*N.H.* 12, 6) gives some further details; the best sort grows in Batraina (N. Afghanistan), on a 'black' tree 'of the size of an olive, with a leaf like the oak and fruit like the wild fig'; it also grows in Arabia, India, Media, and Babylon, that of India being softer and more gummy, while that brought through Media is more brittle, crustal, and bitter. The author of the *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* speaks of it as growing largely in Gedrosia (Beluchistan) and Barygaza (Gujarat), and as exported westwards from the mouth of the Indus. In the older classical literature bdellium appears to be mentioned only in Plinius (*Curc.* 101), in a list of perfumes.

Two of the kinds of bdellium described by Dioscorides are generally identified by the authorities with the two substances described as follows, which are still met with in commerce:—

3. **Various kinds.**

1. In both places of *Λοιστοί*, *i.e.*, Ap., Syriac, and Th., have *βδέλλιον*, so *Ag. bdellium*. Cp. *ibid.* iii. 16.

2. The exact form of these two words is uncertain. Pliny (12, 6) has *māthōn*, *brachon*. On the connection of this group of names with *bēdhōlāh*, see Del. *Par.* 15 f., 101. Pott in *H. Z. M.* 7, 93 f.

3. The rendering of this word is uncertain.

4. Perhaps a 'mail' or 'hoof'.

5. Tu mibi stante, in cinnamon, in rosa, Tu mibi stante et c. 15, 4, to bdellium.

BEACON

1. *Ordinary Beldilium* (African). "The drug is exported from the whole Somali coast to Mokha, Jidda, Aden, Makulla, the Persian Gulf, India, and even China" (Flückiger and Hanbury, *Pharmacopoeia* (9) 145). Hanbury says he had it sent him from India in London from China; but he notices of this that the immediate port of origin is often substituted for the ultimate source.

Dymock (*Pharmacopoeia*, 1st ed. 1860) says: "From Berbera also comes *Beldilium*." Further on he explains that "to a certain extent" it resembles myrrh, but that it is darker, less oily, and "strongly bitter" and has hardly any aroma. According to Mohammedan writers (*loc. cit.* 112), "Good *Beldilium* should be clean, bright, sticky, soft, sweet-smelling, yellowish, and bitter." Its botanical source is *Balsamodendron africanum* (see *Key Bull.* 1865, p. 17).

2. *Indian Beldilium*.—Dymock (*loc. cit.* 112) describes this as somewhat resembling the African drug, "but the colour is lighter, often pinkish." Dioscorides, therefore, must have had a very dirty sample, a not infrequent experience still. Its source is *Balsamodendron Mukul*, a plant the botanical distribution of which—NW. India, Beluchistan, and possibly Arabia—exactly agrees with the statements of the old authors. The only difficulty is the description of Pliny, which it does not fit very well, as it is a small tree; but Pliny's statements cannot be pressed from the botanical point of view; Lemaire (*Revue de l'Égypte*, 1875) calls Dioscorides "bien préférable à Pliny."

As to the third kind of *Beldilium* spoken of by Dioscorides, Dymock (310) conjectures that it was probably a kind of myrrh. N. M. W. T. 1-10.

BEACON (בֵּיטָח), perhaps for בֵּיטָח, see *ASH*; (בֵּיטָח [BISMAQIT]), or rather, as in *LYONS*, *MASS* (cp. Is. 33:2; Ez. 27:5), employed in Is. 30:17 as a simile of nakedness and desolation. The reference is to the poles, etc., erected in prominent places for signalling purposes; cp. *ENGLISH* § 21.

BEALIAH (בֵּיטָח, 22, § 35. 'Nahwē is Lord'), a Benjamite, one of David's warriors. 1 Ch. 12:5 (בֵּיטָח [BIS]. בֵּיטָח [V]. בֵּיטָח [L]). See *DAVID*, § 11 a iii.

BEALOTH (בֵּיטָח, Josh. 15:24. See *BALATH* HERE.

BEAN, or rather *Bēan* (RV), The children of (βίαιον *BAION* [ANV]; βίαιον [Vg.]; βίαιον, *BAION*, *IOS*, *IOS*, xii. 8), an otherwise unknown tribe or community, who in the pre-Maccabean period were a 'snare and offence' to the Jews 'in that they lay in wait for them in the ways.' Their robber castles or 'towers' lay, apparently, somewhere between Idumæan and Ammonite territory. This would suit the *Beon* of Nu. 32:2 (see *BAY*, *MI ON*). In one of his warlike expeditions against the unfriendly surrounding peoples after the reconsecration of the temple, Judas the Maccabee utterly destroyed the children of *Bean* and burnt their towers (1 Macc. 5:4 f.; cp. 2 Macc. 10:13 ff.).

BEANS (βίαιον, κγῶμος *BAL*, 28. 17:28 Ez. 16) are twice mentioned as material for food, along with wheat, barley, and lentils; in the second passage Ezekiel is instructed to make bread of a mixture of wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt. The Hebrew name is found also in post-biblical Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Beans are the seeds of *Vicia faba* (Linn.), the cultivated plant—not certainly known in the wild state, but in all probability a domesticated form of *Vicia narbonensis*²—which is a native of the whole Mediterranean region and extends eastward to N. India. It was the *κγῶμος* of the Greeks, which is mentioned as far back as the *Iliad* (ἀνὰ μοῖς κγῶμος, 14:29). Virehow found the seeds in the excavations at Troy, and the plant was cultivated in Switzerland and Italy in the age of bronze. Beans are, without doubt, one of the earliest articles of vegetable food among the European races of mankind. Cp. *FOOD*, § 4. *COOKING*, § 7. N. M. W. T. 1-10.

¹ Flückiger and Hanbury say (*loc. cit.* 110) that it is regarded both in London and in India as a very inferior dark sort of myrrh.

² On this point see Sir Joseph Hooker in the *Botanical Magazine*, 7226.

BEAR

BEAR. 1. (27) The name, common to Heb.

1. **Name.** Aram. Ar. and Eth. is from a root signifying to move slowly and softly¹ and thus befit the bear, which has a sluggish tread.

The Heb. word is generally used, even when the she-bear is intended, thus 'a bear reared of her whelps is alone' (27:22). On the other hand, the pl. 27:22 takes a form verbally from K. 2:21, and the singular appears from 1:117. The word renders *apok* [E. M.], but in Prov. 17:12, 17:13, 17:14, 17:15, 17:16, 17:17, 17:18, 17:19, 17:20, 17:21, 17:22, 17:23, 17:24, 17:25, 17:26, 17:27, 17:28, 17:29, 17:30, 17:31, 17:32, 17:33, 17:34, 17:35, 17:36, 17:37, 17:38, 17:39, 17:40, 17:41, 17:42, 17:43, 17:44, 17:45, 17:46, 17:47, 17:48, 17:49, 17:50, 17:51, 17:52, 17:53, 17:54, 17:55, 17:56, 17:57, 17:58, 17:59, 17:60, 17:61, 17:62, 17:63, 17:64, 17:65, 17:66, 17:67, 17:68, 17:69, 17:70, 17:71, 17:72, 17:73, 17:74, 17:75, 17:76, 17:77, 17:78, 17:79, 17:80, 17:81, 17:82, 17:83, 17:84, 17:85, 17:86, 17:87, 17:88, 17:89, 17:90, 17:91, 17:92, 17:93, 17:94, 17:95, 17:96, 17:97, 17:98, 17:99, 17:100, 17:101, 17:102, 17:103, 17:104, 17:105, 17:106, 17:107, 17:108, 17:109, 17:110, 17:111, 17:112, 17:113, 17:114, 17:115, 17:116, 17:117, 17:118, 17:119, 17:120, 17:121, 17:122, 17:123, 17:124, 17:125, 17:126, 17:127, 17:128, 17:129, 17:130, 17:131, 17:132, 17:133, 17:134, 17:135, 17:136, 17:137, 17:138, 17:139, 17:140, 17:141, 17:142, 17:143, 17:144, 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The animal is frequently mentioned in OT in the Apoc. in Wisd. 11:7 Eccl. 25:17 [ANV], but *σάκκος* [B] and 17:1 and once (Rev. 13:1) in NT. No difficulty arises in connection with any of the OT passages; the attacks of the lion and the bear on David's flock (1 S. 17:34-36), and of the she-bear² on the children who mocked Elisha (2 K. 2:24), accord with the ravenous habits of the animal; 'a bear robbed of her whelps' (2 S. 17:34 Prov. 17:12 Hos. 13:8) or 'a ranging bear' (1 Ch. 12:8)

is naturally regarded as the most dangerous possible object to encounter; one of the signs of profound peace in the Messiah's kingdom is that the cow feeds side by side with the bear, its natural enemy (Is. 11:7). The *σάκκος*, or rather *σάκκος*, of the bear is well expressed by the verb *σάκκος* (Is. 59:1) *σάκκος* *σάκκος*, which is applied also to the howling of a dog, the cooing of a turtle dove, the sighing of a man, and the moaning of the sea. The stealthiness of a bear's attack is mentioned in 1 Ch. 3:1. By the likening of the second probably the Median kingdom in Dan. 7:5 to a bear, which 'was raised up on one side, and three ribs were in his mouth between his teeth,' and they said thus unto it, 'Arise, devour much flesh,' the extreme destructiveness of the Median conquests is probably indicated (see further *Reynolds Daniel*, in loc.). In Am. 5:17 'as if a man did flee from a lion, and a lion met him,' we have, as *Berhan* remarks, a Hebrew equivalent to the classical:

¹ *Thou art as a Scythian capturing a lion's den*, 4.

In the combination of the 'feet of a bear' with the body of a leopard and the mouth of a lion in Rev. 13:2, we have an instance of the characteristic recombination of elements borrowed from OT apocalyptic. The hyperbolical treatment of old history in later Jewish literature is illustrated by the mention in Wisd. 11:7 of wild beasts, such as lions and bears, among the plagues sent upon the Egyptians, and by the statement about David in Eccl. 17: that 'he played (Heb. *לָחַם* *LAHAM*, *לָחַם* *LAHAM*, 'he mocked at . . .') among lions as among kids, and among bears as among lambs of the flock.'

Finally, we notice the interesting reading of *σάκκος* in Eccl. 25:17.

A woman's wickedness altereth her visage.

And darkeneth her face as doth a bear (ὡς ἄρκος).

If this reading be correct, the verse will allude to the *tristitia* or moroseness often attributed to the bear, which several ancient writers speak of as expressed in its countenance. On the whole, however, it is more probable that *σάκκος* (supported by the Syr. and Ar. versions) is right in reading.

And maketh her face dark like sackcloth (ὡς σάκκος).

The Syrian bear, sometimes called *Ursus syriacus*, is not specifically distinct from the brown bear, *Ursus*.

3. **Natural history.** Although somewhat lighter in colour and smaller than the typical varieties, it has a wide distribution.

¹ The other meaning of the Ar. verb, 'to have a bristly skin,' is probably, as Ges. thinks, secondary, and derived from the main *σάκκος*.

² It was a common opinion in antiquity that she-bears were fiercer than the males; thus Pliny (11:40), 'Mares in omni genere ferarum potiorum pantheris et tigris.'

³ Cp. also Is. 24:15 Jer. 48:44.

BEARD

being found in several parts of Europe, - formerly all over that continent, - and throughout Asia N. of the Himalayas. It is unsocial in its habits, though sometimes male and female are seen together, and the cubs accompany their mother. Bears are omnivorous, killing and eating other animals, but they have a vegetable diet also. They are particularly fond of fruit and honey. In cold climates they hibernate during the winter months, and during the period of hibernation they subsist on the stored up fat. The young are generally born towards the end of this period. They are now probably extinct in S. Palestine, but are still to be met with in the Lebanon and Hermon districts.

2. RV rendering of $\pi\pi$ (Joh99) and $\pi\pi$ (Joh38₃₂),
 AV ARCTIKS (7.1) S. M. - A. E. S.

BEARD. The importance attached by the Hebrews to the beard is fully borne out by the many references to it found in the O.T.

⁷ Two words are thus rendered: (a) ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς
γυναικός (of the head proper), viz. 2 S. 10:4 f., 1 Th. 1:6 f., Ps. 7:20
13:2 (cf. 18:37) etc.; and (b) also of the church (in Lev. 19:20 f., 14:9
of both man and woman). (c) ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀφ' ἁρχῆς (from ἀρχή 'hip'),
i.e. rendered 'head' in 2 S. 10:4 [25] is more properly the moun-
tain or 'upper hip' (so AV; μνηστῆς; EV Lev. 13:45, and AV
Gen. 24:17 & Mic. 3:7 where LXX 'hip').

The beard was, and still is, in the East, the mark of manly dignity. A well-bearded man is looked upon as honorable, and as one who in his life 'has never hungered' (Doughty, *Id. 166*, 1250). By touching the beard, or by swearing by it, a man's good faith was assured (*cp. 171*, 1265) – a fact which may possibly throw light upon foals' treachery towards Amasa (2 S. 20₉). To cut it off wilfully was an insult (2 S. 104₇, cp. Is. 16), and to cut it ceremonially was strictly forbidden; see CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3. To shave it was an outward sign of mourning (Is. 15₂, Jer. 41₅ 48₇, cp. Ep. Jer. [Bar. 6: 30]; see MOURNING CUSTOMS, § 1²).

Although barbers are mentioned only in a late passage (Ez. 51, **לְבַרְבֵּרִים** **לְחַלֵּשׁ**, 'to shave,' on the other hand, is frequent, Gen. 11:14 [E], 2 S. 10:4 Judg. 16:17, etc.), they were doubtless in great request.³ In Egypt the barber is described as industriously journeying from place to place seeking employment, carrying in an open-mouthed bag the tools of his craft – a small short hatchet or curved knife (cf. **ḤP** 27:314). The razor is frequently mentioned in the OT, where it is called **קַרְנִי**, *hār* (Nu. 6:5 7:2 Ps. 52:3 [4]; but 'sheath' or 'scabbard' in S. 17:51 2 S. 20:8 Ez. 21:4 [9] etc.), or **בִּקְרָה**, *birḥ* (Judg. 13:5 16:17 1 S. 11:1); see KNUFF.³

In Egypt, apart from priests (and high officials, Gen. 41 14), the practice of shaving the hair does not seem to have been very general (cf. *Leviticus*, § 30). On the other hand, the beard was regularly shown, and only the shepherds and foreigners let it grow, apparently to the disgust of the cleanly Egyptians. Hence the negligence of *Ramesses VII.* is caricatured in his tomb at Thebes wearing a uniform beard of two or three days' growth. Nevertheless, the beard was looked upon as a symbol of dignity, and on solemn occasions the want was supplied by an artificial one. Such beards were made of a piece of hair tightly plaited and fastened by two straps behind the ear. The king wore a longer beard, square at the bottom; one even longer and curled at the end was the distinguishing mark

⁶ Unless 'chin' is the primary meaning of $\sqrt{\text{p}^r}$. The word $\sqrt{\text{p}^r}$ 'old' in m^r is perhaps a derivative, lit. 'gray-beard.'

beard untrimmed.

³ Herod, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xvi, 116), was nearly assassinated by his barber, Trypho. In MH the barber is trypho ; cp *Shab*¹⁶ 12.

⁴ For 𐎶𐎵𐎶 (We, *TR* 146f): hence both names are from the same root, 𐎶𐎵, 'to lay here.'

⁸ A Phoenician inscription, fifth century B.C., from Larnaka in Cyprus, mentions the 𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤍 in a list of charges 'in connection with a temple of Ashitethi'. Unless they were there to attend to ceremonial matters, it is possible that *Remm* is right in taking them to be physicians whose business it was to heal the self-inflicted wounds of the worshippers (p. 1 K. 1824, and see *CIS* 1860; cp. 95).

BECHORATH

of a girl.¹ The people of Punt followed the Egyptians in all such customs. Canaanites, Assyrians, and Babylonians, on the other hand, wore long hair and plumed headdresses, and in strong contrast to these are the monumental representations of the desert nomads with pointed moustache (p. 111, *cf. n. 1* and fig. 2, *cf. 1*).²

BEAST. For (1) *Behemoth* (בְּהֵמוֹת) and (2) *Leviathan* (לִוְיָתָן), 'living creatures' including *ayy* and *seey*, Gen. 8:17 (P), 1 more particularly wild beasts, Gen. 7:14 (P) 37:33 (V), see CATHE. § 2 (2). For *Esau* (עֵשָׂו) 'wild beast of the rocks' [RV], see CROMBIE, *Isaiah*. For (1) *Levi* (לֵוִי), 'beast of burden', see CATHE. § 2 (2). For (2) 13:22 (C²N²) 'wild beasts of the islands' [AV] see JAKOB (2), WINT. For (3) 15:13:21-24 Jer. 50:49 (C²N²) 'wild beasts of the desert' [AV], see CAT. end.

(3) *ḥay ʾelz*, 'wild beasts' [AV] Ps. 50.11 [r.] 80.11[14] is more scrupulously rendered 'that which moves (or roams)' by Dr. Hastings, We. [SHU1]. If *ḥay* recognizes *ʾayin* 'to move', 'small creatures' would also be possible; cp. Talm. *guy* 'a worm', *Ass. zardim*, an animal like a horse. The probal only of such a word in bibl. Heb., however, is *and green*. The two passages have to be considered separately. **5** gives different readings: Ps. 49 *supra* *uorot* (cp. r. Is. 40.1), Ps. 80 *uor* *ayyos* [H], *uor* *ay* [H] *uor* *ay* [R. 4A], *uor* *ay* [R]. The Tag. [H] (both pass.) is thus a reference to the *uor* in the *uor* *ay*. See further, [H] 4A, 1, and (on the text, which is corrupt) the *Psalmist*, 1. 47. For Rev. 11.7 c. 131 etc. (the two mystical *ḥayot*) see *ABDALYAH*, §§ 40-13-47. ASCTURIST, § 47 and cp [H] 4A. MOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 2; DRAGON, § 2. For Rev. 12.9, the four 'living creatures' see *THE HEB.*, § 3. For Rev. 12.14, etc. (*ayyos*) cp. CATTLE, § 2, (2), (3).

BEATING (with rods), Dt. 251-3 etc. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12

BEAUTIFUL GATE (Η ΩΡΑΙΑ ΠΥΛΗ [Ti WHI]),
Acts 3:10; see Ti MULL.

BEBAI (בְּבַי, § 57; Halprecht has found the Jewish name Bihai on a tablet from Nippur; **BHBAI** [BAI], **BOKXET** [I], I).

[illegible]

2. An undentified place mentioned with *Cinobai* and *Cin-y* (251), Judah 134 (βιβαι [V], αββαί *κ** *κ*¹) perhaps a petition of the following name *Cin-bai* (B) and *Vg. cinai*; if a reading of *κ** *κ*¹ be considered trustworthy, *Cin-bai* such a locality not otherwise improvable, may be intended.

BECHER (כְּבֶר, 'first born'; § 61, or cp. perhaps, *Beḥker*, Ar. *b-kr*, 'camel'; [so *Beḥer* Lev. 1].) A Benjamite clan, Gen. 46:21 (כְּבֶרֶשׁ [V], כְּבֶרֶשׁ [L], כְּבֶרֶשׁ [p]) and 1 Ch. 7:68 (כְּבֶרֶשׁ [V], כְּבֶרֶשׁ [L]); אֶפְרַיִם 7:6, omitting all mention of *Beḥer* and אֶפְרַיִם, אֶפְרַיִם [כְּבֶרֶשׁ p]. The name is wanting in Nu. 1:18, but it is possible that the name *Beḥer* (=גֵּרֶם) **BECHERITE**, RV **Becherite** in the Ephraimite list, Nu. 25:35 (גֵּרֶם, om.) was originally a marginal addition to the Benjamite clans, which after being displaced has crept into the text (cp. *Beḥer*, it). The clan *Becher* (gentile) *Beḥer* [כְּבֶרֶשׁ] belonged to the *Beḥer* (gentile) *Beḥer* [כְּבֶרֶשׁ] (cp. *Beḥer*, it). If we adopt two very delicate emendations (see *Beḥer* (gentile), *Beḥer* (gentile)), the cognate name *Beḥer* (gentile) (but see *Beḥer* (gentile)) is possible that the name recurs under the form *Beḥer* [כְּבֶרֶשׁ]. See also *Beḥer* (gentile), § 9.

BECHORATH, RV Becorath (בְּכוֹרֶת), apparently

See Eriman, *Fig.* 226 n. 4; Wilkinson, 2 . . .
The sculpture . . .

The sculptures represent, however, not only eunuchs, but what seem to be the people of the lowest rank - peasants,urers, and slaves - without beard. In the oldest Babylonian pictures, on the other hand, the head is completely bare, ancient custom was perhaps given up through the bearing a sign of the military caste (see Perrot and Chipiez, *in Chald.* 213).

Illustration, Benz. Arch. 100, 109.

BECTILETH

the son of AVIHAI [p. 1], an ancestor of Saul, 1 S. 9:1 (BAHEI [B], BEΛΩPAΘ [V], MAΨEP [L]). The name is really to be read as BECTILETH [q v.], it is the name of Saul's clan. Cp Kto, on 1 S. 9:1 and Marq. Fund. 14.

BECTILETH (BAIKTICΛAIΘ [B], BECTILEΘ [V], BAKTIAAI [V], BAITOTIAIA [S¹], BECTILEΘ [S²]; Beth Letheth, 'house of slaughter' [Syr p.], TUL PLAIN ON, three days' journey from Nimveh, 'near the mountain which is at the foot of upper Euphrat' (Judith 2:1). Various have suggested Ptolemy's βακταίη in Syria (177 d. x. 1516), or the Bactria of the *Tib. Trav.* 21 K. m. from Am. (p. 1), but this does not agree with the situation as named in the text. The name of the mountain is given as Ange, Agge by It. Vg. and as *Agge* by the Syr. (so Lag.). For the Tiber without gives *Agge* (mountain of pots), which suggests that the name may have arisen from reading *Agge*, 'polished', for an original *Agge*, or *Agge*, which actually occurs as a place-name. See 111-HARSHA.

BED. Oriental beds in the older nune cannot always have been so simple as we are led to suppose that they generally are today. Both the frame-work and the coverings of the bed were sometimes richly ornamented. Of course, manners changed and luxury grew. Egypt was perhaps in advance of other nations; but even in Egypt the priests were wont to use beds of a very simple kind. If they had any frames at all, they were wicker-work of palm branches, resembling the *kafas* of the modern Egyptian (cp Wilkinson, *Proc. Eg.* 1885, 497 f.).¹ The early Israelites were naturally slow in their material progress. Shepherds, for example, sleeping in the open air (cp Gen. 31:4), would wrap themselves in their *umish* or rug² (Ex. 22:26[25]), and, if need were, used stones for their head-rests (Gen. 28:11). Tent dwellers too would be content with that useful article, the *umish*, and this was probably what Sisera was wrapped in when he lay down to sleep³ (Judg. 4:1). Those who dwelt in the house were protected from the weather, but knew no luxury. Great persons had special sleeping-chambers. Ishbaid for example, was murdered in such a room (שִׁבְדִּים 2 K. 2:47; cp Ex. 8:1[7:2], 2 K. 6:12; also 2 S. 13:15; 1 K. 1:5 Ps. 105:36 (corr. text); and in the highly civilised period represented by Ecclesiastes it was perhaps the usual arrangement (Eccles. 10:26). Considering, however, how rare special bedrooms are in Eastern houses now, and also the poor construction of the houses in ancient Palestine, we can hardly venture to suppose that a 'chamber of beds,' (שִׁבְדִּים 2 K. 11:2 2 Ch. 22:11) was common among the Israelites. Guests, however, enjoyed privacy in the so-called upper-story (ὑπερῶς in G and N¹), which was on a part of the flat roof, where coolness could be enjoyed (שִׁבְדִּים 2 K. 4:11 Kto 2:2, 1 K. 17:19 23). And in such rude houses as may still be seen in parts of Palestine, and were doubtless common in antiquity, the upper chamber would necessarily be the sleeping-room of the family, as long as the weather permitted (see Horst, § 26). During the

¹ *μαψερ* might point to שִׁבְדִּים; but *ש* is not unfrequently read as *ש*; cp שִׁבְדִּים, *Βακταίη* [B], *Βακταίη* [L], 2 S. 11:21, and שִׁבְדִּים, *Βακταίη* [B], *Βακταίη* [L].

² Porphyry calls them by the name *βακταίη*, from the Coptic *βακταίη*, 'palm branch'. Cp *Βακταίη*, *Βακταίη* [B], *Βακταίη* [L], *Βακταίη* [S¹], *Βακταίη* [S²], *Βακταίη* [S³], *Βακταίη* [S⁴], *Βακταίη* [S⁵], *Βακταίη* [S⁶], *Βακταίη* [S⁷], *Βακταίη* [S⁸], *Βακταίη* [S⁹], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁰], *Βακταίη* [S¹¹], *Βακταίη* [S¹²], *Βακταίη* [S¹³], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁴], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁵], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁶], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁷], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁸], *Βακταίη* [S¹⁹], *Βακταίη* [S²⁰], *Βακταίη* [S²¹], *Βακταίη* [S²²], *Βακταίη* [S²³], *Βακταίη* [S²⁴], *Βακταίη* [S²⁵], *Βακταίη* [S²⁶], *Βακταίη* [S²⁷], *Βακταίη* [S²⁸], *Βακταίη* [S²⁹], *Βακταίη* [S³⁰], *Βακταίη* [S³¹], *Βακταίη* [S³²], *Βακταίη* [S³³], *Βακταίη* [S³⁴], *Βακταίη* [S³⁵], *Βακταίη* [S³⁶], *Βακταίη* [S³⁷], *Βακταίη* [S³⁸], *Βακταίη* [S³⁹], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁰], *Βακταίη* [S⁴¹], *Βακταίη* [S⁴²], *Βακταίη* [S⁴³], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁴], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁵], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁶], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁷], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁸], *Βακταίη* [S⁴⁹], *Βακταίη* [S⁵⁰], *Βακταίη* [S⁵¹], *Βακταίη* [S⁵²], *Βακταίη* [S⁵³], *Βακταίη* [S⁵⁴], *Βακταίη* [S⁵⁵], *Βακταίη* [S⁵⁶], *Βακταίη* 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have shown their perplexity in the former passage by giving three alternative renderings.

Of pillows we hear nothing in OT. In Mk 1:7, 8, 9 have $\pi\phi\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\tau$ (cp Lch 1:10) ϕ .

4. Pillows. RV pillow, but it was an improvised pillow, RV better cushion.

RV even sometimes does not assume the use of pillows. Thus (a) $\pi\phi\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\tau$ (with suffix) is rendered 'bolster' by AV in 1 S 19:11, 16, 26, 31, 32, and by AV in 1 K 16:10; and 'pillow' by AV in Gen 28:11, 13. The word, however, denotes properly 'the parts about one's head, and is thus rendered by RV everywhere (2 S 1:10, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

It is impossible to separate the subject of beds from that of couches or divans. Amos, as a dweller in the

country, directs his scorn against the luxury

of the rich grandees: 'that sit in Samaria

in the corner of a couch, and on the silken cushions of

a bed' (Am 3:12, RV). The rendering of RV is

indisputable. Damascus and damask have no connection (see DAMASCUS, § 6 n.). The passage has

been cleared up with an approach to certainty by

critical conjecture: it should run thus: 'that sit in

Samaria on the carpet (עֲרִיצָה) of a couch, and on the

cushion (עֲרִיצָה) of a divan.' From another passage,

which also can be restored very nearly to its original

clearness (see DAVID, § 12 n.), we learn that the couches

of the great were richly adorned. The selfish grandees

are described as those 'that lie upon couches for beds,

עֲרִיצָה, of ivory' (Am 6:4). Such couches were sent as

tribute by Hezekiah to Nineveh (2 K 18:16), and the

Amirai Table (2 K 25:18) speak of 'beds' (עֲרִיצָה) of

ivory, gold, and wood sent to the king of Egypt. So too

in Esther (1:10; cp 1 Esd. 3:6) we read of couches adorned

with gold and silver, and covered with rich tapestry and

deckings from Egypt (cp Prov. 7:16). Some of the

couches would of course be used as beds. Such, at any

rate, was the gorgeous bed (עֲרִיצָה) in the tent of Holo-

phernes. The description of it contains the first mention

of a canopy (καταπαύση, Judith 10:13) (Pim, originally

a fly-net) - one of the results of Greek influence;

HELENISM, § 15.

BEDAD (בִּדְאָד; BADAΔ [BADEL]), the father of Hadad

1, king of Edom, Gen. 36:35 (Ch 1:40 [BAΔPAΔ [1.]).

The name is seemingly a corruption of Bir-dadda - i.e.,

probably, Bir is Dadda (two names of the storm-god

best known as Rammān - cp with this Bir-zur (בִּרְזֹר,

Panammu mscr. from Zengirli, 1:31. Waddi, the 'king

of Arabia' conquered by Aūr-kamp-pal, had for his

father Bir-dadda (2 K 25:18), a name which answers

to the Assyrian name Bir-ramman (the eponym for

848 B.C.). Hommel (*Monat. Ztsch.*, 1897, p. 270)

derives from B (Hadad - i.e., by Hadad; -cp

BAANA, BE-ESMERAIH

1 K. C.

EDAN (עֲדָן; ADAN, or [Cod. Am.] ADAN),

1. In an address ascribed to Samuel we find Bedan

mentioned between Jerubbaal and Jephthah as one of

the chief deliverers of Israel (1 S. 12:11 MT). No such

name occurs in the Book of Judges, however, and the

form of the name is suspicious.

I w. supposed that the initial letter had been dropped, and

that we should read Adon (עֲדֹן, Judg. 12:13). Adon, how-

ever, is one of the six 'minor Judges' introduced into the

1 Cp. Amos, § 5 n.; Che. *Exposit.*, vi. 4, 16, 107, 1072,

and on עֲדָן, 'ma', 'ma', 'carpet' (see *Intro.*, Is. 46:1).

For עֲדָן Grätz and Nowack give עֲדָן, 'on the covering of.' But

is non-existent; in Judg. 4:13 it is corrupt (see above).

historical scheme of Judges at a later time. The LXX, too,

fully understands the name. See DAN, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

The mention of Soria in 1:10, and this is to expect

Barak which name is actually read by ϕ δ α ρ α μ α [BAΔ.]

Pesh. So We. Tr. Klo. Bu. Moore. H. P. Smith

7 A Manassah, 1 Ch 7:17 δ α ρ α μ [BAΔ.] ϕ δ α ρ α μ [BAΔ.]

corruption of Adon (עֲדֹן). See MACCUB.

BEDEIAH (בִּדְיָה; more probably a text and corruption

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

[see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100].

for בִּדְיָה 1 Ch 2:17 [see below, III A, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1

but this particular one is improbable.¹ 'Lord of flies' (could we assume that this was the original meaning) was itself, as a title, bad enough; nor would the people, who feared the demons so much, have ventured to speak too disrespectfully of the archdemon (cp Ashmedai or Asmodeus, which to a Hebrew ear meant the 'destroyer' not a disrespectful title); lastly, on Lightfoot's theory the name ought to be Beel zebel: it is shown elsewhere that a late editor detected the new Hebrew word *zebel*, 'dung,' in the name I-zebel (Jr 14.22). Lightfoot's theory, then, must be abandoned, as Baudissin holds. But Baudissin's own theory (adopted from Hitzig) is not really more satisfactory. He thinks that Baal-zabal is simply a euphonic modification of Baal-zebub, the consonant which closed the first syllable being repeated at the close of the second part of the word.²

This, however, leaves Baal-zebub unexplained, for Baudissin's theory of the name is scarcely admissible.

See Schell, *Die Hb. Spr.*, 26; Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraeae*, on Mt 12.24 Lk 11.15; Movers, *Die Phönizier* (41), 1.20f.; Kuhn's article in *III Z*.³ The latter revives an old theory of Storr and Doderlein that *be'el dibaba* in Aramaic might mean either 'lord of flies' or 'an enemy,' *ἐχθρὸς ἀνθρώπου* (Mt 13.2) = *δαίμονος*. This is doubtless plausible. We must at least admit that the common people cannot without instruction have attached a meaning to *zebel*. But how has Beelzebub (half Hebrew, half Aramaic) fixed itself in the Gospel tradition? Pesh. too retains Beelzebub. Baudissin's article in Herzog, *PAW*⁴ (learned and thoroughly adopts the ordinary view, as far as Baal-zebub is concerned.

T. K. C.

BEER (בַּיִר, 'well', § 101).

1. (בַּיִר) *Beir* (B.T.). A station of the Israelites, apparently between Heshbon and the Arnon (Nu 21.16 [L.]). See NAHAI-EL; WANDERING, § 8; and cp. below, BEER-ELIM. The interest of Beer is not geographical but literary. The discovery of the well was commemorated (the narrator gives us to understand) by a song. The song with its context runs thus, according to MT.

And from there to Beer: that is the well whereof Yahweh said unto Moses: A scum the people, and I will give them water. Then sang Israel this song:

Spring up, O well; meet ye it with a song.

Well, that the princes have dug,

The nobles of the people have loved,

With the sceptre with their slaves.

And from Mahbar [i.e. the wilderness] to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahal-el; and from Nahal-el to Bamoth.

The historical character of this statement has generally been assumed. Ewald, however, is on the road to a very different theory when he remarks that such a well-song was to become a source of joy to the labourers who thenceforward used it (*Hitzig*, 2.204). He sees, in fact, that it is essentially a popular song. Robertson Smith, too, truly speaks of 'the exquisite song in which the Hebrew women, as they stand round the fountain, waiting their turn to draw, coax forth the water which wells up all too slowly for their impatience.' We should not expect the origin of such a song to be remembered; nor is there anything in the words to suggest the occasion ascribed to it in H. More probably it arose in the dry country of the south of Judah, where springs were the most valued possession (cp Judg. 1.15 Josh. 15.1 Gen. 26.19). The 'princes,' 'nobles,' and 'captains' (for בָּרִיִּים we read בָּרִיִּים; cp Judg. 5.9-14) referred to are the sheikhs of the clan. When

¹ בָּרִיִּים, the present writer thinks, has no connection with בָּרִיִּים, 'dung.' It is pointed in imitation of בָּרִיִּים, 'dominations,' and should really be read בָּרִיִּים, 'heaps of stones,' i.e., altars of stone. Cp. however, *ibid.*, § 2 (2).

² Hitzig (*Krit. Proleg.*, by Steiner, 272) compares *Be'elzebub* (Habbukuk); Baudissin adds Babel-mandel for Babel-mandib, § 3. The Poetry of the O.T. *Brit. Quart. Rev.* Jan. 1877, p. 132-135. The expression 'coax forth' was suggested by Herder. The fountain is credited by primitive races with personality.

a fresh well has been found, the sheikhs go through the symbolic form of digging for it with staves, and the poets of the clan greet the well with a song.

Does MT give us the whole of the song? Can Mahbar be used as a proper name? Surely not. And, when we examine the MSS of G, we find some justification for the hypothesis of Budge, that the text of the literary originally ran, 'And from there to Beer; and from Beer to Nahal-el and from Nahal-el to Bamoth,' and that an editor who knew the song of the well, and desired to do it honour, inserted it between the first and the second items in the list, with the additional line, 'Out of the wilderness a gift' (see MATANAH). See Budge, *New World*, March 1895; *Proc. Soc. Anthropol.*, 1895, p. 41 ff.; Franz Del. *ZATW*, 1882, p. 449 ff.

2. A place to which JOTHAM [1] fled from his brother Abimelech, Judg. 9.1 (*Beir* [1], *Beir* [1], *Beir* [1]). In OS (23871; 1062) it is identified with a village called Beir, 8 m. N. of Eleutheropolis. The context, however, gives us no data for determining the site of the 'well' in question.

BEEROTH (בְּרֹת) and even Beer-sheba have been suggested. Kh. el-Bereh, W. of 'Ain Shems, is considerably more than 8 m. N. of Beir Jabin.

F. K. C.

BEERA (בְּרָא, 'well'; בְּרֵאִיאָה [1], בְּרֵאִיאָה [1], om. L.), b. Zophai, in genealogy of ASHER (1 Ch 7.37).

BEERAH (בְּרָה, 'well'), a Reubenite prince, son of Baal, carried off by Tighath-pileser, 1 Ch. 5.6 (בְּרָה [1], בְּרָה [1], BAPA [1]). He is mentioned by the rabbins with Beeri, the father of the poet Hosea.

BEER-ELIM (בְּרַעַלִּים, 'well of terebinths' (2) or 'of sacred trees'; φερεαρ του αιλιου [1], BAPA [1], BAPA [1]). A place apparently on the northern border of Moab, answering to ELIM on the south (Is. 15.1). It is generally identified with the B. E. of Nu 21.16. Some identify it also with the Amana of 1 Mac. 5.29; but see ALMA.

BEERI (בְּרִי, 'belonging to the well' or 'Beer', § 76; cp above).

1. A Hittite, the father of IEDITH (6.1), Esau's wife, Gen. 26.4 (Bep [1], Bep [1], Bep [1]). It is impossible to reconcile this description with that of Ash in the genealogy in Gen. 26.2, for which see BASHMEATH, 1.

2. The father of HOSEA, Hos. 1.1 (Bep [1], Bep [1]).

BEER-LAHAI-ROI (בְּרַעַלִּי רֹאִי, a well in the Negeb, famous in Hebrew tradition as the scene of Hagar's theophany (Gen. 16.1), and no doubt connected with a sanctuary (St. Z. 17.11; 1.19 [81]). Beside this sacred well was the altar of Isaac (Gen. 21.62; 25.11).

1. Name. The name is mentioned only by J; E, who gives nearly the same account of the theophany (21.7, 8), speaks simply of 'a well.' According to RV, Beer-lahai-roi means 'well of the living one who sees me.'

So the Version, (16.14) *Beir al-hayy al-roi* [1], (21.7) *Beir al-hayy al-roi* [1]. Pesh. in all these: *Beir al-hayy al-roi*. This rendering, however, is inconsistent with that given of El Roi in 16.13, 'A God that seeth'; we should expect, not *Beir al-hayy al-roi*, but *Beir al-hayy al-roi*, and even apart from this, *Beir* cannot be equivalent to 'God' (the phrase *Beir al-hayy al-roi* is late). Probably, therefore, we should render with We. *Beir al-hayy al-roi*, 'living is he who sees me,' and explain this by the H. of H. 16.13 words in 16.13, which, as they stand, are unintelligible, but may, by the correction of *Beir* into *Beir al-hayy al-roi* and the insertion of *Beir al-hayy al-roi* (the resemblance of these three words accounts for the omission of one), be interpreted thus: 'Beir al-hayy al-roi' (God of vision) will then mean 'the God who is seen by' (Gen. 21.14).

These explanations of El-Roi and Beer-lahai-roi are too plainly not original. According to analogy, *Beir* (wrongly vocalised *zebel*) ought to be a noun in the construct state. Instead of *Beir* we should doubtless

¹ Cp. *Beir* in MT of 1 S. 3.14; read *Beir al-hayy al-roi*.

BEEROTH

vocalist *lhi*, 'jaw-bone'; *roi* (?) is some animal's name, not known in the later Hebrew, and perhaps of Arabic origin. The name instead Lahai-roi should, therefore, be rendered 'Antelope's (?) jaw-bone.'

Another explanation is proposed by Hommel (*IBH* 209). Adhering to the points as regards the syllable *hai*, he compares the S. Ar. name *Luhai-sath*. He does not account for *roi*. Should *roi* be *lee*? (see Kt 11)? Sunson's *Lehi*, however, supplies a more obvious clue.

Lehi, 'jaw-bone,' was a name given to any prominent crag, from a fancied resemblance to a jaw-bone. See LIII; and cp Onomastichos (*ὄνομαστικός*), a promontory on the coast of Iaconia, and 'Camel's jaw-bone' (an Arabic name, *Yakū*, iv. 353n ff.; cp We. *Vakida*, 298, n. 21).

According to E, the well was in the wilderness of Beersheba (Gen. 21:14); I, more precisely, states that it was 'on the way to Shur' (167), 'between

2. Site. Kadesh and Bered' (71, 14). Jerome knew of a 'well of Hagar' (*ὁ ὕδωρ Μαρκελλῆ*); does he mean the traditional well in the *Hadyel-Muscelleh*? This strangely formed wady is at the foot of mountains of the same name, and Palmer thinks that there was once a large city here (perhaps one of the 'cities of the south'). One of the wells has special sanctity, and is connected by the Bedouin with Hagar. Two caves appear to be ancient. The smaller, at the upper end of the wady, on the right hand, was apparently a Christian chapel; the other, on the opposite side, seems to have served as the hermitage (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 234). As to the 'jaw-bone' rock no positive statement can be ventured. On the geographical statement in 71, 14, see BIII 11, i. To the suggestions there made it may be added that the 'way to Siter' (72, 1) would be one of the regions called by the Assyrians *Misri*. According to the original tradition Hagar seems to have fled, not to Egypt, but to a N. Arabian district called by a name which was confounded with Mizraim (Egypt). This, and not Egypt, was really her native country; this too was the country from which, according to E, she took a wife for her son Ishmael (21, 1). So Wl. *101* 301. See HAGAR, § 1; I-VAC, § 2; MIZRAIM, § 2; MORTAL. T. K. C.

BEEROTH (בְּרֹת; בְּרֹת [P.N.A.]), a city of Benjamin.

In Josh. 18:25, *Beeroth* [B], *Beeroth* [L], 2 S. 12:14 [A omits]; gentile *Beerothite* (בְּרֹתִי; *Beerothites* [B.A.], 2 Sam. 4:7 59; *Beeroth* [B.A.], *Beeroth* [L], 2 Sam. 23:37; *Beeroth*, 1 Ch. II 39; *Beeroth* [B], *Beeroth* [A], *Beeroth* [L].

According to Josh. 9:17 (*Beeroth* [B⁹], *Beeroth* [Babylon]), it belonged originally to the Gibeonite confederation; and, according to 2 S. 13, there was at one time a migration of its inhabitants to Gittaim (see ISRAEL, 1). Men of Beeroth are mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 6, § 8 c); EZRA 2:25 = Neh. 7:29, *Beeroth* [B], *Beeroth* [L] = 1 Esd. 5:19 (*Beeroth* [B], *Beeroth* [A]). It is named by Eas. (cp Reland, 618-19), and is now represented by the modern *El Burch* (which still owes its name to its abundant supply of water), a village of about 800 inhabitants, in a poor district, about 6 m. N. from Jerusalem, on the Shechem road. Tradition assigns it as the place where Joseph and Mary missed Jesus from the company of returning pilgrims (Lk. 24:45).

BEEROTH OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN. RV *Beeroth Bene-Jaakan* (בְּרֹת בְּנֵי יַאכָן), 'wells of the Bine Jaakan', a halting-place in the desert. Du. 106 (*Beeroth* *Yakon* *Jaakan* [B.A.]), where it is mentioned before MISEROETH. This notice is *pre-Deuteronomic*, and belongs to a fragment of E's list of stations

¹ So first We. *Prof.* 10; cp Moore, *Judges*, 347. It seems a natural inference that E's list originally referred to an antediluvian list (cp Ball, *Genesis*, 310-11).

² The Samar. text has for this verse: 'And the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth and encamped among the Bine Jaakan.'

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which has been inserted by the editor (Bacon *Trip. Trav.* 207 f.; cp Abbot, *Z. P. P.* 114; Dr. *Phat.* 120). In Nu. 33:11 f. the same name occurs (shortened into BENI JAAKAN, בְּנֵי יַאכָן [B]; *Beni Jaakan* [A]; *Beni Jaakan* [L]; *Beni Jaakan* [M]; *Beni Jaakan* [N]; *Beni Jaakan* [O]; *Beni Jaakan* [P]; *Beni Jaakan* [Q]; *Beni Jaakan* [R]; *Beni Jaakan* [S]; *Beni Jaakan* [T]; *Beni Jaakan* [U]; *Beni Jaakan* [V]; *Beni Jaakan* [W]; *Beni Jaakan* [X]; *Beni Jaakan* [Y]; *Beni Jaakan* [Z]). The spot probably lay somewhere on the edge of the Arabian. Cp JAKAN, and WANDERINGS, § 8.

BEERSHEBA בְּרֵשֶׁבָה, § 107—i.e., 'well of seven,' rather than 'seven wells'—see below. § 3; *Beersheba* [B.A.]; in Josh. 15:23 *Beersheba* [A]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [B]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [L]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [M]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [N]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [O]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [P]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Q]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [R]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [S]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [T]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [U]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [V]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [W]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [X]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Y]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Z].

1. References. [B.A.]; in Josh. 15:23 *Beersheba* [A]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [B]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [L]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [M]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [N]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [O]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [P]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Q]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [R]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [S]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [T]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [U]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [V]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [W]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [X]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Y]; in Gen. 21:14 *Beersheba* [Z].

An account of the origin of the name and the planting of the sacred tamarisk of Beersheba is given in the story of Abraham (Gen. 21:22 ff. 13); but another story belonging to another document (1) assigns the origin of the well and its name to Isaac (Gen. 26:33 ff.). It was the scene of more than one theophany in patriarchal times. It was an important sanctuary frequented even by N. Israel in the time of Amos (5:5 *Beersheba* *to the spring* [B.A.]), who refers with disapproval to those who swear by the life of the divine patron² of Beersheba (8:14). It was in Beersheba that the two sons of Samuel are said to have exercised their judgeship (1 S. 8:2), and a day's journey thence into the wilderness is placed the incident of the 'juniper' tree in the life of Elijah (1 K. 19:1 ff. *Beersheba* [A]). Beersheba was the birthplace of the mother of King Josiah (2 K. 12:13; 2 Ch. 24:1). In post-exilic times it was inhabited by men of Judah.

The ruins at Beersheba belong apparently to early Christian days. The *Onomastichos* describe it as a large place with a Roman garrison (106:23 ff.). In the time of Jerome the place was of some importance; but it became an episcopate; and by the fourteenth century it had become deserted and ruined.

It is represented by the modern *El Burch*, on the W. es-Sheba, 23 m. SW. from Hebron (Kol. *RR* 1:39).

2. Identification. Whist the arable land of Palestine virtually comes to an end with Beersheba, and the country to the south of it is usually barren, there are, for nearly 30 m. S. of Beersheba, ruins of old villages gathered round wells; they evidently date from Roman times.

On Josh. 19:2, 'Beersheba and Shela,' see SHULMA (i.). [WRS (*R. L. Sem.* 131) remarks: 'The sanctuary of Beersheba properly consisted of the "Seven Wells," which gave the place its name.' Among the Arabs a place called 'Seven Wells' is mentioned by Strabo (164-4). Robertson Smith has also given abundant evidence of the sanctity attaching to the groups of seven wells among the Semites. Even to-day seven wells or cisterns seem to have the power of undoing witchcraft (*101* 73 ff.). This view is due to Stade (*Gench.* i. 127), who thinks that the postposition of the numeral was Canaanitish; but, as in the case of Kirjath-arba (see HEBRON, i.), the theory is doubtful. 'Well of Seven' is not inexplicable. 'Well of (the) Seven'

¹ The Hebrew verb 'to swear' means, literally, 'to come under the influence of seven things.' See WRS, *R. L. Sem.* 131 ff.

² M1 gives 'way' (cultus); see *Am. S.* § 20.

of the south land.¹ This is the heading of a short fragmentary passage of prophecy, and refers to the description of Egypt at the end of 7, 7 as 'Rahab the unbelled one' (see RAHAB, II, #1). 'The south-land' (Negeb) is here, as in Dan, 9, 11 ff., designation of the second of the two empires which endanger Palestine, i.e., Egypt, the other being *Siphon*, the northland (Jer. 15, 12; 26, 10) — i.e., in a large sense, Babylonia. See Deh. The heading in 7, 6 may be very late.

Delitsch's finding in 7.6 may be very late, but Delitsch lists *bilichent* also in (4) TS, 73.22, 'As for me, I was a *bilichent* and ignorant, I was a *bilichent* toward thee' (Del., Nowak). This rendering is correct, if the text is sonnet and if the speaker is an individual. If, however, the speaker is to be understood as a community, we may perhaps render, 'I was (like) the least(s) toward thee.' So far, but the absence of the particle of comparison is a difficulty. If we compare 49 [13] 12-17 it becomes plausible to read, with Gratz, *וְהָיִיתִי כְּלֵבִי*, 'I was devoid of understanding toward thee.'

Leviathan (לִיָּאָתָן, *liwyathan*, 'wreathed'—i.e., 'gather-
ing itself in folds'; or perhaps of Bab. origin) is

2. Of Leviathan. designation of a mythic serpent in all the passages in which it occurs, unless Job 41: be an exception.² See below.

It is formed (a) in Job 41: (40/25), "Canst thou draw up [Leviathan] like a book, and press down his tongue with a reed?" (c) Job 33: "And thou shalt say upon the sea 'Ere I curse thee, (those) who are appointed to raise up Leviathan';" (f) Ps. 74: 13, "In that day shall Yahweh arise to smite Leviathan the fugitive serpent, and Leviathan the coiled serpent shall be taken up by the head of Leviathan, and givest his [Leviathan] to be food for the heads of the dragons;" (g) Ps. 74: 14, "Thou didst smite the heads of the dragons;" (h) Ps. 104: 26, "There do the dragons move along, (there is) Leviathan whom thou didst firm to be its ruler." To these references, two supplied by apophryal writers may be added: (i) Gen. 60: 29, "And Joseph said unto his brethren, I die; and ye shall bury me; and ye shall say, Amen;" (j) Apoc. Bar. 29: 4.

In the present article we shall desert the zoological explanation of Behemoth and Leviathan, leaving the field open to another writer to represent the more generally received opinion (see Hippopotamus, Crocodile). Strong reason will have to be shown for not interpreting these strange forms with some regard to mythology. No one would assert that the author of Job had an altogether distinct mythological conception; but modern commentators who disregard the mythic basis of the descriptions make a serious mistake.

It was natural in 1887 to look for illustrations of the passages, (d) and (e), to Egypt,⁷ though reference could have been made, not to the fantastic griffins on certain wall-paintings, but to the idealisation of the ordinary monsters of the Nile in the mythic narratives of Ké and Osiris. "There are supernatural as well as natural hippopotamuses and crocodiles, and it is a criterion of these which the poet has given us. The descriptions are hyperbolic and unpleasing, if referred to the real monsters of the Nile; they are not so if planned of the "children of defeat," with the dragon-hopi at their head," which the poet, by a fusion

¹ The alternative explanation, 'Oracle of the beasts of the south' *šr'at*, of the desert which adjoins the south of Judah—is less natural. Why 'the south' instead of 'the desert'? And why are serpents called *šr'at* 'beasts'? *šr'at* would have been more in place. Cp. *šro'at* on Is. 30.6.

² renders Leviathan as follows: in (γ) δράκοντα (Aq. Sym. λειβαθαρ), in (ε) το μεγα κητος (Aq. Sym. λειβαθαρ, Th. δράκοντα), in (ζ) τον δρακοντα (Aq. Sym. Th. λειβαθαρ) [twice], in (ς) των δρακόντων (Aq. λειβαθαρ), in (η) δράκων.

אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּם עַד אֲבִיבֵי הַיּוֹם (in *4*) בְּרַחֲמֵי
 אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּם for MT אֲנִי מְבַרְכֶּם. The final letter of v. 24 (now ²⁴EN, his
 spout) and the first letter of v. 25 became effaced. Ewald
 (*Lehrb. d. Heb. Spr.* 791) makes an elaborate attempt to
 account for the absence of the interrogative particle (?) in MT,
 based on the theory that the Arabic word for crowd (*ḥudūd*)
 existed in the Hebrew vocabulary of Job. Similarly Budd;
 Duham leaves the point undecided. Against this, see Che. *Le*
poster., July 1897.

⁴ Read Σ_7 for Σ'' , with Gunkel, to restore parallelism; cp Ps. 74:13 f. 101:25 f. 18, 27:1.

⁵ Reading מִשְׁפָּחָה שְׂמֵחָה לְבָרְכָהּ, Cp Fox.

⁶ Reading לְבָרִים for the scarcely possible לְבָרִים , 'ships'; and correcting בְּיָמֵינוּ into בְּיָמֵינוּ . See Che, *l.c.* 20.

⁷ Che, *Job and Spl.* 56, where the first recent critical protest was made against the dominant theory. (Cp the fantastic forms described in Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 84.)

* See Maspero, *op. cit.* 139.

¹ Ἀρκίς according to the order in *ΣΥΝΕΛ*; ἀττακίς is mentioned in hexaplaric MSS as a rendering by 'ἄλλος.'

² It will be seen that on one strongly supported theory there are parallels to this combination.

The versions render Βέχμηθ as follows:—in (a) *θηρία* [LXX], *κτηνη* [Ag. Theod.], in (b) *τῶν τετραπόδων* [LXX], *κτηνη* [Ag. Sym. Th.], in (c) *κτηνώδης* [LXX, Sym.].

as follows: (1) the final φ in Bēhēmōt is unaccounted for (Leippsin). (2) The Egyptians had several names for the hippopotamus (e.g., *peret*, 'a beast that rolls itself in the mud'); but the texts nowhere mention *peret*. (3) The form, if it existed, would be *ma-eh* (L. C. Cook). It is strange that Jablonski, who died in 1757, and could know only Coptic, and who, after supposing himself to have found the preference to Birch, original of Bēhēmōt in *Behemota*, discovered afterwards, that the name was really *kheh* (Renouf, *1 xp* after, July 1897). Cp RICHMOND. On an analogous attempt to justify the interpretation of Leviathan as a crocodile, see col. 520, n. 3.

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historically most justifiable,¹ identifies with the monsters of Babylonian origin called elsewhere Rahab and his helpers (Job 9: 11). And even in the uncorrected but still more in the corrected text there are expressions and statements which are hardly explicable except on the mythological theory. How, for example, can the hippopotamus and the crocodile be said to be, not merely dangerous to approach, but beyond the range of hunters? There is evidence that even in early times the Egyptians were skilled in attacking and killing them. How, too, can the ordinary hippopotamus be called 'the firstling of the ways of God' (Job 10: 19), and the ordinary crocodile be said to be feared by all that is lofty, and to be king over all the sons of pride? (Job 41: 34 [26]).

The Babylonian elements in Behemoth and Leviathan, however, are more important than the Egyptian. They have been pointed out, though with some exaggeration, by Gunkel, who also noticed how much the text of the accounts of Behemoth and Leviathan has suffered in transmission. It may be hoped that by the light of the mythological interpretation the corruptions may be partly removed. For example, Job 11: 11 [1: 3] may be plausibly emended thus (see *JAL*, April, 1897):—

Surely thy self-confidence proves itself vain;
Even divine beings the fear of him lays low;
An angel shrinks when he would arouse him;
Who then (among mortals) would dare meet him as a foe?
Who ever confronted him and came off safe?
Under the whole heaven, not one!

The un-emended form of this passage, it is true, does not favour a mythological interpretation; but it is very difficult to give it any plausible meaning, whereas the emended text is in perfect harmony with all that we hear of Leviathan elsewhere. One more proof of the helpfulness of the new theory may be given. No passage has puzzled interpreters more than Job 40: 15. The RV renders this, 'He (only) that made him can make his sword to approach (unto him)'. ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

BEKAH

unconvincingly connect with בֶּקַח (comparing Dudael, Enoch 104, which is certainly not a mere 'fiction of the author'). The view here taken is, of course, quite consistent with Charles's theory (*ibid.* 53) that the writers of 4 Esd. 6:1-7:25 and Bar. 27-30 both used the text of an earlier work which contained the story of the six days of Creation. This lost hexahemeron, just as much as 4 Esd. 6:1-64, represents not a homogeneous tradition, but a medley of notions derived from different sources, Jewish and Oriental.

On the subject of this article consult Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 40-60; 165, 166; and De's commentaries on Job; Che., *The Book of Job*, etc., *Expositio*, July, 1907, and *The Text of Job*, *JQR*, April 1897. See also DEYOUNG, § 47; RAHAB, I and II; HIRSCHEFELD, *Chocoma*. On the oscillation of mythic and semi-mythic statements between the dragon and the crocodile as the enemy of the Songod, cp Clermont-Ganneau, *Horns et Saint Georges* (extrait de la rev. archeol.), 1877, pp. 8, 25.

BEKAH, RV Beka (בֶּקַח), Ex. 38:26. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BEL (בֶּל; 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 BHALOC), Ass. *Bēlu*, like בֶּל (Baal), is a simple appellative meaning 'lord' quite as often as it is a proper name (see PHENICIA). In the Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon it is borne by two deities (see BABYLONIA, § 26), the younger of whom, identified with Marduk (see MERODACH), finds mention in writings of the Babylonian and Persian periods (Is. 46:1 Jer. 50:2 [57:7], 51:44 (G omits)).

The extent of the cultus of this god in later times appears from the many proper names compounded with Bel in Phoenician, and more especially in Palmyrene inscriptions.² Jacob of Serap states that he was the god of Edessa (*AG 29* 130).

BEL AND THE DRAGON. See DANIEL, ii. § 21, and cp §§ 10, 19.

BELA (בֶּלָא; 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 BALAL), -AAAL [E in Gen. 14:2], cp Jer. 51:41; BALAK [A 21], -AAAL [E in Gen. 14:2], one of the five royal cities in the vale of Siddim at the time of the invasion of CHORLOMER (*ibid.* § 2), Gen. 14:2-8, where the name receives the geographical explanation, 'that is Zoar.' In fact, in Gen. 19:20-21 we hear of a small city near Sodom, the name of which was called ZOAR (*ibid.*), to commemorate the escape of Lot from the catastrophe of Sodom and the other 'cities of the plain.' The writer of the explanation in Gen. 11:28 evidently means us to suppose that the original name of Zoar was Bela. The author of Gen. 19 (J), however, does not appear to have known this. In 19:10 the same writer speaks of Zoar as bearing that name before the catastrophe of Sodom, and a comparison of the phraseology of 25:10 makes it probable that the etymological myth in 19:20-22 does not really presuppose a change of name. It is probable that, had the name of Bela been known in the comparatively early period when Gen. 19 was written, an etymological myth would have grown up to account for it. Therefore that region is called Bela, because the ground opened her mouth and swallowed it up' (cp Num. 16:30).

Such a myth did, as a fact, spring up, but long afterwards, and not as a fruit of the popular imagination. In the Targum of Jonathan the phrase 'the king of Bela' (Gen. 14:2) is paraphrased as 'the king of the city which consumed its inhabitants.' The same interpretation was given by R. Meir and his contemporary Joshua b. Karcha (Bacher, *Die Agadä der Tannaiten*, 33), and is repeatedly given on the authority of 'the Hebrews' by Jer. (*Quaest. in Gen.* 14:2 19:10; *Comm. in Jer.* 15:5); it has also naturally enough found a place in the Midrash (*Ber. rabba*, par. 42). Hommel (*AHT* 195-198) boldly identifies Bela with the ancient city of Malkā, which he surmises to have been in the trans-Jordanic region; but his authority for giving

¹ The evidence of some proper names, however, may seem to show that Bel was not unknown in Canaan at an earlier date (see AUBEL, BILDAD, BEAL, and cp, doubtfully, BALGAM and Reuben).

² Whether the Palm. בֶּלָא is a bye-form of בֶּלָא, as Hoffmann supposes (*Zeitschrift aus d. Syr. Act. Pers. Märkt.*, 1830, p. 21, n. 159), is uncertain.

BELA

this situation to Malkā is a tablet which refers not to Malkā but to Melkart (Julius, *Z. f. Agypt.*, Aug. 1873, p. 100).

It is remarkable that no name is given to the king of Bela. When we consider the (probable) corruption of other names in the passage, it is reasonable to suppose that the name, being unorthodox, early dropped out of the text. To supply 'Bela,' with Bishop Hervey (Smith's *DB*), is unnatural.

BELA (בֶּלָא; 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 BALAL), -AAAL [E in Gen. 36:43]. The first Edomite king, son of Beor (or perhaps Achbor; see BAAL-HANAN [1]), of the city of Dinhalah (Gen. 36:42 f. 1 Ch. I 43 f.). It is singular that a divine name in legend was called 'Bilam' (Balaam) son of Beor. With Noldeke (*Uebersicht*, 87) and Hommel (*AHT* 153) we may venture to identify Bela' and Bilam, and all the more confidently if Bilam belonged to a region adjoining Edom (see 14 THOR). Obviously the temptation which the name presented to an imaginative narrator must have been irresistible. Targ. Jon. and Targ. 1 Ch. 144 had already suggested the identification. The list which contains the name Bela ben-Beor is regarded by Sayce as a piece of an Edomite chronicle. It comes before us, however, as a thoroughly Hebrew document, and is correlated with the history of the line of Israel (Gen. 36:43-46; probably JE). Certainly it is no spot of the idealistic imagination; a true interest in the fortunes of a kindred people prompted its preservation. It may be incomplete, or it may have had some lacunae filled up ignorantly, not to speak of the undeniable corruptions of the text. Let us take the list as it stands, and see what we can gather from it.

The list contains eight names (or rather seven, for Baal-hanan has come in through a scribe's error). Four kings have their fathers' names given; six are distinguished by the name of their city, and one is described as of a certain region (HUSHAM). The names both of the cities and of the persons (or apparent persons) are not all correct. HUSHAM, MAIRID, and AL-ALAH are corrupt, and the corruptions efface the important fact that Bela (whose city was not Dinhalah but Rehoboth; cp 17:37) and Mehetabel came from the N. Arabian Land of Musri or Musur (see HIRZAH, § 28). It will be noted that one of the names occurs twice (in 17:30, 'Hadar' is certainly a wrong reading); it is properly the name of a god—of the Aramean god Hadad. From this name, and from two other items—'Bela the son of Beor' and 'Saul of Rehoboth by the river'—Bishop A. C. Hervey inferred (Smith's *DB*, 2, 27, 28) that there had been an Aramean conquest of Edom. The references to Bela and Saul, however, are not really in point (cp BALGAM, § 3), and all that the doubly attested HADAD, 3 [ii. 2]—together with BEDAD—can be held to suggest is that Aramean influence was early felt as far south as Edom.

More important is the historical notice connected with the name of Hadad, son of Bedad (see also HUSHAM). It tells us of the early occupation of what afterwards became the land of Moab by the Midianites, whom the Edomites under H. dad defeated. We can understand this notice in the light of Gideon's defeat of the same plundering hordes, described in Judg. 7. To make the two events contemporary, with Kautzsch in Rehm's *AHT* (part. 'Midian'), seems needless and hazardous.

Our most interesting as well as most certain result, however, is the antiquity of regal government among the Edomites; and, from the fact that there is no trace of dynasties, and from the continual references to the cities of the respective kings, we may probably infer, with Winckler, that the kings were of the type of Abimelech, or at the most of Saul, and that their rule, except in time of war, was little felt save by their own tribe. It is true that this will not apply to Saul of Rehoboth of the River, for this place seems to have

¹ BAAL-HANAN (27) was perhaps really the father of Hadad II.; ben Achbor is a variant to ben Beor which has attached itself to the wrong name.

BELIAL

justice as to the origin, or at least the nature, of the word. G. F. Moore (on Judg. 19) gives a better rendering of הַבְּלִיַּל than most commentators, viz., 'the scoundrels'; this recognizes the fact that 'to suppose' is not merely worthless, as of ordinary viciousness, but gross wickedness. He also describes the different etymologies of *Belial* as extremely dilatory, and cannot find in the Hebrew language any analogy for the word. In fact the seemingly compound word הַבְּלִיַּל (Job 26) is primary; it is a compound of בָּלַע , 'utter vainly,' but Moore passes over Lagarde's acute suggestion in *Poet. Chald.*, p. 47, cp. *Lev.* 130, that הַבְּלִיַּל is Ps. 11 [4] cp. 2) singe is an etymology (a popular one) from הַבְּלִיַּל , 'rising up.' In *Lev.* 1924 [1924] the present writer sought to show that *Belial* (הַבְּלִיַּל) is found in the OT in three senses: (1) the subterranean watery abyss, (2) hopeless man, (3) great or even extreme wickedness. The third meaning is common; the first and second are rare, and found only in late passages (see Ps. 184 [5] 28 22; P. 118 [6] 101 3 [5] 3 הַבְּלִיַּל , so read, 'deeds of detraction'] Nth. 11 15 [21], but should, if naturalness of development is to count for anything, be more nearly original than the third. It is only in Ps. 184 [5] that *Belial* is used to denote the abyss, and it may be objected to the view that this is the primary meaning that in *Job*, *Job*, 42, *Job*, 42, *Samuel* in *Job*, appears as an angel of the torment (cp. 1 Ph. 2). However, as Hensley has shown, the eschatological tradition of ANTI-MISER [21, § 337] one of whose names is *Belial*, is derived ultimately from the old Babylonian dragon myth, and we know that the mythic dragon has for his proper sphere the sea, though in some mythic developments he appears as a temporary inhabitant of heaven, from which at last he and his angels are cast out (Rev. 127-9). It is, therefore, in perfect harmony with the old myth to suppose that *Belial* may have been originally an angel of the abyss, not of the firmament.

We now come to the origin of the word. Babylonia seems to be a Hebrew indication of some earlier word, planned so as to suggest a popular etymology, *בְּלִילִי* *belili*, 'from which one comes not up again' (cp *מִן הַתֵּבַת*, the Ass. equivalent of a Sumerian tale of the underworld meaning 'the land without return,' Jensen, *König*, 218, 222). This earlier word was most probably borrowed from the Babylonian mythology of the underworld. The original word, which was Hebrewised just as *דִּבְלִי* 'dibge,' was Hebrewised (see DIBLU, § 7), may very possibly have been *Belili*,³ which is the name of a goddess of vegetation, and hence of the underworld, the sister of *Du'uzu* or *TAMMUZ*, from whom she suffers in *לֵב* 'able to ascend again to earth' (see *Thesaur* of R. 51 in Jeremia's, *Biblische*, *Versteht*, 23; and cp Jensen, *Königol*, 228, 272, 273). There may have been a middle form between *Belili* (which appears to be Sumerian—i.e., non-Semitic) and *Babylia* which has been lost; cp *NIRUM* (ib., § 2). The Canaanites and Israelites probably took the name (which three times [Is. 25, 23 28. 16, 7 K. 21 c] has the article) as a synonym for the abyss of Sheol. Afterwards it seems to have become a symbol of insatiable and malignant destructiveness (cp *אָבְדָה*, and hence the phrase 'sons (son, daughter) of Belial'; but the older meaning was not forgotten, as we see from Ps. 184, 3). The adoption of Baudissin (Hefzog,⁴ s.v. 'Belial'), that 'streams of the under-world' (Ps. l.c.) would be a unique phrase, is of no moment, for the whole context is in some important respects unique. It is not a flood from the sky that overwhelms the speaker; it is a flood from below—i.e., the 'waters of death,' which are

Both for the sake of exegesis and on account of the importance of Jewish semi-mythological modes of thought, it is needful to be clear as to the course of development of the meanings of *Belial*, and to form a probable con-

¹ Cp Deane, *Pseudopigr.* 22, 163, 249, and Rousset, *Der*
Antichrist.

¹ In 11:4[5] *לְעוֹלָם*, *לְעוֹלָם*, *לְעוֹלָם*, and *לְעוֹלָם* are parallel. *לְעוֹלָם* is the world of the dead (or its ruler), as 49:13[16]; *לְעוֹלָם* and *לְעוֹלָם* should have the same meaning.

² *Op. cit.* 6. f. 36 f., no. 101.
³ *Cine. Imp. Times*, 8423 f.

² CHEV. REP. TIMES, 8423 J. [97]

BELLOWS

a primitive element in Babylonian mythology (see CAINUS, § 6).

Hommel, while accepting this identification, proposes a modification of the theory. He thinks that the Assyrian-Babylonian phrase quoted above was simply translated by the Canaanites, from whom the name was borrowed again by the Babylonians as *Belhi* (*Eup. Times*, 8472). This is plausible; but we should like to know how far this theory would lead us.

In *Eup. Times*, 940 *ff.*, Bandissin returns to the subject. He still maintains the derivation of *Belshazzar* from *Bel* and *Shazzar*, and thinks that some of the occurrences of the word may possibly be due to editorial manipulation, and that the word explained as 'worthlessness' 'wickedness' does not look very ancient. He also quotes a communication of Jensen, which Cheyne in his answer regards as favourable rather than otherwise to the new theory, though Jensen himself expresses his agreement with Bandissin. See *Eup. Times*, ix, 8, and also Che. *Paras.*, 2, on Ps. 1845 (popular etymology from *שָׁזַר*, 'to swallow up'; *שָׁזַר*, however, is intensive, cp *König, Lebrigh.*, ii, 1402).

BELLOWS (שָׁזַר), properly 'instrument for blowing'; *פְּנֵיחָתֵר*, mentioned only in EV of Jer. 6, 29¹ in connection with lead-smelting; see MEALS, § 2.

In Egypt bellows were used as early as the time of Thutmose III. A leather bag was fitted into a frame from which extended a long pipe to the fire. Two bags were used, upon each of which the operator placed a foot, pressing them alternately, while he pulled up each exhausted skin with a string that he held in his hand (Wilk. *Ann. Eg.*, 2112 *ff.*). In one illustration Wilkinson notes that when the man left the bellows they were raised as if full of air, thus implying a knowledge of the valve. The earliest forerunner of the bellows seems to have been a mere reed or pipe, which was used by smiths in the age of Useresen (2214, illustration p. 11, fig. 3).

Whether hand-bellows were used by the Hebrews for domestic purposes is quite unknown; for a description of a primitive kind still used in Egypt see Wilkinson (ii, 313).

BELLS, in the modern sense of the word, though used as ornaments at the present day in Syria, do not seem to have been known to the ancient Hebrews. The words so rendered require examination.

1. *שֹׁמֵר* (*šomer*), used of the golden ornament worn alternately with *פִּתְיוֹת* (*šifot*), were worn upon the *ephod* (Ex. 28, 33 *ff.*, 39, 25 *ff.*, *šomer*); cp also in the Heb. of Eccles. 49, 2 and *šomer*, and see Cowley and Neubauer *ad loc.*. Their purpose is related in Ex. 28, 35.

2. *שֹׁמֵר*, *šomer* (*šomer*), 'cymbals', upon which were inscribed the words, 'Holy unto Yahweh', were worn by the horses in Zechariah's prophecy (Zech. 14, 20, AVwg. 'bridles'; so *ἵππων* and *Vg. ferunt*).

In both cases small discs or plates are meant, the *שֹׁמֵר* being possibly similar to the *שֹׁמֵר* or crescents (see NECKLACE) of Judg. 8, 26.

BELMEN (RV *Belmain*) is mentioned, in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes, in Judith 4, 47. The readings are *ΒΕΛΜΑΙΝ* [A], *ΒΑΛΑ* [B], *ΔΒΕΛΑ* [N]; Syr. *ܒܠܡܝܢ* (*Abel-meholah*); Vet. Lat. *Abelmin*. *Belmen* would thus appear to be the same as the *Belmain* [EV] (*ΒΕΛΒΑΙΝ* [BA], *ΔΒΕΛΑ* [N], Syr. *ܒܠܒܝܢ*). Vg. *Belma*, Vet. Lat. *Abelma* of Judith 7, 2, which, obviously, is regarded as lying near Dothan, and therefore cannot be the *Abel-mann* of 2 Ch. 16, 4, nor perhaps the *ΒΑΛΑ*-*HAYON* of Ct. 8, 11. The place meant is probably *Abelmin* (modern *Bir Bel'min*), a town of strategical importance. In Judith 8, 3, this place is probably intended by *BALAMO* RV *BALAMON* (*βελανων* [BA], Syr. *ܒܠܡܝܢ*), and if we might assume that the translator had a correct text and understood it rightly, we should be justified in restoring *βελανων* for *βελανων* in 4, 4. Certainly none of the readings in 4, 4 can be accepted as reproducing the original name. T. K. C.

BELSHAZZAR, or, as, following the Greek form, he

¹ *ἔ*, however, not inaptly, finds a reference to the 'bellows of the smith' in Job. 32, 10, where *הַשִּׁיט הַחֲדָשִׁים*, 'new bottles', is rendered *φ. χαλκῶς* (reading *הַשִּׁיט*).

BELSHAZZAR

is called in *Barnab. 11, 7*, *Balthasar*, RV *Baltasar* (*Βαλθασαρ*), or, less correctly, *Βαλθασαρ*; *Βαλθασαρ* [*ἔ*], which is also used as the equivalent *Βελθασαρ*, *Belshazzar*,¹ see DANIEL ii, §§ 2, 13, was according to the Book of Daniel, a son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The length of the reign of Belshazzar is not given; but we read in Dan. 8, 1 of 'the third year' of his reign. In Dan. 5, 30, [1 *ff.*] it is stated that he was slain, and that on his death the empire passed into the hands of Darius the Mede. All references to Belshazzar in other authors, including that in the apocryphal Book of Barnab. (11, 7), appear to have been suggested by the passages in Daniel; and, since it is now recognised that the Book of Daniel was composed in the second century B.C., the narrative is open to question.

Till quite lately it was the fashion to follow Jos. (*Ant.* x, 112) in identifying the Belshazzar of Daniel with the last Babylonian king, *Nabonassar*, whom Jos. elsewhere calls *Nabodonosor* (in a citation from Herodotus; see *Ant.* 1, 204); in Herod. 1, 77, 138 this king appears as *Ναβονοσος*, and in Abydenus (quoted by Euseb. *Pr.* 1, 941) as *Ναβαριονος*. Against the identification of Belshazzar with Nabonassar it was urged that the latter, according to Herodotus, was not even a relation of Nebuchadnezzar, but 'a certain Babylonian' who usurped the throne in consequence of a revolution; nor was Nabonassar slain, like the Belshazzar of Daniel, on the overthrow of the Babylonian empire, but is stated to have been sent to the province of Carmania (the modern Kirman). These objections were so serious that a few writers, in their anxiety to defend the narrative of Daniel, identified Belshazzar with Evil-merodach (2 K. 25, 27).

The discovery of the Babylonian inscriptions has refuted both of the above-mentioned theories, and has at the same time confirmed the opinion that the narrative in Daniel is unhistorical. An unhistorical narrative, however, is not necessarily a pure fiction, and in this case it appears probable that the author of Daniel made use of a traditional story. It is now known that Nabonassar, the Nabū-nā'id of the inscriptions, who reigned from 555 to 538 B.C., had a son called *Bēl-sar-usur* (i.e., 'Bel, preserve thou the king'), a name of which Belshazzar is evidently a corruption. In a celebrated inscription Nabū-nā'id offers up a prayer in behalf of 'Bēl-sar-usur, the exalted (or, my first-born) son, the sprout of my body (*lit.* heart)'; see Schr. *COT* 2, 131, and also *Kt* 36, 30 *ff.* Moreover, in certain contract-tablets, dating from the first, third, fifth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Nabū-nā'id, Bēl-sar-usur, the son of the king, is expressly named. Several other tablets of the same reign speak of a 'son of the king'; but whether in all these cases Bēl-sar-usur is meant cannot be determined, since Nabū-nā'id appears to have had at least one other son.² It is, however, generally believed that Bēl-sar-usur must be identical with the prince mentioned in an inscription of Cyrus, which informs us that in the seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh years of the reign of Nabū-nā'id, 'the son of the king' was at the head of the army in Akkad - i.e., Northern Babylonia. Unfortunately, this very important inscription is mutilated, so that we learn nothing of the years twelve to fifteen of Nabū-nā'id, and in the account of the sixteenth year only a few words are legible. Of the seventeenth and last year of Nabū-nā'id there is a long account; but it would seem very doubtful whether 'the son of the king' is mentioned

¹ [Balthasar] Th. (Astr.) in Dan. 17 and in SA Dan. 2, 26 456, 16 thrice 51, 81.]

² Darius Hystaspis tells us in one of his inscriptions (Spiegel, *Alters. Keilinschr.*, 10, 1, 134) that early in his reign a rebellion was raised at Babylon by an impostor who professed to be 'Nabukkadrezzar, son of Nabonassar' - i.e., Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabū-nā'id. This proves, at least, that at the time in question Nabū-nā'id was believed to have had a son named Nebuchadnezzar. See Che. *Journ. Rel.* 1, 6, 1, 1, 1.

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BEN-ABINADAB (בִּנְיָאָדָב 'son of A'binadab

so *AV*, the name of one of Solomon's priests, is *IK*. In *KV* *AVag* (יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי) *AVANAB*, [1] 6^a is corrupt, but perhaps יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי represents the name [Swere reads יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי, see Solomon, Klostermann, however, suggests יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי, and יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי is easily combined, and the two יִידִי in יִידִי אֲבִינָאֲבִלִי are really the preposition יִידִי prefixed to יִידִי Naphthali, or 'all the height of Dor' (I.V.), words which denote the extent of the protection.]

BENIAIAH (בִּנְיָיָה in Nos. 1 f. 4 f. 11, and בִּנְיָיָה in Nos. 13, 6-11; 'Yah hath built up'; § 31 [see BANI]; BANAIA C) [BAL], BANAAC, BENIAC [N^o 1 Ch. 16:5].

1. 7772, but in 2 S. 20, 1 Ch. 11:2772 ch. Jehoada, a 'valiant man' (see KATHAL, III, 305, only see and, on David's trail of honour, to 'the three'). He was a Judeite of KARZILL, and commanded the socially CHAKKATHUS and PELLATHUS (2 S. 8:13 Jaraa [J], CHAKKATHUS [M], 20:23 1 Ch. 18:1), and David set him over his bodyguard (7772 2 S. 23:29). He gave valuable support to Sedomon against AMONATH (1), and after executing the sentence of death on both, was appointed to the vacant post of general of K. 1. 2. 24 om. 6] 3 Jaraa [K] 44 om. 6] 1. There or at any rate two special exploits were assigned to him in popular tradition (2 S. 23:29 1 Ch. 11:27 Jaraa [J]). On the first two see AKH. 1; a confirmation of the text is indispensable. The other fact consisted in his slaying a 'Misrite' (2 S. 23:21) i.e., a man of Musr or Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2). This hero is twice mentioned in a list of no value in 1 Ch. 27 (37-38). Each time there is an inaccuracy. In 7: 3 (KV) Benadiah's father is described (by an obvious confusion of names) as 'the priest'; in 7: 34 'Jehoada son of Benadiah' takes the place of 'Beniah son of Jehoada.' Cp JHOTHADA, 2, and see DAVID, § 11 (a), 1.

2. One of David's thirty, a Pirathonite; 2 S. 23 to 6-22; 5 corruptly του Εφραθαιου [H, om. AL]; 1 Ch. 11 31 27 14 (6-22). See ΠΙΡΑΘΑΙ.

3. A Simeonite chief (1 Ch. 4 36 [om. 51]).

4. A Levite singer of the second grade, one of those who played with psalteries set to *MAAHOH* (y.71), 1 Ch.13.22-24 (Bavai [BBA] 1145).

5. An overseer in the temple in the time of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31:13).

6. An ancestor of JANAZIEL [4]; 2 Ch. 2014 (om. **GL**).

7-19. In list of those with foreign wives (see Ex 12.1, 8 § 5 ent), 12-17. One of the b'ne PAROSH (7.7.1). Ex 12.125 (parash [8]). 18. Esd. 9.20, BANANIS, RV BANANAS (Bavaria [14.1]). 8. One of the b'ne PARAHY-MOGAR (7.7.1). Ex 10.30; in 1 Esd. 9.24 perhaps NAIDES (naides [14.1], var. [A], Bavaria), and naides [14.1]. One of the b'ne BANI, Ex 10.35; in 1 Esd. 9.31 MUNDAR, RV MUNDAR (mundar [14.1], mundar [A], Bavaria [14.1]). 10. One of the b'ne NEMO (7.7.1, iv.) (Bavai [14.1], Ezra 10.43 1 Esd. 9.35 BANANAS (Bavai [14.1]).

11. Father of PLATON (2.73, 4), Ev. 111 (1722), 1. 13 (1722, τοῦ βασιλεως).

BENAMMI (בִּנְאָמִי), Gen. 1938. See AMMON, § 1.

BENCH (בֵּנֵי), Ez. 27^{6†} AV. See SHIP.

BEN-DEKAR, RV **Ben dekar** (בֶּן־דֵּקָר); one of Solomon's prefects, in charge of NW Judah (I K 4a, *סֹרֵם פְּחָאֵק* [1], . . . *-אֶבֶן בֶּן־דֵּקָר* [1]; *י. דֵּקָר* [1-V]). The name is improbable; nor is **Ben-Rechab** any more probable. It is reasonable to hold that, as in other cases, the father of this prefect was an influential officer of the crown. The prefect's real name has certainly dropped out. Klostermann suggests that we may restore this: 'Ekhoreph, son of Shisha the secretary' (p. 3). **Ben-dekar** is not impossibly a corruption of **Benberak** [בֶּן־בֵּרַק]. The locality suits.

BENE-BERAK (בְּנֵי-בֵרַק), a Danite city, the modern *Ibn Ibrak*, about an hour S.E. from Joppa (Josh. 15:45; **BANAIBAKAT** [13], **BANHBAPAK** [M.];

1 In the list given at the end of chap. ii, by **BL** he is listed as ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνδραρχίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλιθιου, i.e., [כֶּסֶף] of 2 S. 31, for which, however, **BL** has μαέββα.

again.¹ In any case, it is implied that Nabū-nā'id, not Bēl-Sar-nūr, was at this time commander of the army in Akkad (see *ZSR* 17 139-170, *KR* 3 6 132-137, and O. E. Hagen, 'Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* [ed. F. H. Schmidt and Haupt] 2 214-225 [1911]). We possess, moreover, another inscription of Cyrus, describing the conquest of Babylonia at considerable length and expressly mentioning King Nabonid, but without any reference to a 'son of the king' (see *JAL*, new series, 127-37, *KR* 3 6 132-137, and *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 22 1-133). Hence there is nothing to prove that Bēl-Sar-nūr played any important part at the close of his father's reign, and it is even possible that he may have died some years earlier.

This it will be seen that, apart from the similarity of names, the historical prince Belshazzar bears but a very slight resemblance to the Belshazzar of Daniel. The one is the son of the usurper Nabina'id; the other is the son of Nebuchadnezzar. The one is, at the most, heir to the throne; the other is actually king, for documents are dated from the year of his accession (Dan. 7:1-8:1). Moreover, if the ordinary rendering of Dan 5:7-18:20 be correct, Belshazzar is represented as sole king, for a man who can of his own authority make any one he pleases 'third ruler in the kingdom' must clearly be supreme in the state. Since, however, the word translated 'third ruler' occurs nowhere else, and is of very doubtful meaning, it would be unsafe to press this argument.

In order to prove that Bel-Sar-usur reigned conjointly with his father, it has sometimes been asserted that king Marduk-šar-usur, who is mentioned on certain Babylonian tablets, must be identical with Bel-Sar-usur; but Assyriologists now admit that king Marduk-šar-usur reigned before Nabonid, and identify him with Nergal-šar-usur (550-555 B.C.; see *ISRL* 1.6.16), and the identification of Bel-Sar-usur with Nabonid is untenable. It has likewise been urged that, though Bel-Sar-usur was the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he may have been a grandson of Nebu-bel-shar-usur through his mother; but the theory that Nabonid married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar rests upon no evidence whatever.

It remains, therefore, altogether uncertain how the story in Daniel really originated; but, besides the similarity of the names Belshazzar and Bel-Sar-usur, there is at least one reason for thinking that King Belshazzar was not invented by the author. Herodotus, as has been mentioned, calls the last Babylonian king Labynētus, representing him as the son of an earlier Labynētus, the famous Nebuchadnezzar. Further, in a Chaldean legend related by Abdenus, the last king of Babylon seems to have figured as a son of Nebuchadnezzar (see Schr., "Die Sage vom Wahninn Nebuchadnezzar's," in the *JPT*, 1881, pp. 613-629). The date of the historian Abdenus is indeed doubtful; but he can hardly have borrowed either directly or indirectly from the Book of Daniel, so that the agreement of these three accounts in wrongly describing the last Babylonian king as a son of Nebuchadnezzar must be due to their having followed some popular tradition. See also ASHPENAZ, SHARIZER.

A. A. B.

BELT (TYP) Job 12:4 RV, AV 'strength.' See GIRDLE, 3.

BELTESHAZZAR (בֵּלְשַׁצְצָר). See DANIEL, ii.
§ 13.

BELTIS (Is. 10₄ corr. text). See GEBAL.

BEN (12, § 6f), a Levite, enumerated between Zechariah and Jazziel (1 Ch. 15:13f). **G^h** renders 'Ζαχ. ιδὸς Ιαζζιζ', but **G^{ms}**, no doubt rightly, omits. The name is wanting in the parallel list in 1 Ch. 15:20. Cp JAZZIEL.

¹ The passage which Schuler in 1872 translated 'the wife of the king had died' is supposed by Pines to mean 'the son of the king died' (see Smith's 1972: 130n, article 'Belshazzar'), while Hagen renders 'he [i.e., Gilgamesh] slew the son of the king' (he is careful, however, to indicate that the word 'son' is doubtful). It is therefore obvious that no argument can be built upon the clause in question.

BENE JAAKAN

bane of karach [Vg. 1; 𐤁𐤏𐤍𐤕𐤕𐤁]. It appears in Ass. (upon a inscription of Sennacherib) as *karitibarka* (p. A 11, 172). Jerome mentions a village *Pirra*, which was situated near Aedusa. The name (properly a clan name) may be paraphrased, 'Sons of the storm god' (Kinnun or Rimmon) (who was sometimes called Rimmon-laki, see HARRAK), and is thus of interest as a survival of the old Canaanite religion.

BENE JAAKAN 072 226. No 334 f. See
BROTHER OF THE CHILDREN OF JAAKAN.

BEN GEBER (7277) K. 13. AV^{mg}. KV. AV
GIBER, L.

BEN-HADAD (בֶּן-חֲדָד; §§43, 44; γιος Ἀδερ [HAL.] γ. Ἀδερ [A] in 2 K. 13:4; Ἀδᾶδ [A] in 2 K. 13:5; בֶּן-חֲדָד, or rather Bē-ḥadad; G is at least a witness

1. **Name.** to the letter K at the end of the name. The divine name Br was confounded by a Hebrew scribe with the Aramaic *bar*, 'son,' and translated into Hebrew as Bar (𐤁𐤓 *bar*), and Br was (unwritten text); hence arose the wrong form Ben Hadad. The name in Assyrian is *rdā* IM-ḫī, where the ideograph IM is most naturally read Rammān (the Assyrian thence got, cp P's RIMMON, but may of course be read and probably was read also) Br or Bar (cp the name Ben ḫadīn, and see B. 114, 115). The meaning is 'Br is my glory.' See W. *Alt Ugarit*, 18 ff., who controverts Schr. and Del.; but cp Schr. *A 172* 200, Del. *et Ugarit*, *Lex* 2 97, and Hupprecht, *Lex. ugaritica*, 70-71.

The name Ben hadad is used as a general name for the kings of Damascus in Jer. 49: 23; but as this passage

2. **Benhadad I** occurs in a very late oracle, made up of borrowed phrases, the use of is of no historical significance. In fact, Amos, from whom the author of Jer. 49, borrows the phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad,' means most probably by Benhadad (Am. 14) the first king of Damascus who bore that name; he speaks, in the parallel line, of 'the house of Hazeel,' Hazeel was certainly a historical person; he was the successor of Benhadad I. (others say Benhadad II). Consequently, Benhadad 'in Amos's phrase 'the palaces of Benhadad'—cannot be a merely typical name, as in the imitative passage, Jer. 49 7. There are two (some, however, say three) Benhadads in the Books of Kings, just as there are (really) two Hazeels (see HAZEEL).

1. BEN-YASAD I., son of Tadmunn, was the ally of ASA (q.v.), 1), king of Judah, against Baasha, king of Israel (1 K. 15 13 ff.). He was an energetic king, and constantly involved in warfare, not only with Ahab of Israel, whom he appears to have besieged in Samaria (2 K. 6 f.), but also with Shalmaneser II. of Assyria. In 854, at the head of a Swo-Palestinian league which included Israel, he opposed Shalmaneser, not without success. For, though Shalmaneser claims to have been victorious at Karkar (near Hamath), he certainly had to return to Assyria to prepare for a more decisive campaign. Again in 849 and in 848 Shalmaneser, though normally victorious, had to return. Convinced that he had no ordinary opponent, the Assyrian king entered on his next campaign with a much larger force than before. Ben-Yasadi, however, had taken his precautions, and again it was only an inconclusive victory that was gained by Shalmaneser. On the relations between Benhadad and Ahab, in which there was apparently a change for the advantage of Israel, see AUBB. § 4 ff. Benhadad is sometimes referred to, not by name, but as 'the king of Syria'; see 1 K. 22 2 K. 5 63 ff. Some unnecessary trouble has been produced (1) by the supposition that the period between 'Benhadad's' assistance to ASA and 'Benhadad's' death (which

¹ Pesh. seems to point to the reading פֶּלֶאֱלֵא, 'the lightning Baal.'

² Cp the obscure name *theatergen*.

BEN-HESED

occurred between 845 and 842) was too long to be assigned to a single king of Damasci, and (2) by the reading of the name of the opponent of Shahrnām as Dad'idri, which, again, is supposed to be equivalent to Hādīd cār. On the first point it is enough to remark (after W.) that Bar ḥimmon may (Kerouān et Hezroun not being identical) have been for a long time contemporary of Khāshā and Asā, so that only about forty years may have elapsed between Bar ḥadād's war with Khāshā and his death. On the second point, it may be doubted whether the reading Dad'idri is tenable; the equation IM (Kamian or Bīr) appears to have been made out (see above), and even were otherwise, it could hardly be held that 'idri is 'the Aramaic form of cār' in 82278 (Sayce, *Iran and Assyria*), for an 'g' would have made the alteration of 'idri into 'cār impossible. 'Idra (Idrara, whence 'idri ('my ...'), seems in fact to be derived from 'adri 'to be wide, grand' (778, cp. Heb. 778). On the narrative of the death of Bar ḥadād (cf. K. Sayce, *Iran and Assyria*), see also the note on p. 100.

3. **Benhadad II.** but the son of Hazael (possibly the grandson of Benhadad I.). The oppression of Israel, begun by Hazael,

3. **Benhadad II.** (probably = **Mari**). But the son of Hazael (possibly the grandson of Benhadad I.). The oppression of Israel, begun by Hazael, was continued by this Benhadad (2 K. 13: 3). But was his name really Benhadad? Kamman-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) mentions a king of Damascus named Mari, whom he besieged in his capital, and compelled to pay tribute. This event must have occurred between 806 or 805 and 803. Now Benhadad II. is represented as a contemporary of Jehoshaphat, son of Jehoi, who probably reigned (see CHRONOLOGY, § 34) from 844-793. It is difficult to suppose that another king named Mari came between Hazael and Benhadad. More probably Mari, and not Benhadad, is the right name of the son of Hazael. This king may have sought to compensate himself for the blow inflicted by Assyria, by exercising his power over Israel. (For a different view of the Benhadads see DAVIES, *op. cit.* § 7.)

BEN-HAIL בֶּן-חַיִל, 'son [mnm] of might', one of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 K. 17: 7). The name, however, is suspicious. Berthelm quotes Ben-hosed ('son of lovingkindness'), 1 K. 14: (MT), but the reading there is doubtful (see B. Alt, *Test. D.* § 3). **GEM** and **Pesh.** read בֶּן-חַיִל (בֶּן-חַיִל τῶν ἀνδρῶν; but **G.** adds τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ); cp Gray, *III-A* 65 n. 2. If the story of Jehoshaphat's commission is only 'ideal,' we may surmise that the name Ben-hail is equally unhistorical.

BEN HANAN (בֶּן־חָנָן) —i.e. 'son of a gracious one'—a patronymic; **ΥΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΑ** [B], **Υ. ΑΝΑΝ** [A], -NN. [1.], a son of SHIMON (y.v.), a Judahite (1 Ch. I 20).

BEN-HESED (בֶּן-חֶסֶד), 'son of kindness'; an impossible name, see below), the third in the list of Solomon's prefects (1 K. 4:6, AV 'son of Hessed'; $\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\epsilon\omega\theta$ [B], . . . $\epsilon\epsilon\Delta$ [A], $\mu\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota$ $\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\chi\omega$ [Bhp] [L.]).

1. **Prefect of Hebron** of the prefect whose name precedes his in the list, we shall think of one of the two southern Socohs mentioned in Joshua, either that in the mountains near Hebron, or that in the Shēphelah, SW. of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, we consider the northern Socoh, which is whose names follow his, a northern Socoh, which is possibly referred to in early Egyptian name-lists (see

¹ Del. (*Cabrer Rib. Lex.* 27) conjectures, as the original form of the name of Benhadad II., Bin-Addu-Ididi, which he interprets 'the son of Addu (= Rammân) . . .'. Piches has, in fact, found the names Bin (?) -Addu-n-dan and Bin (?) -Addu-amur, which occur on tablets of King Nabûnâid. See, however, *Wi. A. C. Inters.* 69, n. 1.

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Socoth, 2), will be more suitable. The decision must be in favour of one of the two southern places of the name, because otherwise the land of Judah will have had no prophet. Which of the two southern Socoths is the right one? Probably that in the rich, irrigated country of the Shephelah, because the prophets had to supply provisions for the court. The whole land of Ephraim also fell to this lot. There are traces of this name in the N. (Hithir, 1, 2; cf. Ephraim, Hapharaim). But if this place is the only southern one, we must expect the land of Ephraim to be some large district (this, indeed, is implied by 'the whole land'). In 1 Ch. 11, 17 we hear of a Heber (הֶבֶר) who was the father of Socoth. Plainly this Heber is closely connected with Hebron (as the *hebr.* *ḥayyūnān*), and **ה** are easily confounded from a phonetic cause: we should, therefore, probably read **הָבֶר** **הָבֶר**, 'the whole land of Heber,' or, better, 'of Hebron' (הֶבְרֹן).

2. His place of residence is in MF called Ammbath. Arab in Josh. 15:2 (see Klo.) does not help us. (55)

2. Residence
at Mareshah?

2. Residence at Mareshah? ^{applied} cut the knot by reading מֶרֶשָׁה for מֶרֶשָׁת. Analogous phenomena elsewhere suggest that מֶרֶשָׁת should be מֶרֶשָׁה, and that it has been misplaced, מֶרֶשָׁה (מֶרֶשָׁה) in 7: 8 [H.], perhaps for 'Beth-horon' (comb'd, of course, be only a mutilated form of a name). To read 'Bethlehem' would be much too bold, and Beto-gabrah (mod. *Bet fibrin*) would not suit, since the name occurs late, and (as Huhl points out, *Zhl.* 192) the description of the battle of Mareshah in 2 Ch. 11:2 is opposed to the assumption that there was a town on the site of Beto-gabrah in early times. It is quite possible, however, that the neighbouring town of Mareshah had a second name – surely Beth-gabrim, but perhaps Beth-horn, 'place of ewes' – that has been corrupted into Arul-poth. מֶרֶשָׁה may have been partly mutilated and partly corrupted in the *re-ec* into מֶרֶשָׁת, whence מֶרֶשָׁה, especially if מֶרֶשָׁת was written with the mark of abbreviation (מֶרֶשָׁת or מֶרֶשָׁת). The conjecture is geographically plausible. At the present day Bet fibrin is rightly described as 'the capital of the Shephelah';² this is set forth more fully elsewhere (see E. E. C. H. R. O. 181). Suffice it to remark here that if Bet fibrin became the 'centre of the district' after the fall of Mareshah, the earlier city cannot have been less important in the time of Solomon. If Tannach and Megiddo are mentioned in the record of the prefectures, surely Mareshah, under this or some other name, must have been mentioned too. Now, Bet-fibrin is only 20 min. N. of Merfash (Marehash).

We have spoken of Bethorim as possibly an early name of Mareshah. This designation would harmonise excellently with the natural features of the neighbourhood of Mareshah and Betogabra. The excavation of the caverns which now fill the district must have begun in ancient times. The Christian and Islamic marks and inscriptions which are sometimes found do not oppose this obvious supposition. See *BETHURIM*, p. 2.

We now turn to consider Ben-hesed's real name. Klostermann has made it probable that the first two

3. Real name
Ahijah?

3. **Real name**
Ahijah? Prefects were described a sons of Zadok, the priest, and Shisha (Shavsha), the secretary, respectively (cp 2. 2 f.). It is very possible that אֲחִיָּה should be read אֲחִיָּהָה, 'son of the secretary,' and that the prefect was in fact the Ahijah mentioned in 2. 3. This is slightly favoured by אֲחִיָּהָה, but really rests on internal probability (cp BUDAKI). The misreading אֲחִיָּהָה is touching, as a

¹ Beth-horim, 'place of caves,' would naturally come to be explained 'place of the Horites' (see *ELIYAHU ROPINSKY*, § 3); the Horites were no doubt regarded as giants (gibbôr - γίγας 98), like the Anakim. Hebron is called in Targ. Jon. Gen. 12: 'the city of the giants.'

² G.A.S.M., //6:334.

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monument of the sufferings of the later Jews under a רשע רב, 'an unkindly (cruel) people' Is. 131.

1. b. C

BEN HINNOM (בְּנֵי חִנּוֹם), Josh. 15: 18-19, 1 A's son of HINNOM (q. v.).

BEN HUR, V¹ son of HUR [הור] [חור] ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷

* * *

BENINU (B222) § 79 (3), 'our son'; **BENIAMIN** [BN], **BANOYAIM** [M], **OYIA** [L], Levite signatory to the covenant (see **LEVAI**, L § 7), **Nch.** 100 [94].

BENJAMIN (bʰɔ̃pɔ̃ often; but bʰɔ̃ ɬɔ̃ [see note]) 1 S. 90 KIL. NAMES. §§ 46, 73: BENIAM[C]IN or BAIN. [BAL.]

[illegible]

Though popularly explained as meaning the propitiator or sturdy tribe¹—the son of my right hand²—Ben-

1. Name.

1. **Name.** Tēman was probably at first a geographical name for the people of the southern portion of the highland district called Tēphaim (cp the expression תְּפַיִם in the old narrative 1 S. 9-10 a), just as a district of Gilead (Gad) seems to have been called Sāton, 'North' (see Zēnon; cp also Tēman, Tēmeni, Yēmen, and on the other hand *eph-shaw*).

It is not impossible indeed that this district was already known to the Canaanites as 'the South'; but there is nothing to suggest that it was. Indeed, it is a good deal more probable that the name means 'south of Joseph,' the Hebrews who settled in the highlands of Ephraim being known as 'the house' or 'sons' 'of Joseph,' a designation which retained this general sense till quite a late date. The question is rather whether Benjamin, at first a distinct tribe, afterwards became the southern part of Joseph (e.g., by the energy and success of Saul; as Winckler supposes), or whether it was not rather the southern part of Joseph that, under the influence of forces immediately to be described,

¹ Another interpretation was probably 'son of days' *i.e.*, of old age' (so in Test. vii. Pat. l. 10; 1; —cp Gen. 41:29 'child of his old age,' 42:28).

² In the uncertainty how the present text of Judg. 20:16 arose (cp Moore, *ad loc.*), there is perhaps hardly sufficient ground for connecting with this etymology the story of the 700 left-handed warriors. Cp, however, also Exod. 17 and the story of the Benjamite deserters to David, who could use the bow and the sling with either hand (1 Ch. 12:2).

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came gradually to be distinguished from the rest of the highlanders of Ephraim by the special name of Ben-jamites, 'men of the south,' the S. part, as being the smaller upland, the receiving the distinguishing epithet.

It is not difficult to conjecture how this would naturally come about. The platform of Benjamin Franklin

2. Land. As we have seen, historically connected with Joseph, is hardly divided physically from Judah. Indeed, although no one in country (*στρωματες de p̄ a Nip̄os aitos h̄u d̄ia t̄os t̄os d̄m̄tos* Jos. 14. 6, 22), it differs materially in its physical features from the northern part of Ephraim, being sterner and less fruitful in fact, more hilly etc. Moreover, valleys, running down to the Jordan (Shechem, Kelt) and to the sea (Merj ibn 'Om̄ir), exposed it to attack from the E. (Moab) and from the W. (Philistines), while a line of strong Canaanite fortress-cities (Gibeon, etc.) constituted an additional source of danger to its highland peasants. That these southerners had a certain traditional hereness¹ (Blessing of Jacob)² was, accordingly, only a natural result of their position and history. We cannot be surprised, then, that they won the right to a special name and place.

It is thus hardly necessary to assume, with Stade (*ZITB* 17 (4) [81]), some specific attempt or series of attempts to overcome by force the Canaanites of the cities (Jericho, Ai), perhaps under the leadership of the clan of Joshua, in order to account for the origin of a separate tribe: the general situation might be sufficient.

Mixture of race may, however, have helped to differentiate the tribe, although at least the Canaanite elements took a very long time to become thoroughly amalgamated, as we see from the story of Gibeon (Josh. 9; St. *Gen* 161), and still more from the hints about BEROUTH (*Gen*. i.),⁴ which appears to have retained its distinctively Canaanite population at least till the time of Saml: indeed, even the radical policy of the latter seems to have been only partly successful (see ISRAHAEL, I.). If the name CHER-BAK-HANIMON (*Gen*. i.) indicates the presence of immigrants from across the Jordan we must look for the explanation to much later times (Josh. 18:24 P.). The position of Benjamin on the marches of Joseph, however, doubtless provided opportunities for mixture also with other tribes.

Benjamin is, *i.e.*, explicitly brought by E (Gen. 35.13) into connection with a tribe called IN SARA (7.7.), while the first least etymologically, with the disappearance of RAHUB (7.7.). If SARA is really temporarily settled in this neighbourhood before making his way south (cf. ISRAEL, § 7), it is at least worthy of note that in a Simeonite list we find a clan name, JAMIN (2.1 Ch.). It is impossible to find suggestions of some connection with his name (Lundmark on the borders of Benjamin is perhaps not beyond question). As is also BILHAI (7.7.), the hand-maid of Rachel. In Bilhau, on the other hand, to which the Chourider in his first genealogy assigns a prominent place (1 Ch. 7.10), we cannot safely see the remains of a Bilhah clan (cf. BENJAH, for the name may have been taken from the Hittite genealogy, as Jewish was taken from the Edomite (below, § 6.1a)). Historical probability is certainly in favour of the idea that, after DAN failed to establish himself, Benjamin eventually spread westwards—although some of the apparent actual traces of this are not to be trusted (see HUSCH, Gen. 46.23 [Danite]; see, however, DAN, § 8) compared with 1 Ch. 7.11 [Benjamite]; ALJAHU (1 Ch. Josh. 14.42 [Danite] compared with Judg. 1.35 [house of Joseph] 1 Ch. 8.13 [Benjamite]; see BERVIL, 31). The confused connection with Manasseh, however, that seems to

¹ The historical figures belonging to the tribe, too, have a certain passionate vehemence (Saul, etc.).

^a A late editor may be following

he adds CUMRAN in his list (with which cp Exr. 2.20.25
Neh. 7.25.29. 1 Esch. 5.17.19).

⁴ 'Son (子) of Reuben' may be a corruption of 'stone (石) of Reuben,' which may be not an alternative name of the stone, but an alternative reading for 石 (石).

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result from the present text of 1 Ch. 7:14 compared with 2. It is perhaps the merely a corruption of the text, (Shuppam) a Higham may have had no place in the original system of Benjamin. (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 156th, 157th, 158th, 159th, 160th, 161st, 162nd, 163rd, 164th, 165th, 166th, 167th, 168th, 169th, 170th, 171st, 172nd, 173rd, 174th, 175th, 176th, 177th, 178th, 179th, 180th, 181st, 182nd, 183rd, 184th, 185th, 186th, 187th, 188th, 189th, 190th, 191st, 192nd, 193rd, 194th, 195th, 196th, 197th, 198th, 199th, 200th, 201st, 202nd, 203rd, 204th, 205th, 206th, 207th, 208th, 209th, 210th, 211st, 212nd, 213th, 214th, 215th, 216th, 217th, 218th, 219th, 220th, 221st, 222nd, 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, 230th, 231st, 232nd, 233rd, 234th, 235th, 236th, 237th, 238th, 239th, 240th, 241st, 242nd, 243rd, 244th, 245th, 246th, 247th, 248th, 249th, 250th, 251st, 252nd, 253rd, 254th, 255th, 256th, 257th, 258th, 259th, 260th, 261st, 262nd, 263rd, 264th, 265th, 266th, 267th, 268th, 269th, 270th, 271st, 272nd, 273rd, 274th, 275th, 276th, 277th, 278th, 279th, 280th, 281st, 282nd, 283rd, 284th, 285th, 286th, 287th, 288th, 289th, 290th, 291st, 292nd, 293rd, 294th, 295th, 296th, 297th, 298th, 299th, 300th, 301st, 302nd, 303rd, 304th, 305th, 306th, 307th, 308th, 309th, 310th, 311st, 312nd, 313th, 314th, 315th, 316th, 317th, 318th, 319th, 320th, 321st, 322nd, 323rd, 324th, 325th, 326th, 327th, 328th, 329th, 330th, 331st, 332nd, 333rd, 334th, 335th, 336th, 337th, 338th, 339th, 340th, 341st, 342nd, 343rd, 344th, 345th, 346th, 347th, 348th, 349th, 350th, 351st, 352nd, 353rd, 354th, 355th, 356th, 357th, 358th, 359th, 360th, 361st, 362nd, 363rd, 364th, 365th, 366th, 367th, 368th, 369th, 370th, 371st, 372nd, 373rd, 374th, 375th, 376th, 377th, 378th, 379th, 380th, 381st, 382nd, 383rd, 384th, 385th, 386th, 387th, 388th, 389th, 390th, 391st, 392nd, 393rd, 394th, 395th, 396th, 397th, 398th, 399th, 400th, 401st, 402nd, 403rd, 404th, 405th, 406th, 407th, 408th, 409th, 410th, 411st, 412nd, 413th, 414th, 415th, 416th, 417th, 418th, 419th, 420th, 421st, 422nd, 423rd, 424th, 425th, 426th, 427th, 428th, 429th, 430th, 431st, 432nd, 433rd, 434th, 435th, 436th, 437th, 438th, 439th, 440th, 441st, 442nd, 443rd, 444th, 445th, 446th, 447th, 448th, 449th, 450th, 451st, 452nd, 453rd, 454th, 455th, 456th, 457th, 458th, 459th, 460th, 461st, 462nd, 463rd, 464th, 465th, 466th, 467th, 468th, 469th, 470th, 471st, 472nd, 473rd, 474th, 475th, 476th, 477th, 478th, 479th, 480th, 481st, 482nd, 483rd, 484th, 485th, 486th, 487th, 488th, 489th, 490th, 491st, 492nd, 493rd, 494th, 495th, 496th, 497th, 498th, 499th, 500th, 501st, 502nd, 503rd, 504th, 505th, 506th, 507th, 508th, 509th, 510th, 511st, 512nd, 513th, 514th, 515th, 516th, 517th, 518th, 519th, 520th, 521st, 522nd, 523rd, 524th, 525th, 526th, 527th, 528th, 529th, 530th, 531st, 532nd, 533rd, 534th, 535th, 536th, 537th, 538th, 539th, 540th, 541st, 542nd, 543rd, 544th, 545th, 546th, 547th, 548th, 549th, 550th, 551st, 552nd, 553rd, 554th, 555th, 556th, 557th, 558th, 559th, 560th, 561st, 562nd, 563rd, 564th, 565th, 566th, 567th, 568th, 569th, 570th, 571st, 572nd, 573rd, 574th, 575th, 576th, 577th, 578th, 579th, 580th, 581st, 582nd, 583rd, 584th, 585th, 586th, 587th, 588th, 589th, 590th, 591st, 592nd, 593rd, 594th, 595th, 596th, 597th, 598th, 599th, 600th, 601st, 602nd, 603rd, 604th, 605th, 606th, 607th, 608th, 609th, 610th, 611st, 612nd, 613th, 614th, 615th, 616th, 617th, 618th, 619th, 620th, 621st, 622nd, 623rd, 624th, 625th, 626th, 627th, 628th, 629th, 630th, 631st, 632nd, 633rd, 634th, 635th, 636th, 637th, 638th, 639th, 640th, 641st, 642nd, 643rd, 644th, 645th, 646th, 647th, 648th, 649th, 650th, 651st, 652nd, 653rd, 654th, 655th, 656th, 657th, 658th, 659th, 660th, 661st, 662nd, 663rd, 664th, 665th, 666th, 667th, 668th, 669th, 670th, 671st, 672nd, 673rd, 674th, 675th, 676th, 677th, 678th, 679th, 680th, 681st, 682nd, 683rd, 684th, 685th, 686th, 687th, 688th, 689th, 690th, 691st, 692nd

The memory of the derivative or at least secondary character of Benjamin still lived in the earlier days.

4. **Age.** the monarchy, as we see from 2 S. 19.25-26 (cp also 20.1) with 20.21 and apparently from Judg. 1.22,¹ and seems to be reflected in the patriarchal story (FF) which tells how, last of all, Benjamin was born in Canaan.² That the differentiation of Benjamin was relatively ancient, however, we should be prepared to believe from the fact of the other branches of Joseph being called not 'brothers' but 'sons'.³ The reference in the Song of Deborah is too obscure (not to speak of its perplexing connection in some way with Hos. 5.3) to be of much use as positive evidence; while the story of Ehud, if it is perhaps hardly necessary, with Winkler (*ibid.* 1.138), to regard the single explicit reference to Benjamin as an interpolation (see below, § 5), may perhaps reflect the conditions of an age when no very clear line was drawn between Benjamin and the rest of Joseph (Judg. 3.27) – the men of the south and the men of the more northern highlands. At all events, by the time of David Benjamin was, owing to the energy of Saul, a distinct political element to be reckoned with, although we must not forget that, e.g., in the story of the first appearance of Jeroboam, the 'house of Joseph' is an administrative unit (1 K. 11.22).⁴

The peculiar condition of the legends relating to this tribe provokes an attempt to explain it. This must take account of two inconsistent tendencies—a tendency in favour of the tribe (Judg. 3 15 1 S. 11 21 1 K. 3 4 9 2), and a tendency against it (Judg. 19 12). When we bear in mind the central position of the tribe, and the abundance and importance of sanctuaries within and near its bounds (see below, § 9), it cannot surprise us that there were many traditions of incidents in which the tribe played a part. It is, however, remarkable that some of these have no special reference to sanctuaries.

We can hardly suppose this due to contending political interests (those of Ephraim and Judah) leading to a sort of diplomatic flattery of the boundary tribe with a view to securing its adhesion—just as there evidently was rivalry of a less open peaceable kind (e.g., 1 K. 15. 17-22). A. Herstein, who worked out this view in great detail in his able, if unequal, essay (*Ursprung der Sagen vom Ephraim, Isachar, Simeon, 1871* especially 61), does not take account of the stories unfavourable to Benjamin outside of Genesis; and it seems clear that Benjamin was naturally a part of the northern kingdom (1 K. 12. 21 belongs to a much later date than 7. 20). The later history of the tribe, especially after the fall of Samaria (see below § 7), would go a long way towards accounting not only for the preservation but also for the mixed character of much Benjaminite tradition. If we wish any further explanation, it seems reasonable to seek it in a natural interest, friendly or otherwise, in the great tribal hero, the mysterious Saul and his house.

The interest in the tribe is undeniable. Israel will run any risk rather than that of losing Benjamin (Gen. 42:37); the narrative delights in detailing the various signs of special affection on the part of "Joseph," and even Judah offers himself as surety for him (Gen. 43:9). For, according to E. Reuben the first-born offers his two sons (Gen. 42:37). On the other hand, all the tribes led by Joseph reprove and chastise Benjamin, but relent and find a substitute in Jachin Gilead.

¹ St., however, supposes that the account of Benjamin has been lost (*Gesch.* I 138).

² P₁, however, ignores this (Gen. 31:2).

time Benjamin was a powerful tribe, and that the rise of the story of its late origin (as also Judg. 19:21) is to be accounted for similarly.

⁴ It has been argued by St. from 1 K. 4:18 [et] that it did not include Benjamin (2:17¹ 4:15 n.), but could we argue from 4:8 that it did not include Ephraim?

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(Judg. 19-21), a story that is strangely parallel to Joseph's accusing Benjamin (Genesis 44). The others interceding, and Judah offering to become substitute (Gen. 44:18). What historical information may underlie this tribal story we have not the means of determining. It is far older than its most-worthiness in representing a story which appears in it, practically wiping out the tribe that was not so very long after it, to give its first order to a united 'Israel' (see also below, § 7, end, on post-exilic interest in Benjamin).

Benjamin was in a sense at the centre of the religious life of the land. What the religious history of

6. Religious position.

ANATHOTH (cp. 1) may have been we can only guess; but there were sacred missiles and trees that bore the names of DIBBATH (Gen. 35:8; Judg. 4:1) and RABATH (Gen. 35:16; Jer. 31:15), and Ramoth, Gaba, Gabaah, Mizpah, Gibeon, Gilgal,² not only were Canaanite sanctuaries but also continued to be of importance as such in Israel; indeed, Gaba, which or perhaps it was the neighbouring Gibeon (one writer calls 'Gibeon of God' (1 S. 10:5), was perhaps selected by the Philistines as the site of their idol because of its sanctity (1 S. 13:1) and especially 10:5; cp. SAM. II, § 2 n.) as well as because of its strategic position.³

More important still, perhaps, Bethel itself, the famous royal sanctuary (Am. 7:13), where, according to the story, Israel encamped after crossing the Jordan (see BETHEL), is said by P to have belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18:21). No doubt the Chronicler afterwards (1 Ch. 7:28) assigns it to Ephraim; but (though it may well have been a border town with connections on both sides) that is perhaps only because he could not conceive of Benjamin, a tribe that he regarded as belonging to the southern kingdom, extending so far north. At all events, there was reason enough for the words used of Benjamin in Dt. 33:12 (cp. Dt. 28:14, and see below, § 8).

¹ The beloved of Yahweh, he dwelleth secure;
He (i.e., Yahweh) encompasseth him all day;
And between his shoulders shall he dwell.

It seems, therefore, not unfitting that this tribe, martial though it was, should for all time, whatever view we take of the character of Saul, be associated with two of the greatest names in the history of Hebrew thought and religion, representatives of two of the greatest of religious movements: Jeremiah, who was a native of a Benjamite town, and Paul, who at least believed that he was sprung from the same tribe (Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5; cp. Test. xii. Patr., Benj. ch. 11).

Saul's career ended in gloom; yet his work was not entirely undone. It was, therefore, a matter of course

7. Later history.

that the men of Benjamin (especially the Bichrites, see below, § 9 ii, β), even more than the rest of the house of Joseph, should dislike being subordinated to the newly-risen house of Judah (SHIMON, 1), and should embrace any good opportunity to assert their claim (SHERA, ii, 1), and that, along with the rest of the house of Joseph, they should throw in their lot with HERODAS (1). We have, accordingly, no reason to question the accuracy of the statement in 1 K. 12:20: 'there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only' (cp. Ps. 80:1 [3] and Hos. 5:8 with We's note, and see ISRAEL, § 28; Jericho is regarded as north-Israelite in 1 K. 15:27-16:15 ff.). However, as Jeroboam was not a Benjamite, and the capitals of the northern kingdom were always in the northern parts of Joseph (cp. ZAKETHAN II), Benjamin does not appear to have

¹ On the stone of Bethan or Reuben, see above (§ 4).

² Bethanjar also was probably a sacred place. On the special importance of Gilgal in early times, see CHITURSON, § 2.

³ We have even tried to show that Gibeon was believed by some to have been the seat of Israel's famous shrine, the 'ark'; but he takes no account of the discussion of KOSTERS (*ThP* 27:11-1781 and; cp. Aek, § 5).

⁴ Note the Arabic metaphor, WRS, *Ara*, 46 (600).

⁵ We cannot argue from 2 Sam. 21:9, for 'Judah' here means, not, as the Chronicler (1 Ch. 21:6) oddly supposed, a tribe, but the southern kingdom (the Chronicler thinks it necessary to try to explain away the attempts of *Shimon* to understand him why Benjamin and Levi were not numbered).

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really gained by this step. In fact, it seems to have eventually gravitated more and more southwards. Indeed, lying on the border between the two kingdoms, it was important strategically rather than politically; and, although we cannot very well follow the detail of the process, some of its steps seem to have been at one time or another, and more or less permanently, incorporated in the southern kingdom. The story that the northern kingdom received in 722 was favourable to this process, and in another sense the sack of Jerusalem in 586. Thus in Jer. 31:1 the land of Benjamin is included in an enumeration of the various districts of the territory of Judah: viz. the Shephelah, Negbe, etc. (just as in 2 K. 23:13 from Gaba to Beersheba). Like other Gaba to Ramoth in Zech. 14:1 stands for the whole land of Judah, and in Jer. 41: Jeremia's captives are living in Jerusalem, and so in the century following the rebuilding of the temple, Benjamin is regularly mentioned alongside of Judah, the combination of names appearing often to mean the families that were not taken to Babylon (cp. KOSTERS, *Herodotus*, p. 100), and the Jews came to believe that Rehoboam's kingdom had from the first consisted formally of these two tribes (cp. Ps. 68:1 [2] Chon. *psalm* and a late writer in 1 K. 12:20). Hence we need not be surprised at the fitness with which Benjamin, as compared with the other Joseph tribes, is treated in the book of Joshua (Dt. 27:12), or at the frequent and copious Benjamin lists in the Chronicler (see § 8 f.). Only we must remember that these tribal distinctions were in later times theoretical. Simon (2 Mac. 3:4), Menelaus, and Tysimachus were Benjamites; for the explanation of Menelaus' mythic genealogy (Shimon, Kish, Benjamin, see ISRAEL, § 2 f.).

(a) Although the priestly writer's conception of the frontier of Benjamin is not even self-consistent, the Arabian, a point in Judah N.

8. Late Writers' statistics: geographical. boundary (Josh. 15:6), being assigned first to Ben to Judah and then (1 S. 3:20) if the text is correct; see BATH. ARABAH, 1) to Benjamin, it can be identified roughly.

From the Jordan near Jerich, he makes it pass up to Beheaven and Bethel (Bethan), where it turns S. to Anathoth (possibly *Thana*) and thence W. to Bethel on the border (Bethel), returning by Kirjathsemm and Neptah (Z. 14:4), circling round the south of Jerusalem through the vale of Hinnom and the plateau of Kaphum, and by the spring of Rogel, and finally returning by Enshelem (1 S. 3:20) and the valley of Achor to the Jordan at Bethel (Josh. 15:6) or Kaphum (Josh. 15:6).

What led P to fix on this line, the southern stretch of which he repeats with greater fitness in the delineation of Judah (Josh. 15:6), we cannot say; nor can we say why he makes the boundary run south of Jerusalem. The 'Blessing of Moses' has indeed been taken to imply (Dt. 33:12; see above, § 6) that in the latter part of the eighth century Jerusalem was held to be inside the boundary of Benjamin; but 'by him' in the first line is probably due to a clerical error, and line 3 is quite indistinct; nothing points specially to Jerusalem. Stade (*GHV* 1:122) proposes Gibeon; perhaps Winckler would suggest Gibeon; Gori, however (*ThP*, 1880, pp. 297-300), pleads vigorously for Bethel, and nothing could be more appropriate in a poem so markedly north-Israelitish. It is plain enough, on the other hand, that Jerusalem is assigned to Benjamin by P (though he avoids giving the name of the town, speak-

¹ See the account in GASIN, *HG*, ch. 12.

² On the other tribes mentioned in this verse see ZEPHANIA, NACHAL.

³ According to the Talmud the Holy of Holies and some other parts of the temple stood on Benjamite soil (*Sanhedrin*, 54); but the site of the altar, though within Benjamin, was a piece of land that ran into Benjamite territory from Judah (*Yoma*, 12).

⁴ Unless Jerusalem may be thought to be implied in the mention of Benjamin before Joseph (Dt. 33:9). But on the order of the tribes cp. Dt.

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ing simply of 'the Jehusite'), and, if we do not know precisely why he does so, we can at least see that he has a purpose of some kind, for in *Jung* I am it is quite clear that the editor has for the same reason twice substituted 'Benjamin' for the original 'Judah', which we find in the otherwise identical *Josh* I. 1. 1. We must conclude that, whatever conceptions prevailed in later times, in the days when tribal names were really in harmony with geographical facts of one kind or another, Jerusalem was located to Judah.

(6) Many late lists of Benjamin towns have been preserved. The only one is the rhetorical enumeration of twelve places on the path of the Assyrian invader (Is 10: 1-6).

Of the six names in it which are not mentioned in any of the other lists, two are those of towns the sites of which are known with certainty: MICHIMASU (*Miyama*) and KOKIM (*Kokim*).

2. P's list (Josh 18:23) comprises, in eastern and a western group, viz., a group of twelve (to which he adds in 21:18 two others) and a group of fourteen towns.

Of these twenty-eight the following sixteen may be regarded as identified, some with certainty, others with a high degree of probability: BAHARI, BAHIR, BAHIR HODAN, ZEMZEMAN, BAHIRI, PAKHAN, GADIA, GIMGOS, RAMAN, BERECH, MIZIR, TIRI, PIRKAN, GOR, THE SETHI, LURBATH, KORDATH, ANATHOTH, ALMOG (see ARAMOTH).

3. Noh. II p. 13 contains a list of some sixteen towns alleged to be settled by Benjamites. The list, which may be incompletely preserved, is more and more assigned, by scholars of various schools, to the time of the Chronicler (see Tourey, *Comp. and Hist. Value of Ezra-Neh.* 42; Mey. *Leutsch*, 107, 189); at all events, it cannot be early.

On the eleven new names (unless the *Via* of *p*, *q* be the *Assim* of *Jish*, 182.) not in the *Jish* lists, four may be regarded as *phonetic* beyond dispute: *HAYIN*, *SEHMAI*, *LOP* (see *LIVRO*, 11, 10).

§ 4. In the list Nov. 7, Ez. 2, 1 listed 5 (see Ezr. v. ii. § 2, vi. 2, 7, 14 and 176-22 respectively, seem to indicate the places, apparently places where members of Ezra's congregation were resident, mostly within old Babylonian territory rather than old Judean territory.

For the purpose of N. 1, we have still five other new names, of which, however, some seem to be spurious, and only N. 10, 11, 12, and 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839,

Other places perhaps in Benjamite territory are BAYL-
HAZOR (2 S. 13:24) and NUTAL (see Moore, *loc. cit.*, 443).
Eisd. also adds a CHADVAS and AMMIDOR (CHAD-
ASAL).

9. **Genealogical.** Lists of Benjamite clan or personal names (sometimes, of course, including plur. names) are many. They have mostly, however, suffered much at one stage or another in transmission.

(i.) It's two (Gen. 46 = Nu. 26) etc., as usual, different versions of the same list.

They probably contain two triplets (x) BuA BuA BuA - Ashb₁, and (y) BuA Naom₁ Mhr₁ and a third triplet, not quite so certain, (z) Shp₁ Hap₁ Ard₁.

(ii.) The Chromides two (t Ch. 7 and t Ch. 8) are more difficult to understand, but are constructed more or less on the same scheme.

(b) In (1) Ch. 7, v. 2, sons of the first triplet of which, however, Ashbel, 'Man of Beel', is the most 'familiar' of E132. Certain post-heraldic heralds appear to be double-symmetrical, to suppose that the symmetry was once even made it plausible a name that occurs elsewhere in the Chironides genealogy. In the post-heraldic heralds, 'father' should perhaps be read 'the father of' (cf. 'father' in Ch. 1, v. 1). In that way the two places Anathoth and 'Amenoth' would be assigned to the last mention of son of Beier, as in 7.12 Shuppim and Huppim are ascribed

¹ Verse 120 in a sense represents the third triplet, and 126 has names connected in chap. 8 with the second.

commemoration). We can hardly argue from the Ashbel or Ashbel of the Peshitta that the change of Ashbel to Jehiel is due to an accident; for in the Peshitta 1 Ch. 76 simply substitutes the corrupt Genei list (462) of nine names (with its 'Eli and Kashi Mappan' for 'Ahiran Sauppin') for the Chronicler's list of three sons.

³ On the supposed Abijah, wife of Hezron, see CALVIN, II.

BEN-ONI

to Ir – Ir is the last mention of son of Helel. Marquardt, I, to w
be read ירמיהו. If some form of this theory be adopted, it
be only mentioned to look for a name for him assigned to
last mentioned son of Helel (the remaining branch of Benjamin
and find it in Haggai the son of Zaphaniah. This was
more plausible if we may adopt the rest of Marquardt's
theory, that אהרן is a misreading of אהרן, אהרן, אהרן
that אהרן, אהרן, אהרן are a corruption of the same name (שמואל
Helel and אהרן are a doublet, but in the same way
not original. Perhaps I find also, that in the same way
Helel, the intervening words being a parenthesis? It is
thus required to give symmetry to the etymology, it is
nevertheless be in a sense an appendix.

in 1Ch 1:38 is in part the appearance of being constructed by a very schematic form through efforts to detect a genealogical scheme have not been markedly successful, and this seems to warrant the conviction that the present obscurity is due to textual corruption. For remedying that some help can be had from the versions; but it is not sufficient. Certain suggestions (see an article by the present writer in *JChO* 11 (1964) 25) suggest to reduce the disorder that now prevails that there seems to be reason to believe that the genealogy was originally in all respects regular in structure, and that considerable difficulties to explain have the last mainly implied but legitimate claims, the fact of Saul and Sheba (viz., Becher), and that of Shinar (viz., Tera) are subordinated in this extra-ordinary genealogical list (as appear to be omitted altogether in 2Ch 23:29, however, Becher). It is probable that the subordination is due to corruption of the text. When emended in the way already referred to, 1Ch. 1:7-9 is reduced to P's three triplets (viz., the additional statement that Tera was the father of [Heber, Shinar] and Shinar), a rather, as statement acutely suggests (Smith (2) 2; p 100 [*Heb. & Aram.*]). What follows is also a reconstruction proposed in *JChO*, 11, in parts not a minor but a guess, but it seems extremely probable that the sons in 2Ch. 27, beyond P's three triplets, were originally (1) to Tera through Abshar (once corrupted, multiplied, and see above, [Jah] and Hushim), (2) being an intrusion of a later part of the list. Then 2Ch. 28:2 gave the pedigree of the Bihrites (for 28:27-28), and his firstborn (for 28:27-28), and the sons of the Bihrite (1; 28:28) perhaps a marginal gloss due to some backward reader of 2Ch. 28 (in their new position after the intrusion of 2Ch. 28:27 in chap. 9). Maryart then suggests that these nine verses are the result of the memory of the sons of Heber. For fuller details, see [Jah] 2. It is difficult to avoid the conviction that some reconstruction is necessary.

iii) In Neh 11:7 f. and 1 Ch. 9:7-9 we have two versions of a list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem, the original of which it is more probable that the

The names are grouped in the form of genealogies of a few persons; for which, among other reasons, Meyer proclaims the list an invention of the Chronicler (*Uebers.*, 123). Koster, however, suggests that the genealogical form is not original (*ib. etc.*), and that the authority was a list of Jerusalem Beniamites living in Jerusalem before the arrival of Ezra.

(iv) On the list of Benjaminite warriors in 1 Ch 12:37, see DAVID, § 11 (4) m. On relations of Benjamin to other tribes, see further, BENJAMIN, § 1 (1) m.

2. A Benjamite, b. Bulhan, 1 Ch. 7. 1. d (see No. 1, § 9, ii. a)

4. A Levine, in the list of wall-builders, Neh. 3:23 (see NIMH, MATH, § 12, FZKY, ii, §§ 16 (1), 15 (2), perhaps the same as N. c. 6). In the procession at the dedication of the wall (FZKY, i, § 11 c), Neh. 12:34 (*מִנְחֵם* [L]); on which see Koster's *Hilf* Herstel, 59.

BENJAMIN, GATE OF (1722-74), Jer. 20: 37-13
387 Zech. 14: 10. See JERUSALEM.

BENO (122) is taken as a proper name in *Ch.* 21:26 f. by EV, in *z.* 26 by *G* (ΥΙΟΥ ΒΟΝΝΙ) *M.* BONNEIA ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ [1]. *B* om.; in *z.* 27 *G* has ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ, *G* ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥ.) and by *Jer.* and *Targ.* That the lat.

of the sons of Levi is in a most unsatisfactory state is evident from a comparison with Ex. 6:17 ff. which 6:17[2] $\not\subseteq$ 20 f. [14] and 23:21 $\not\subseteq$. The MT is most obscure, and, according to Kittel, vv. 20-31 are one of the latest additions; one rendering is to take v. 20 f. as follows: "Of Jaaziah, his (Menari's) son, (even) the sons of Menari through Jaaziah his son, etc."

BEN-ONI (בֶּן־נִי : γιος αδελφου μου [ADEL.]

¹ In a private communication to the present writer.

3 See now also Marquart's important article on the same subject (*J.O.A.* 40).

BEN-ZOHEH

rightly interpreting the mind of the writer, the first name of BEN-JAMES (§ 3), given to her new-born child by the dying Rachel (Gen 35:18). Ben-on must, however, have been an early tribal name. We find the clan-names OSAM and OSAN (both in Judah; the former also in Dan), also a Benjamite city (see), nor can the existence of an ancient city called BEN-AVEN (Beth-on?) be denied. To assume, however, with Prof. Sayce (*Patriarch. Hist.* 1911), first that Beth-el was also called Beth-on, and next that the names Beth-on and Ben-on imply that the name of the god was dropped at Luz was On, and next that this divine name was derived from On, Heliopolis in Egypt, is purely arbitrary. Cp BEN-AVEN, AVEN (3). L. K. C.

BEN-ZOHEH (בֶּן־זֹהֵה), etym. doubtful, probably cognate with Ben-Zohel and Ben-Zohel are mentioned in 1 Ch. 4:20 (בֶּן־זֹהֵה [B]); cf. זֹהֵה [B], cf. זֹהֵה [B], among the sons of Issa of Judah.

BEON (בֶּעֹן), Num. 32:1. See BAEAL-MEON.

BEOR (בֵּי־וֹר), possibly miswritten for Achior, see BAEAL-HANAN [1]. Beor [B]; WH in 2 Pt. 2:13; 1. Father of the Edomite king BOZRA [B]; cf. Gen. 36:2 (בֵּי־וֹר [B]); 1 Ch. 1:3 (בֵּי־וֹר [B]); 2 Pt. 2:13 (בֵּי־וֹר [B]).

2. Father of BAEAL (Nu 22:5, 6; cf. בֵּי־וֹר [B], except in Dt 23:1 [B]; Josh. 1:13 [B]; in Josh. 24:9 [B] omits), called Beorak in 2 Pt. 2:13 (בֵּי־וֹר [B], following AV); Vg. Beorak; cp the Vulgate reading בֵּי־וֹר [B]; RV Beorak (בֵּי־וֹר [B]). In Nu 22:5 B. reads בֵּי־וֹר (בֵּי־וֹר [B]) for Heb. בֵּי־וֹר.

BERA (בֵּרָא), scarcely, 'with evil,' cp BERSA, these, like other names in Gen. 11, may be mutated and corrupted forms; BAAHA [B]; BAPA [1]; BAAHA [B]; Int. 1:1, king of Sodom, who joined the league against Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14:8). See CHORLAOMER § 2, end.

BERACHAH, RV Beracah (בֵּרְכָה).

Βερχεια [B]; ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑ [B]; a Benjamite, David's warriors (1 Ch. 12:11). See DAVID § 11, 12.

BERACHAH (RV Beracah), VALLEY OF (בֵּרְכָה, כוֹלְכֵה עֵלְיוֹתָיִם [B]), the scene of the great thanksgiving of Jehoshaphat and his people (2 Ch. 20:26). In 2 Ch. 20:26 (בֵּרְכָה, כוֹלְכֵה עֵלְיוֹתָיִם [B]), cf. כוֹלְכֵה עֵלְיוֹתָיִם [B]. The geographical knowledge of the narrator was evidently good, but that, of course, does not make his narrative any more historical (see JAHU-UMPHAL). At no great distance from Jericho there is a broad open wady, on the west side of which are extensive ruins named *Bereket*. Just opposite the ruins the wady itself is called the *Wady Bereket* (Roh. *ERK.* 275). From the form Bereket we gather that the true ancient pronunciation was probably Berachah, 'reservoirs.' T. K. C.

BERACHIAH (בֵּרְכִיָּה), 1 Ch. 6:24 [39], RV BERECHIAH, 5.

BERAIAH (בֵּרְיָה), § 31, 'Yahweh creates'; ΒΑΡΙΑ [1]; ΒΕΡΙΔΑ [1] B. [B]. A Benjamite, assigned to the tribe SIMEON (8); 1 Ch. 8:1. The name is probably post-exilic, 'creation' being one of the great exilic and post-exilic religious doctrines.

2. See BETH-IAH.

BEREA, 1. An unknown locality in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Bacchides encamped before the battle in which the Jews were defeated and Judas the Maccabee was slain (Apr. 161 B.C.). The camp of Judas was at Elasa, Eleasa, or Alasa, also unknown, but probably *Ala*, *Ala* between the two Beth-horons on the main road from Sharon to Jerusalem (1 Macc. 9:4 f.). The best reading seems to be *Berea* [B]; but there is MS authority also for *Berea* [B] and

That is בֵּרְיָה; cp 1 Ch. 7:30.

BERED

Bered (Beret) has *Beredim*, Josephus, *Ant.* vii. 10:1 has Βηρεθίμ, or, in some MSS, Βηρεθίμ. I would think of the modern Beret (Z. 1:1) in NW. from Judea to the north of the Jordan.

2. RV Beret, Βηρεθ [B], the name of the death of MISTIA, the modern Aleppo (2 Macc. 14:1).

3. Βηρεθ [B], WH in some MSS, Βηρεθ [B], or Βηρεθ [B] in Lower Macedonia, at the foot of Mt. Bermus, 5 m. above the left bank of the Hecemon (Hecemon). It has a splendid view over the plains of the Hecemon and the Axios, pine-trees and abundant olive and in the most desirable town of the district. Yet it did not lie on the main road; which perhaps accounts for its being chosen as a place of refuge for Paul and Silas in their midnight escape from Thessalonica (Acts 17:1).

A common parallel is found in Cyprian's speech against Pisco, 1. able to face the church of Thessalonica, Pisco to the east of the city of Beret (Cyprian's *Epist.* 1:1).

In the apostolic age Beret contained a colony of Jews, and a synagogue (Acts 17:1). They were of a 'noble' spirit (ἐξ ἑστρατίας) than those of Thessalonica — possibly because they did not belong to the purely mercantile class. Not only were many of the Jews themselves converted, but also not a few of the Greeks, both men and women (καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν ἑσθρατίων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑσθρατίων, Acts 17:1). The imagery seems to indicate that the apostle was here dealing with an audience at a higher social level than elsewhere. Paul's stay here seems to have been of some duration (several months, Rams. *Paul.* 241), partly in order to allow him to watch over the converts of Thessalonica, only 50 m. distant, he may have been still at Beret when he made those two vain attempts to visit them to which 1 Thess. 2:12 alludes, and Timothy may have been sent to them from Beret, and not from Athens, on the occasion mentioned in 1 Thess. 3:1. The apostle was at length obliged to quit the town, as the Jews of Thessalonica had of his work, and resorted to their usual tactics of meeting to meet (παρονομήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, Acts 17:1). Silas and Timothy were left in Macedonia, but Paul was escorted by certain of the converts to the sea and as far as Athens (Acts 17:14 f.). This hurried departure (ἐκταχθέντες, 14) may have been by the road to Dium.

The omission of the harbour is given in Acts 17:14 f. The omission, however, affords no proof that the journey to Athens was performed by land — a view which has no colour from the AV 'to go as it were to the sea' (RV 'as far as to the sea').

Possibly one of his escort was that Sopater, son of Pyrrhus, a Berean, who is mentioned in Acts 20:4 as accompanying Paul from Corinth to Macedonia. The Sopater of Rom. 16:1 is probably another person. We read in Acts 20:4 that the escort from Corinth preceded Paul to Troas; this may have been partly due to his making a detour in order to revisit Beret. W. W.

BERECHIAH (בֵּרְכִיָּה), in Nos. 4 f. בֵּרְכִיָּה § 28, 'Yahweh blesses'; BERECHIAH, ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑ [B]; ΒΕΡΙΑ [1].

1. Son of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. 3:20 (ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑ [1], cf. [B]). 2. One of the Levites that dwelt in the villages of the Neophylites, 1 Ch. 9:16 (ΒΕΡΙΑ [1], cf. [B], not included in Nos. 11). Probably the same as the doorkeeper for the Ark, 1 Ch. 15:18.

3. Father of Meshullam in list of wall-builders (see NEMIVYU, § 1 f., Ezra, ii. 38 [1], 15 f.), Neh. 3:4 (ΒΕΡΙΑ, cf. [B]).

4. Father of the prophet Zechariah, Zech. 1:7 (ΒΕΡΙΑ [1], cf. [B]).

5. Father of the prophet Zechariah, Zech. 1:7 (ΒΕΡΙΑ [1], cf. [B]).

6. Meshullam (cf. one of the chief men of the line Ephraim, temp. Ahaz, 2 Ch. 28:2 (ΒΕΡΙΑ [1], ΒΑΡΑΧΙΑ [B])).

BERED (בֵּרֶד; ΒΕΡΑΔ [B]; ΒΑΡ [1], ΒΕΡΑΔ [B]; [Vg.]). A place in S. Palestine, or perhaps rather

BERED

8. Arabia, between which and Kadesh lay BUKR-
TAMAR [77] (Gen. 16:4). Three identifications
deserve mention. (1) The Tarimus, *regnum*

(1) The Targums represent it by the same word as that given for Shur in 7: 7. Onk, by 8275 Haggai, and Jer. Targ. by 8285 Halmus. The former word, however (cp Ar. *ḥam*, 'a wall, enclosure'), seems to be meant for a translation of the name Shur, not for an identification of the place. The second name is clearly the First of Heb., which is now probably *ḲḲ*, *ḲḲāḏāḏ*, in the Wady 'Ashū, about 12 m. from Beersheh, on the way to Rahubeh or Rehoboth (see Palmer, *FEH* 19, 1871, p. 35; Guerin, *Indes*, 2, 280-281).

(15) (a) identify a certain 'well of judgment' with the well of Jordan in the Terrestrial country (in which Be'er Sheva also is placed). This 'well of judgment' seems like a confirmation of the existence of Lamshepat, *i.e.*, Kadesh (Gen. 31:38). Is this Jordan the same spot which Jerome (1810) calls Bar-el, where, he says, a well of Agur was shown in his day? (b) If, with Rowlands, we find Be'er el-Ahmar-Rot (*i.e.*, Lat 'Ash Mirwedeh, Be'er) may be some place in the Wady esh Sheraf, on the E. side of the Jebel Dattā'a (see Palmer's map).

1. k ()

BERED (772), an Ephramite clm. (Ch. 7.0) (BAPAM [A], PAAM [H], om. [B]), apparently called in Nu 26.1, BICHIK, a well-known Benamite clm name. When we consider the close relation between the two tribes, the occurrence of Becher in Ephraim seems not unnatural (cp BIKHIT, 2 f.). See, however, BICHIK.

BERI (72, prob. = 782, § 7n, 'belonging to the well' [or to a place called Beri]); the name occurs twice in Phoenician, e.g. $\text{Beri}(\text{t})[\text{B}], \text{Bari}[\text{A}], \text{Beri}(\text{t})[\text{L}]$, an Ashtart family name (Cf. 73b).

BERIAH בִּרְיָה, perhaps 'prominent,' § 7; cp the play on the name in Eccl 7:3 with the play on the name BERA [7:] in *Lang. ps.-Jon.*: Βαρεῖα [BALE].

1. An. Asherite (an individualised); Gen. 46:17, Nu. 26:44 Z (B'ayit) [B], in 2, 28 Bepet [B], in 2, 29 it (unidentified); 13, 16, 17, 20 (B'ayit) [B], 21, 24, 25 [B]; gemillic, Beritte, Nu. 26:44 (B'ayit) [B], 26, 27, 28 Bepet [B], 29, 30 [B], 31 [B], 32 [B], 33 [B], 34 [B], 35 [B], 36 [B], 37 [B], 38 [B], 39 [B], 40 [B], 41 [B], 42 [B], 43 [B], 44 [B], 45 [B], 46 [B], 47 [B], 48 [B], 49 [B], 50 [B], 51 [B], 52 [B], 53 [B], 54 [B], 55 [B], 56 [B], 57 [B], 58 [B], 59 [B], 60 [B], 61 [B], 62 [B], 63 [B], 64 [B], 65 [B], 66 [B], 67 [B], 68 [B], 69 [B], 70 [B], 71 [B], 72 [B], 73 [B], 74 [B], 75 [B], 76 [B], 77 [B], 78 [B], 79 [B], 80 [B], 81 [B], 82 [B], 83 [B], 84 [B], 85 [B], 86 [B], 87 [B], 88 [B], 89 [B], 90 [B], 91 [B], 92 [B], 93 [B], 94 [B], 95 [B], 96 [B], 97 [B], 98 [B], 99 [B], 100 [B], 101 [B], 102 [B], 103 [B], 104 [B], 105 [B], 106 [B], 107 [B], 108 [B], 109 [B], 110 [B], 111 [B], 112 [B], 113 [B], 114 [B], 115 [B], 116 [B], 117 [B], 118 [B], 119 [B], 120 [B], 121 [B], 122 [B], 123 [B], 124 [B], 125 [B], 126 [B], 127 [B], 128 [B], 129 [B], 130 [B], 131 [B], 132 [B], 133 [B], 134 [B], 135 [B], 136 [B], 137 [B], 138 [B], 139 [B], 140 [B], 141 [B], 142 [B], 143 [B], 144 [B], 145 [B], 146 [B], 147 [B], 148 [B], 149 [B], 150 [B], 151 [B], 152 [B], 153 [B], 154 [B], 155 [B], 156 [B], 157 [B], 158 [B], 159 [B], 160 [B], 161 [B], 162 [B], 163 [B], 164 [B], 165 [B], 166 [B], 167 [B], 168 [B], 169 [B], 170 [B], 171 [B], 172 [B], 173 [B], 174 [B], 175 [B], 176 [B], 177 [B], 178 [B], 179 [B], 180 [B], 181 [B], 182 [B], 183 [B], 184 [B], 185 [B], 186 [B], 187 [B], 188 [B], 189 [B], 190 [B], 191 [B], 192 [B], 193 [B], 194 [B], 195 [B], 196 [B], 197 [B], 198 [B], 199 [B], 200 [B], 201 [B], 202 [B], 203 [B], 204 [B], 205 [B], 206 [B], 207 [B], 208 [B], 209 [B], 210 [B], 211 [B], 212 [B], 213 [B], 214 [B], 215 [B], 216 [B], 217 [B], 218 [B], 219 [B], 220 [B], 221 [B], 222 [B], 223 [B], 224 [B], 225 [B], 226 [B], 227 [B], 228 [B], 229 [B], 230 [B], 231 [B], 232 [B], 233 [B], 234 [B], 235 [B], 236 [B], 237 [B], 238 [B], 239 [B], 240 [B], 241 [B], 242 [B], 243 [B], 244 [B], 245 [B], 246 [B], 247 [B], 248 [B], 249 [B], 250 [B], 251 [B], 252 [B], 253 [B], 254 [B], 255 [B], 256 [B], 257 [B], 258 [B], 259 [B], 260 [B], 261 [B], 262 [B], 263 [B], 264 [B], 265 [B], 266 [B], 267 [B], 268 [B], 269 [B], 270 [B], 271 [B], 272 [B], 273 [B], 274 [B], 275 [B], 276 [B], 277 [B], 278 [B], 279 [B], 280 [B], 281 [B], 282 [B], 283 [B], 284 [B], 285 [B], 286 [B], 287 [B], 288 [B], 289 [B], 290 [B], 291 [B], 292 [B], 293 [B], 294 [B], 295 [B], 296 [B], 297 [B], 298 [B], 299 [B], 300 [B], 301 [B], 302 [B], 303 [B], 304 [B], 305 [B], 306 [B], 307 [B], 308 [B], 309 [B], 310 [B], 311 [B], 312 [B], 313 [B], 314 [B], 315 [B], 316 [B], 317 [B], 318 [B], 319 [B], 320 [B], 321 [B], 322 [B], 323 [B], 324 [B], 325 [B], 326 [B], 327 [B], 328 [B], 329 [B], 330 [B], 331 [B], 332 [B], 333 [B], 334 [B], 335 [B], 336 [B], 337 [B], 338 [B], 339 [B], 340 [B], 341 [B], 342 [B], 343 [B], 344 [B], 345 [B], 346 [B], 347 [B], 348 [B], 349 [B], 350 [B], 351 [B], 352 [B], 353 [B], 354 [B], 355 [B], 356 [B], 357 [B], 358 [B], 359 [B], 360 [B], 361 [B], 362 [B], 363 [B], 364 [B], 365 [B], 366 [B], 367 [B], 368 [B], 369 [B], 370 [B], 371 [B], 372 [B], 373 [B], 374 [B], 375 [B], 376 [B], 377 [B], 378 [B], 379 [B], 380 [B], 381 [B], 382 [B], 383 [B], 384 [B], 385 [B], 386 [B], 387 [B], 388 [B], 389 [B], 390 [B], 391 [B], 392 [B], 393 [B], 394 [B], 395 [B], 396 [B], 397 [B], 398 [B], 399 [B], 400 [B], 401 [B], 402 [B], 403 [B], 404 [B], 405 [B], 406 [B], 407 [B], 408 [B], 409 [B], 410 [B], 411 [B], 412 [B], 413 [B], 414 [B], 415 [B], 416 [B], 417 [B], 418 [B], 419 [B], 420 [B], 421 [B], 422 [B], 423 [B], 424 [B], 425 [B], 426 [B], 427 [B], 428 [B], 429 [B], 430 [B], 431 [B], 432 [B], 433 [B], 434 [B], 435 [B], 436 [B], 437 [B], 438 [B], 439 [B], 440 [B], 441 [B], 442 [B], 443 [B], 444 [B], 445 [B], 446 [B], 447 [B], 448 [B], 449 [B], 450 [B], 451 [B], 452 [B], 453 [B], 454 [B], 455 [B], 456 [B], 457 [B], 458 [B], 459 [B], 460 [B], 461 [B], 462 [B], 463 [B], 464 [B], 465 [B], 466 [B], 467 [B], 468 [B], 469 [B], 470 [B], 471 [B], 472 [B], 473 [B], 474 [B], 475 [B], 476 [B], 477 [B], 478 [B], 479 [B], 480 [B], 481 [B], 482 [B], 483 [B], 484 [B], 485 [B], 486 [B], 487 [B], 488 [B], 489 [B], 490 [B], 491 [B], 492 [B], 493 [B], 494 [B], 495 [B], 496 [B], 497 [B], 498 [B], 499 [B], 500 [B], 501 [B], 502 [B], 503 [B], 504 [B], 505 [B], 506 [B], 507 [B], 508 [B], 509 [B], 510 [B], 511 [B], 512 [B], 513 [B], 514 [B], 515 [B], 516 [B], 517 [B], 518 [B], 519 [B], 520 [B], 521 [B], 522 [B], 523 [B], 524 [B], 525 [B], 526 [B], 527 [B], 528 [B], 529 [B], 530 [B], 531 [B], 532 [B], 533 [B], 534 [B], 535 [B], 536 [B], 537 [B], 538 [B], 539 [B], 540 [B], 541 [B], 542 [B], 543 [B], 544 [B], 545 [B], 546 [B], 547 [B], 548 [B], 549 [B], 550 [B], 551 [B], 552 [B], 553 [B], 554 [B], 555 [B], 556 [B], 557 [B], 558 [B], 559 [B], 560 [B], 561 [B], 562 [B], 563 [B], 564 [B], 565 [B], 566 [B], 567 [B], 568 [B], 569 [B], 570 [B], 571 [B], 572 [B], 573 [B], 574 [B], 575 [B], 576 [B], 577 [B], 578 [B], 579 [B], 580 [B], 581 [B], 582 [B], 583 [B], 584 [B], 585 [B], 586 [B], 587 [B], 588 [B], 589 [B], 590 [B], 591 [B], 592 [B], 593 [B], 594 [B], 595 [B], 596 [B], 597 [B], 598 [B], 599 [B], 600 [B], 601 [B], 602 [B], 603 [B

2. An Ephraimite clan-name, in a story of a cattle-lifting and in 1 Ch 7:21-22 (beginning at 'and Ezer and Elead'), *וְהָיָה בְּנֵי בִנְיָמִן* [Bn] (*bn* [1-]); cp 8:1. According to the Chronicler, Benah was a son of Ephraim, born after his brother had been slain, and he was called Benah because 'it went evil with his [father's] house' (note the assonance בִּנְיָהּ בִּנְיָהּ). This notice of the conflict with the men of Gath is enigmatical; were there family reminiscences of the border states of the early Israelites which were recorded in documents distinct from their canonical books and accessible to the Chronicler?

We preserve a sceptical attitude (*Proleg.* 214); Portheau and Kittel, however, think that there is here a genuine tradition, and that, on the destruction of the clans Ezer and Elad, the Ephraimites of the border districts agreed for help to the Benjamin clans, Shema and Bithai (4 Ch. 8:14). According to S. A. Tims, the basis of this story is an early tradition dealing with a raid made by Ephraimites into Palestine from the land of Goshen-2 in the wilderness which Hummel and he himself give to this tribe (see Goshen 5).

It would be unsafe to use these unsupported statements of the *Chronicle* as historical material. See below.

3. A claim of Benjamin (§ 9 (v.) (3)), 1 Ch. 814 ($\beta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ [B], $\beta\alpha\rho$ [A], $\beta\alpha\rho\alpha$ [I.]), 16 ($\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon$ $\epsilon\gamma\alpha$ B A)], probably to be identified with No. 2. It appears to be

¹ Note that in *Barypa* (1 Ch. 7 p[er] B), and 8 c[on] B), *Barypa* c[on] Ch. 7 c[on] B), and *Baryphya* (S. I. A; 16 [BA]), γ soft ȝ (*c.*, Ar. *γay*), which is usually represented by a breathing. For γ rough ȝ (*c.*, Ar. ḡ) see CAZY, ZOKR, ZIMMER, etc.

² Pl. h. reverses the statement of the M¹; cp Barnes, *Pach. Latellion*, vi.

BEROTHAI

stated that the Benjaminite clan Periah was adopted into Ephraim in recognition of the service it had rendered to the imperilled territory. So Bertheau; cp Bennett, *Chron.* 80. Cp also EPHRAIM.

4. A Gershonite (Levite) family, 1 Ch. 23:10 f. (Nepia 11:1);
 om. A in 7:10.
 S. A. C.

REBUTES THE CHARGE

BERITES, THE (הכריתים), appear through a corruption of the text, in 2S. 20:1 (A1), where Klostermann, Kautel, Budde, and (with some hesitation) Driver, read הכריתים, 'the Berchites' (see BUDDE). The consonants כרית are, in fact, presupposed by the strange rendering of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ (καὶ παρὶς) ἐν χαλκῷ, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\alpha\delta\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\delta\iota$. The description of the progress of SUIRA (שׂוּרָא, ii.) now first becomes intelligible.

BERITH (בְּרִית), Judg. 9:45 AV, RV **El-berith**. See **RAM-BERITH**.

BERNICE (ΒΕΡΝΙΚΗ [Ti. WH] for ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ, the Macedonian form of ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ), eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and sister of the younger Agrippa (Acts 25.13-26.6). She was married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis; and after his death she lived, not without suspicion of incest, with her brother Agrippa. She next became the wife of Polemon, king of Cilicia. This connection being soon dissolved, she returned to her brother, and afterwards became the mistress of Vespasian and Titus (Jos. *Ant.* xix.54; xx.7-8; Tac. *Hist.* ii.84; Suet. *Ios.* 74; cp Sch. *GLT*), and see **HERODIAN FAMILY**, n.

BERODACH BALADAN (בראך בלאדאן), K.
2012 EV; EV^{max} MIRODACH-BALADAN.

BEROEIA (Βεροιαι, 2 Marc. 13, AV HEB. A, 2.
BEROTH (Βηρθω? [A]), 1 Esd. 5, 19 = Ezra 2, 5.
 BEROTH.

BEROTHAN (ברותח), a place mentioned by Ezekiel

BEROTHAN (בִּרְתָּן), a place mentioned by Ezekiel (17:6; אֲבוּרָא [Bṛ], יִסְרָאֵל [Y. Yisra'el], [Cṣ] in defining the ideal northern frontier of the Holy Land. It is apparently the same as Berothra (q.v.), and may be regarded as a lengthened form of Beroth. Beroth, 'wells'. As yet it has not been certainly identified. Ewald (*l. c.* 3, 180) connected it with the well-known Bervus (the *Bervta* and *Bervus* of the Amarna letters, the *Bervtus* of the List of Thmes III, [so W. M. Müller], and the mod. *Bervat*); but it seems clear that a maritime city would not suit Ezekiel's description. Fonkims would, therefore, place Beroth in the neighbourhood of the black brown inscriptions in the *Harz Priyat*, NW. of Biallee, down which wady a stream is marked in the *Carte de Luban* as flowing to the Orontes (*PEEP* Ap. 1885, p. 1081; but his philological argument seems unsound. Fauré (*PEEP* 8, 34), Socin (*Palst.*^h, 300), and v. Kiess (*Zib.* 121) have thought of *Berothia*, a village not far to the S. of Biallee; but this is only a plausible conjecture, and must be judged in connection with Fauré's general theory of the frontier (see Har, Mount 1, RUAH; ZIBADÉ. Cf. ARAM, § 6.

BEROTHAI (בִּרְתִּי, Kto. would read בִּרְתִּי), a town belonging to Hazabazer, king of Zedai, 2 S. 8:3 (אֲשֶׁר לְהַזְבָּאזַי מֶלֶךְ זִדְאִי אֲשֶׁר לְבִרְתִּי), perhaps reading בִּרְתִּי from בִּרְתִּי, to separate, shat' [so Kto.], possibly another form of the

form of BEROTHAI (see, however, Klo. and the article THAI). In 1 Ch. 18:4 (where CS has the same transcription), which is parallel to 2S.8.8, for Berothai we find the name CHUS, which must be a corruption, either of the first three letters of Berothai (*i.e.*, בֵּרוֹתַי in one of the earlier alphabetic stages, or of some other name which the Chronicler found in his copy of the old narrative.⁴ For a suggested emendation see M. ROM, *op. cit.*

¹ The reading $\gamma\eta\eta$ is probably supported by Θ in *1oth* places, and by the $\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ (= $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ of Θ BMJ) of *Jac. Int.* vii. 14. The latter's text, however, must have represented a conflated reading, for he reads Μαχωνι(σ) , which points to $\gamma\eta\eta$ 'from Cim.'

BEROTHITE

BEROTHITE (75 27), 1 Ch. 11 99. See BEROTHE.

BERYL. The Beryl as a mineral species¹ includes, besides the common beryl, the aquamarine or precious beryl, and the emerald.

1. Description.

The similarity between the beryl and the emerald was pointed out by Fluky (1972-9); the only points of distinction are the green colour of the emerald and the somewhat superior hardness of the beryl (7.5 to 8 in the mineralogical scale; specific gravity from 2.67 to 2.732).

If we leave out of account the emerald, the colours of the beryl range from blue through soft sea-green to a pale honey-yellow, and in some cases the stones are entirely colourless. The aquamarine is so named on account of its bluish-green colour, "*aqua marina* or *pari maris imitator*" (Pliny, l.c.). The beryl crystals are six-sided prisms with the crystals often deeply striated in a longitudinal direction. The great abundance of aquamarine and other forms of beryl in modern times has very much depreciated its value; but it is still set in bracelets, necklaces, etc., and used for seals.

That the beryl was known to the ancients there can be no doubt. Some of the finest examples of ancient

2. Greek

2. Greek names, etc. Greek and Roman gem engraving are found executed in beryl (see King's description of a huge aquamarine intaglio over two inches square, *Proc. Soc. Amer. Gems. and Prec. Metals*, p. 132): the Romans cut it into six-sided prisms (*agathos*) and mounted them as ear-rings. It is de-

enriched and decorated monas earrings. It is also clear from the evidence of Phryx (i.e., *beryls*) that, in later times, at least, beryl was called by the same name as now, though apart from **G** (see below) the name does not appear in any Greek writer till considerably after Phryx's time.² It appears, however, to have been called also *αυράργος*; Theophrastus seems to know three kinds of smaragdos, which may well be our true emerald, our aquamarine, and our common beryl (*ibid.* 24). In Herodotus, too, smaragdos is the material not only of the gem engraved for the ring of Polykrate's (344), but also of the pillar in the temple of Herakles at Lyce (244), which cannot have been of true emerald, as the noble kinds of beryl are never found of large size.

The Hebrews must be presumed to have known the beryl. We may perhaps identify it with the *shikim*

3. Hebrew
name.

3. Hebrew name. (272); for P tells us that the ornaments on the high priest's shoulder (Ex. 28:43-45; 39:27) were of *chekem*, and G renders this *σφαγαιδός*. We cannot always trust G's rendering of stone names (see Priester's *Steine*); but in this case the identification seems suitable. We are told that on each *sh'ham* stone were inscribed the names of six of the tribes of Israel, for which purpose a natural hexagonal cylinder of beryl would be admirably fitted it, as has been suggested, the six names were inscribed longitudinally on the six faces. The *sh'ham* stones mounted in circles of gold were probably therefore beryls pierced or simply mounted at the end with bosses (*umbilici*) of gold, like the beryl cylinders described by Pliny.

The importance given to the beryl among the Babylonians and the Phoenicians (see above) makes it all the more probable that the Hebrews would specially value it. From Gen 2:12 (later statim of J 2) it would appear that the *chayim* was known in Judah before the exile, and believed to abound, with good gold and bellum, in HAVILAU. The Chronicler brings *chayim*-stones into connection with the construction of the pre exile temple (1 Ch 29:2; but the reading may be incorrect, see ETOBY, c), while the writer of Job 28:6 classes it with gold of Ophir and other precious substances.

The etymology of the word *deform* (which occurs in

¹ On the stone called Beryl in I V see § 4.

² The chrysoderylus, chrysosquais, and chrysolithus of ancient jewellery appear, to some extent at least, to have been names applied to different shades of beryl.

BETAH

Chronicles as a proper name; see *SHOYAN* is at present uncertain.

4. Etymology and versions. Ges. R. d. (*Idem*, s.v.) traces it to a root meaning 'paleness,' as in 'the pale stone,' while Haupt, connecting it with the Assyrian

4. Etymology

and versions, while Haupt, connecting it with the Assyrion *samm*, renders 'poem.' Deimrich, however, argues that *samm* means a 'dark-colored object' (*Colo. Heb. Lex.* v. 10 p. 10, to z. 11 c.), and Halévy connects Ass-*am* with Syr. *šam* rather than Heb. *šam* (*Rev. Crit.* 1. 34, p. 17 c.).

Shikham is rendered in the various versions as follows:

Sp. M. bipunctator (as in *Larg. [p. 192]*, *Sach. et al.*) in Ex. 28, 30
 30, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308, 310, 312, 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 342, 344, 346, 348, 350, 352, 354, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366, 368, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378, 380, 382, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 402, 404, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 418, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000, 1002, 1004, 1006, 1008, 1010, 1012, 1014, 1016, 1018, 1020, 1022, 1024, 1026, 1028, 1030, 1032, 1034, 1036, 1038, 1040, 1042, 1044, 1046, 1048, 1050, 1052, 1054, 1056, 1058, 1060, 1062, 1064, 1066, 1068, 1070, 1072, 1074, 1076, 1078, 1080, 1082, 1084, 1086, 1088, 1090, 1092, 1094, 1096, 1098, 1100, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1110, 1112, 1114, 1116, 1118, 1120, 1122, 1124, 1126, 1128, 1130, 1132, 1134, 1136, 1138, 1140, 1142, 1144, 1146, 1148, 1150, 1152, 1154, 1156, 1158, 1160, 1162, 1164, 1166, 1168, 1170, 1172, 1174, 1176, 1178, 1180, 1182, 1184, 1186, 1188, 1190, 1192, 1194, 1196, 1198, 1200, 1202, 1204, 1206, 1208, 1210, 1212, 1214, 1216, 1218, 1220, 1222, 1224, 1226, 1228, 1230, 1232, 1234, 1236, 1238, 1240, 1242, 1244, 1246, 1248, 1250, 1252, 1254, 1256, 1258, 1260, 1262, 1264, 1266, 1268, 1270, 1272, 1274, 1276, 1278, 1280, 1282, 1284, 1286, 1288, 1290, 1292, 1294, 1296, 1298, 1300, 1302, 1304, 1306, 1308, 1310, 1312, 1314, 1316, 1318, 1320, 1322, 1324, 1326, 1328, 1330, 1332, 1334, 1336, 1338, 1340, 1342, 1344, 1346, 1348, 1350, 1352, 1354, 1356, 1358, 1360, 1362, 1364, 1366, 1368, 1370, 1372, 1374, 1376, 1378, 1380, 1382, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1390, 1392, 1394, 1396, 1398, 1400, 1402, 1404, 1406, 1408, 1410, 1412, 1414, 1416, 1418, 1420, 1422, 1424, 1426, 1428, 1430, 1432, 1434, 1436, 1438, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1446, 1448, 1450, 1452, 1454, 1456, 1458, 1460, 1462, 1464, 1466, 1468, 1470, 1472, 1474, 1476, 1478, 1480, 1482, 1484, 1486, 1488, 1490, 1492, 1494, 1496, 1498, 1500, 1502, 1504, 1506, 1508, 1510, 1512, 1514, 1516, 1518, 1520, 1522, 1524, 1526, 1528, 1530, 1532, 1534, 1536, 1538, 1540, 1542, 1544, 1546, 1548, 155

RVL₂ adds as an alternative the rendering *Bi RVL*,¹ thus supporting the identification argued for above.

FA follows, through in the usual Vg. rendering, giving every-
where 'every' (see OSYX), reserving 'every' for the Hebrew
Leviticus 24 (see FASUSH, STONE). In the NT, however,
'every' is usually the FA rendering of *ἕκαστος* (Kc, 21.2.4).

BERZELUS (20ρ20λλεοc [A]), 1 Lsd. 5, 3. AV—
Ezra 20, BAR. II 1 A, 2.

BESAI (𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴, \$ 52, BACD [1]). The true Besai, a family of NEMUN in the great post exilic list (see EZRA, n. \$ 6), 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 24, 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 [BA] Neh 7, 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 [BA] Ezra 2, 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 1, 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 BASAI, RV BASAI (𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 [BA], 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 [1]).

BESODEIAH (בְּסֹדֵי'ה) 'in the secret of Yah.' § 22; the form, however, is very improbable [see **EL**, **MTT**]; read, rather, בְּסֹדֵי'ה, Hesediah, an Isaicite, father of Mesallim in the list of wall builders (see **NEH** **MIH**, § 17, **LEV**, II, §§ 10-11, 15 *et seq.*, **NH**, 116) **בְּסֹדֵי'ה** [1], **אֲבָדָה** [N], **בָּאֶמְסִיָּה** [V¹], **בְּאִיָּה** [1].

BESOM (N2N22, Is. 1144; Pesh.  Vg.

ἀνδρῶν πάλιν βαρσοῖσιν [Ψ507], π. βαρσοῖσιν [V], a word occurring nowhere else in H. Brown, in this sense, in any Semitic dialect.²⁰ According to L. in B. *Recht ha haaret*, 20 b., the word, though unknown to the Rabbis (who called the article *ḥayot*), was still in use among the women (cf. *Jer. thepila*, ii, 20). There is not, therefore, any reason to doubt that Ag. and Pch. are right in understanding something to sweep away with the metaphor in Is. 30. 8 [seevex], on which see A. R. C. (1911, § 10). The person of death is not unknown to mythology (cf. *Die Himm. Am. Rhyn. Die Teufelsche Todkugel*,²¹ pp. 147; but the figure hardly needs any mythological warrant (cf. *ibid.*, *ad. loc.*).

BESOR (בֶּסֶר, Bəṣar [BM], Jos. *Ant.* vi. 110, Baccarāh, a wady (Σνι), mentioned in the account of David's pursuit of the Amalekites, 1 S. 30:1 f. זַרְזַר, זַרְזַר [Z], בֶּסֶר [B], בֶּסֶר [A]. It was probably the wady that David 'crossed' when he chastised the Amalekites (1 S. 15:2), and סִיחִין [S], Kibjā, and in the two definitions of the Amalekite territory in 1 S. 15:7 f. and 2 S. 1:1 smote the Amalekites, from Hadyah (חַדָּה), and זַרְזַר (ז) for there were the inhabitants of the land, which were from old time,' etc.), we should not only read 'from the torrent Besor even to the torrent [End] of Mušir.' See HEBM p. 10. According to *Encyc. Judæa*, 2:111, it is the modern Wady Uda'ā which runs from the Wady es Sehl' and empties itself into the sea SW. of Gaza.

BETAH (722), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, 2 S 8 (MT) = 1 Ch. 18 (MT), Tib. uirt. Pesh., how-

² In Arab. the root means 'incline (the head)', in Lth. 'set in order.'

BETANE

ever, reads *Tebah*, and this is also favoured in 2 S. 1. c. by Θ ($\mu\alpha\sigma\beta\alpha\kappa$ [B], $\beta\alpha\chi$ [A], $\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\beta\alpha\kappa$ [L]), where $\mu\alpha$ arises from a corrupt repetition of the preceding letter in this translator's Heb. text). Cp *Isr. Hist.* 315, and see *TETRA*.

BETANE (ΒΑΙΤΑΝΗ [B], ΒΑΤ. [N], ΒΑΙΤ. [A]), one of the places to which, according to Judith 19, Nebuchadnezzar sent his summons. The BETH-ANATH (q.v.) of Josh. 15:59 appears to be meant.

BETEN (בֵּתֵן — i.e., 'vale' or 'hollow'; — ΒΑΤΝΗ [A], ΒΑΙΘΟΚ [B], ΒΕΤΕΛ [L]), an unidentified site in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:25) called ΒΕΘΒΕΤΕΝ by Eusebius (*OS* 236 41), who places it 8 R. m. to the E. of Acco.

BETH (בֵּית, st. constr. of בֵּית, see BDB); the most general term for a dwelling; used of a tent in Gen. 27:15 33:17, but generally of houses of clay or stone; also of temples (cp ΒΑΪΤΗ, *Beth-Bamoth* [MI, L. 27]). Combinations of Beth with other words are frequent in Hebrew place-names (see NAMES, § c). In Assyrian, compounds with Bit are used as names of countries: e.g., Bit-Humri = the kingdom of Israel; Bit-Yakin (i.e., Babilonia, the country of Merodach-Baladan).

Among other interesting compounds with Beth are BEESITERRAH (C), Beth-ecked, Beth-haggan, Beth-lehem, Beth-meon (see BAAL-MEON), Beth-peor.

BETHABARA (ΒΗΘΑΒΑΡΑ [C² KT^b UAH]), Jn. 1:28 AV, is the place where John baptized, according to the reading which became widely current through the advocacy of Origen, who could find no Bethany across the Jordan, but found a Bethabara with a tradition connecting it with the Baptist. Origen, however, admitted that the majority of MSS were against him. See BETHANY, 2. Origen was followed by Chrysostom; Epiphanius, like Ann. (Lagarde), has Βηθαβα. In the present text of Origen the form varies between Βηθαβα, Βαθαβα, Βηθαβα, and Βηθαβα (the latter also in A. b. v. r. h. e. l. (mg.), arh.; see WH 2 74); in *OS* 210 12 108 6 we find Βηθαβα, *Bethabara*.

The traditional site of the baptism of Jesus is at the Makhadet Hajla (see BETHABARA, 2, where, too, it is suggested that we should read Bethabarah in Josh. 18:22). The two monasteries of St. John attest the antiquity of the belief in this site.

Couder suggests the Makhadet 'Abāra, NE. of Beisān, partly because of the nearness of this ford to Galilee and Nazareth, and partly because the river-bed is here more open, and the banks of the upper valley more retired (*PEF* 1875, p. 73).

Another suggestion of the same explorer (*ib.*, 1877, p. 185) is philologically weak.

As stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), the true reading in Jn. 1:28 was probably Βηθαβαβα — i.e., BETH-NIMRAH, now *Tell-Nimrin*, NE. of Jericho.

BETH-ANATH (בֵּית אֲנָת — i.e., 'temple of Anath'; in Josh. ΒΑΙΘΑΜΕ [B], ΒΑΙΝΑΘΑΘ [A], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΘ [L]; in Judg. ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΧ [B], ΘΕΝΕΘ [BAI], ΒΕΘΕΝΕΚ [A]), an ancient Canaanite fortress, with a sanctuary of ANATH (cp BETH-ANATH), Josh. 19:38. It is mentioned unmistakably by Thothmes III., Seti I., Rameses II., and Rameses III. in the lists of places conquered by these kings (see *RP* 2 552 6 13; Sayce, *Pal. Pal.* 160, 236, 239; WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 193, 195, 220). According to Judg. 1:31, it adjoined Naphtalite territory, but (like Beth-shemesh) remained Canaanitish down to the regal period, subject only to the obligation of furnishing labour for public works. *Eus.* and *Jer.* (*OS* 236 45 105 20) inappropriately refer to a village called Batanara, 15 R. m. E. from Caesarea, possessing medicinal springs. But the site now most in favour — *Amtha*, in a valley 6 m. WNW from Kedesch — is hardly strong enough to have been that of such a fortress as Beth-anath (Buhl, *P.* 232; but cp Couder, *PEF* *Mem.* 1 200).

BETH-ANOTH (בֵּית אֲנוֹת; ΒΑΙΘΑΝΑΜ [B], ΘΑΝΩΝ [A], ΒΗΘΑΡΩΘ [L]). A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15:59), towards the eastern border of that region, identified by W. M. Müller with the

BETH-ARABAH

Bi-t'nat of the list of places conquered by Shishak (*J. u. Eur.* 162). If the form Beth-anath be correct, it may be explained as = Beth-anath, 'house of ANATH' (q.v.; cp $\beta\alpha\chi$ (Josh. 21:11) and $\beta\alpha\chi$ and $\beta\alpha\chi$). To suppose a popular etymology 'place of answering' (i.e., an echo?), with Kamptfmeyer (*ZDPV* 163; cp *J.* 10 30, *SB* 17), is needless.

But is the form correct? Couder and Kitchener (*PEF* *Mem.* 3 11 351) identify Beth-anath with *Beit 'Ain* 5 m. N. of Hebron, near the sites of H. m. t. and BETH ZUR (cp BETHANE). This appears reasonable, and suggests a doubt whether the ancient name may not have been בֵּית עֵינָן, Beth-enun. It is true that Θ favours $\beta\alpha\chi$ and $\beta\alpha\chi$ (in the first syllable being unexpressed); but the case of Anem (see EN-GANNIM, 2) shows that the absence of β both in MT and in the text implied by Θ is not decisive. A spring is mentioned to the west of the ruins of Beit 'Ainūn.

T. K. C.

BETHANY (ΒΗΘΑΝΙΑ [Ti. WII]). 1. A small village first referred to in the Gospels, 15 furlongs to the E. of Jerusalem on the road to Jericho (Jn. 11:18 Lk. 19:29, cp *z.* 1), and commonly identified with the Beth-Hini of the Talmud. It is no doubt the mod. *el-'Azariyeh* (from Lazarus or Lazarium — the *l* wrongly taken as the article). *El-'Azariyeh* lies on a spur SE. of the Mt. of Olives (cp Mk. 11:1 Lk. 19:29). Its fig, olive, and almond trees give one at first a pleasant impression; but a nearer inspection of the few houses is disappointing.

There are various romantically interesting spots connected by old tradition with Lazarus (cp the *Im. Hieros.* ed. Wessel, 596, the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and *OS* 108 3 239 10). The Castle of Lazarus (based on *castellum*, the Vg. translation of the Gr. *καστελ*) is a ruined tower, presumably anterior to the time of the Crusaders, and hard by is the tomb of Lazarus; the house of Simon the Leper also is shown.

2. The Bethany where John baptized (Jn. 1:28, Ti. WII after Ν¹ΒΑΥ, edd., RV) is distinguished from the Bethany mentioned above by the designation 'across Jordan' ($\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\omicron\pi\omicron$); its exact situation is unknown. The reading of TR and of AV is ΒΗΘΑΒΑΡΑ (q.v.). Another suggestion is that Bethabara ('house of the ford') and Bethany (= בֵּית אֲנָת, 'house of the ship') are one and the same place (see GASM. *IG* 542, n. 12). The analogy of some corrupt OT forms (cp KISTION) suggests, however, that the true reading in the traditional source of Jn. 1:28 would be one combining in the second part of the name the letters N, B, and R — such a name as Βηθαβαβα. We actually find Βαυθαβαβα in *OS* Josh. 13:27 for the Bethnimrah of the Hebrew text. Now, the site of BETH-NIMRAH [q.v.] is well known. It is accessible alike from Jerusalem and from the region of Jericho (cp Mt. 3:5), and the perennial stream of Nahr Nimrin, which flows into the Jordan, would supply abundance of water. This theory belongs to Sir George Grove; it has been adopted by Sir C. W. Wilson (Smith's *DB*, 2 572, 'Bethnimrah'), and has strong claims to favourable consideration. Of course, the insertion of the words $\pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \iota\omicron\pi\omicron$ would be a consequence of the faulty reading Βηθαβα. T. K. C.

BETH-ARABAH (בֵּית אֲרָבָה or בֵּית עֲרָבָה; once, Josh. 18:18, by a scribe's error [see Θ] simply עֲרָבָה). Josh. 18:18, ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΒΑ [BAI]; 18:61 ΘΑΡΑΒΑΑΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΒΑ [AL], 18:22 ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΒΑ [B], -ΑΡΑΒΑ [M]. 1. One of the six cities in the 'wilderness' of Judah (Josh. 15:61), mentioned also as on the boundary lines of Judah and Benjamin (15:6 [Βαυθαβαβα BA; Βηθαβαβα

1 We may therefore dismiss the interpretation 'place of the wretched one' (cp the play upon Anathoth, Is. 10:34 MT). Beth-Hini is generally explained 'place of unripe fruit' (cp $\beta\alpha\chi$, 'unripe fruit,' esp. of figs). The Talmud, however, says that figs ripened better at Beth-Hini than anywhere else (*Neft. Gog. Palm.* 150). If so, these figs may have led to the name ΒΗΘΑΡΑΒΑ — i.e., possibly, 'house of young figs' — but the name Beth-Hini remains unexplained. Another form of the name is Beth-oni (בֵּית אֲנִי).

BETH-ARAM

L. 1818; see also BETH-BASI. The reference in 1822 must be considered separately (no. 2). The wilderness of Judah in 1561 is the deep depression adjoining the Dead Sea, together with the overhanging mountains and the barren country beyond, including probably a district in the neighbourhood of Arad (see SALT, CITY OF). Beth-arabah may have been the first or principal settlement in that desolate corner of the Arabah or Jordan valley which forms the N. end of the Dead Sea. Though mentioned twice, if not thrice, with Beth-hoglah, it must have been considerably to the S. of that place, for unless, with Knobel, we put it at Ksar Hajla (which seems rather to have been Beth-hoglah), there is no other suitable site for it till we come to the copious fountain of *'Ain el-Fishkha*, near the NW. corner of the Dead Sea (31° 43' N., 35° 26' E.). The name Beth-arabah ('the house, or homestead, in the Arabah') has, therefore, a special significance (cp that of BETH-JESUTHOTH, *q.v.*). This indication of the site was made in writing by Robertson Smith. Perhaps, however, it is best to suppose that there were two settlements: one near the fountain (viz., Beth-arabah), the other (see MIDDIN) at the fountain.

2. It will be still easier to adopt this identification if we may follow $\mathfrak{B}^w$ in reading not 'Beth-arabah' but 'Beth-abarah' in Josh. 1822. The ford (*'abarah*) referred to in the name ('house or place of the ford') might then be the famous Makhadet Hajla near the mouth of the *Wady el-Kelt*, the bathing-place of the pilgrims, where tradition places the baptism of Jesus Christ. Such a Beth-abarah would be more naturally mentioned between Beth-hoglah and Zemaraim than a place situated at *'Ain el-Fishkha*. The confusion of the two names was very easy (note the variant $\mathfrak{B}^w$ - $\alpha\pi\alpha\beta\alpha$ in Jn. 128). Cp BETH-ABARA. T. K. C.

BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָאֲרָם), Josh. 1327AV, RV BETH-HARAM (*q.v.*).

BETH-ARBEL (בֵּית אֲרֵבֶל; $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ [B]. . . $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ [Q¹]. . . $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ [A]. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\beta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ [Q¹]. Syntm. $\tau\omicron\phi\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\ \tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\kappa\epsilon\tau\eta\lambda$), a place cruelly destroyed by 'Shalman' (Hos. 1044; שְׁלֹמָן , Baer שְׁלֹמָן ; $\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda$ [BAQ]). Robertson Smith in 1881 (*EB*⁹ 12206) favoured an identification of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (see OS²¹ 21172 880), now *Irbid*, in which case there might be a reference either to Shalmaneser III. or to a Moabite king Shalmanu mentioned in an inscription (*AB* 220) as a tributary of Tiglath-pileser III. Schrader (*KAT*²¹ 440-442) argues ably for identifying Shalman with the latter king, who very probably made an incursion into Israelite territory. The combination of Beth-arbel with the trans-Jordanic Arbela (*Irbid*), however, is improbable: Shalman should be a more important king, and Beth-arbel (if this compound phrase may be accepted) a more important fortress, than Schrader's theory supposes. Wellhausen and Nowack think that Shalman may be Shalmaneser IV.—the first Shalmaneser known to the Israelites. If so, the latter part of Hos. 1011 will be a later insertion. The reference to Beth-arbel, however, remains a difficulty. Surely the reading must be corrupt.

$\mathfrak{B}^w$ suggests a correction. Read בית ירבעם, and, as a consequence, for שְׁלֹמָן read יִרְבֵּעַם . The murder of Zechariah, son of Jeroboam II., by SHALUM [*q.v.*, 1] is probably referred to (שָׁר , or שָׁר ?, points to a late like that of Siera; cp שָׁר , Judg. 527). A reader of Hosea justly assumed that Zechariah was not the only person who was murdered, and took the massacre of the royal family to be a fulfilment of the stern prophecy in *Am.* 15, which ends: 'in a storm (בְּסֻר , We.) the king of Israel shall be cut off.' The words 'mother and children were dashed to pieces' may, however, refer to the cruelty of Menahem to the women of TAPPUAH

BETH-BASI

[*q.v.*, 2], as related in 2 K. 1516. If so, the interpolator combines two striking events which equally formed part of the divinely threatened judgment upon Israel. See Che. *Expos.* Nov. 1897, p. 304.

For a new but difficult theory of Hos. 1011 see Herz, *Amer. J. Sem. Lang.* 14207 121. The versions give little help except as to 'Arbel' (Q¹). $\mathfrak{B}^w$ preserves a trace of a theory that the reference is to the slaying of Zalmonna by Gideon, in which case Ps. 811 (12) would be parallel. $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\lambda$ [B¹⁰], it is true, does not accord with this theory; but Syro-Hex. points to שְׁלֹמָן ; $\Sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\lambda$ is $\mathfrak{B}^w$'s rendering of Zalmonna, and has some authority in Hosea. Vg. gives *sicut vastatus est Salmana a domo eius qui induxit Baal*. The conclusive exegetical objections to this view need not here be stated. See also Field's *Hexapla*. T. K. C.

BETHASMOETH (Βαιθασωεθ [A]), 1 Esd. 513 RV. See AZMAVETH (*i.*).

BETH-AVEN (בֵּית אֲוֵן, cp. Benj. 'ben-Oni'), a place to the E. of Bethel near Ai (Josh. 72, $\beta\eta\theta\alpha\upsilon$ [A], $\beta\eta\theta\alpha\upsilon$ [L], from which, indeed, it has been proposed, following $\mathfrak{B}^w$, to eliminate the name, but on insufficient grounds¹), and to the W. of Michmash (1 S. 135; where Βαιθαρων [B¹], Βαιθω [B¹⁰] are obviously wrong; 1 S. 1123 $\Sigma\alpha\omega\omega\theta$ [B], $\text{τ}\eta\theta\alpha\upsilon\gamma\eta$ [for $\text{τ}\eta\ \theta\alpha\upsilon\gamma$, A¹⁰], Βαιθαρων [L]). The site has not been identified;² but it must have been the last village on the edge of the desert country, for to this it gave the name Wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 1812 $\beta\alpha\theta\alpha\upsilon$ [A]; $\theta\omega\upsilon$ [B]; $\theta\alpha\omega\upsilon$ [L]). All the data point to the neighbourhood of *Deir Diwan*—either that village itself, or *K'h. Hadyin*, immediately to the S. For the rest see BETHUEL, § 4. G. A. S.

BETH-AZMAVETH (בֵּית אֲזַמַּוֶּת), Neh. 723; see AZMAVETH (*i.*).

BETH-BAAL-MEON (בֵּית בַּעַל מְעֹן), Jos. 1317. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-BARAH (בֵּית בָּרָה, Βαιθαρα [BA], -Βηρα [L]; the form of the second part of the name is obscure) is not to be identified with the Bethahara of Jn. 123 (R¹); it occurs only in the story of Gideon (Judg. 724), who sends to his fellow-tribesmen in the hill country of Ephraim, bidding them cut off the Midianites' retreat by holding against them 'the waters as far as Beth-barah, and (also) the Jordan.' The latter words (וְהַיַּרְדֵּן) seem to be a gloss on 'the waters' (וְהַמַּיִם). By 'the waters,' however, are really meant, not the Jordan, but the streams emptying themselves into the Jordan which the Midianites would have to pass. Beth-barah must have been situated somewhere in the wady formed by one of these streams, and there are points in the narrative which suggest locating it near the mouth of the *Wady Firi'ah*, between which and the Jordan the Midianites would find themselves in a *cul-de-sac* (Moore).

BETH-BASI (Βεθβασι [A], Βαιθβασι [N], -Bacc. [NV], -Baci [V], בֵּית בַּסִּי [Pesh.], *Beth-bessuren* [Vet. Lat.]), a fortified city in the desert (*ἐν τῇ ἐρημῳ*), the ruinous parts ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\theta\eta\eta\mu\epsilon\upsilon\alpha$) of which Jonathan and Simon repaired, when menaced by Bacchides (1 Macc. 9664). The Syriac (see above; cp Vet. Lat.) reads Beth-yashan (cp JESHANAN). This is probably correct; the corruptions can be easily accounted for. Jos. (*Ant.* xiii. 15) calls the place Beth-alaga (*i.e.*, Beth-hoglah), which is too far from the MS readings, but may be a correct identification, though BETH-ARABAH also suggests itself. G. A. Smith, however, thinks that the second *b* in Beth-basi may be correct. 'In the wilderness of Judea, E. of Tekoa, there is a *Wady el-Bassah*, which name as it stands means "marsh," an impossible

¹ We suppose שְׁלֹמָן to be a gloss, and $\alpha\kappa$ a contemptuous distortion of שָׁר in the manner of Hos. 415, etc. (*CH* 125). So Albers, but not Th. or Bennett, *SBOT*.
² Possibly it was early destroyed. This, as Muhlau remarks, would account for the disparaging transformation of the name Bethel into Beth-aven (Riehm, *HWB*² 1213).

BETH-BIREI

term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name.¹

BETH BIREI, RV Beth-biri (בֵּית בִּירָא), 1 Ch. 4.31. See BETH-BIRIAH.

BETH-CAR (בֵּית קָר), Βαιθαρορ [BL.], Βελαχ. [AL.], [μεγαρ] koppaiow, Jos. *Ant.* vi. 2.1; [בֵּית קָר] [Targ. J.], a place, presumably in the district of Mizpah, to which the Israelites pursued the defeated Philistines (1 S. 7.11 [10.]). The phrase 'under Beth-car' is remarkable. Does it mean 'under the gates of Beth-car' (so We, *IBS* 68)? or does it mean 'to the foot of the hill on some part of which Beth-car stood'? No such name as Beth-car is mentioned elsewhere; hence it is at first sight too bold to identify it as *PEK*, not disapproved by GASn. *HG* 22.11 with 'Am Karim, the name of a flourishing village a good way to the S. of Nebi Samwil, and W. of Jerusalem. The name Beth-car, however, is self-evidently corrupt, and if we may amend it into 'Beth-hacerem' the identification with 'Am Karim' becomes probable (see BETH-HACEREM). Only 1½ m. to the N. of 'Am Karim is Der Vasin, not improbably to be identified with the Jashan or Jeshanah of 2 S. 12 (see Stu 8), which need not be the same as the Jeshanah of 2 Ch. 13.19.

The alternative is to read 'Beth-horon' (Klo.); 2 and 7 were, from phonetic causes, easily confounded. 'Under Beth-horon' would be a very intelligible expression; but Beth-horon is certainly too far north. The reading 'Beth-jashan' quoted from Pesh. (*not* 5) by G. A. Smith (*IBS* 224), is no reading at all, but a corruption of the text of 1 S. 7.11, as We. has pointed out.

BETH-DAGON (בֵּית דָּגוֹן), § 95, 'house of Dagon,' Βηθδαγων [AL.], 1. A city of Judah, enumerated in the third group of 'lowland' towns (Josh. 15.41, βαγαδηλ [13]). The list is so scattered and irregular that nothing can with certainty be inferred from it as to the site of Beth-dagon; but MAKKEDAH (2.7.1), which is mentioned in the same verse, must have lain off the mouth of Ajalon (Josh. 10.28). Here we find, 6 m. SE. from Joppa, a Bet-Dejan, and, 1½ m. farther S., Damm. Each of these has been identified with Beth-dagon (see Rob. *BR* 3.293, Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 1874), and one of them (the former, according to Friedr. Del.) is probably the Beth-daganna mentioned in Sennacherib's prism-inscription (col. 2.7.64; *KB* 2.92). It must be remembered, however, that the name occurred in several places through Palestine. Bet Dejan nearly 7 m. E. of Nablus (see *PEFmap*), and, according to Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8; *Pl.* 2.3), Dagon near Jericho, each on an important trade route from Philistia to the Jordan Valley. There may, then, have been more than one Beth-dagon on the borders of Philistia, and it ought not to be overlooked that neither Dajun nor Bet Dejan lies in the Shephelah proper. On the doubtful phrase 'land of Dagon' in Eshmunazar's inscription, and on the god Dagon, see DAGON, § 1. On Dajun see especially Cl. Ganneau, *Arch. Rev. in Pal.* 126 ff.

2. A locality not yet identified (but cp Gander, *Hdbk. to the Bible*, 68), on the border of Asher (Josh. 12.27; βαθραγαν [BL.]).

3. The temple of Dagon in Ashdod (1 Macc. 10.83, Βηθδαγων [AR.], βεθδαγων [K]).

BETH DIBLATHAIM (בֵּית דִּבְלַתַּיִם), cp Ass. *dablai*, 'foundation'; but see NAMTS, § 107, a town in Moab mentioned along with Dibon [1] and Nebo [iii.] (Jer. 48.22 = 31.22; εἰς οἶκον διβλαθαιμ [BL.], εἰς διβλαθαιμ [AL.]), evidently the same as ALMOUS DIBLATHAIM, which also occurs in connection with 1 (Nu. 33.40 ff.). This place (called בֵּית דִּבְלַתַּיִם, Mela. i.11), and Bēl'al Mo'on are stated by Meshia on his stele to have been fortified by himself (Z. 30).

BETH-EDEN, Ἀνὰ, EV 'house of Eden' (בֵּית עֵדֶן) εἰς ἀνὰδρων χαρραν [BAVQF], an Aramaean city or land, with a ru' o. s. own, but presumably allied to Damascus. No satisfactory identification of this place has been made. The vocalisa-

BETHEL

tion (בֵּית עֵדֶן not בֵּית עֵדֶן) forbids us to see in it the Παράδεισος of Strabo and Ptolemy, and equally forbids us to regard it with Wetzstein (Del. *loc.* 702; cp Vg. *de don. vauipatio*) as a poetical name of Damascus. The view, however, adopted by Schrader (*A. T.* 17.32 327) and favoured by GASn (see above), that Beth-eden is the Beth-eden of the inscriptions (see Edin), is not less inadmissible for this is too far to the N. of Damascus, and had in the time of Amos, long been subject to Assyria (*W. A. T. Unters.* 183; cp Nold. *ZDMG* 33.126 [70]). No doubt there were other places called Beth-eden. There is equal uncertainty as to the name Beth-eden (see AVEN, 3), which corresponds to Beth-eden in the parallel line.

BETH-EKED (בֵּית עֵקֶד), EV 'shearing house'

RV 'house of gathering', where Jehu met Amaziah's brethren, is either a place-name or (more probably) the designation of an isolated house used on certain occasions by the shepherds of the district (2 K. 10.12 14; Βαιθακαδθ [BL.]; but in 2.14 εἰς τὴν σκακκὴν [BAVQF] = καδθ [AL.]; Pesh. has 'and he was casting the altars that were on the way' [2.12], and 2.14 עֵקֶד בֵּית עֵקֶד cp Cod. Vind. of Vet. Lat. *Bethuaria*).

BETH-EL (בֵּית אֵל), §§ 1. 10, always the word [BL.], on Gen. 128 Josh. 7.2, RV wrongly with a hyphen.

1. Site. 'house of God' — i.e., ΒΑΙΤΥΛΙΟΝ — (cp ΒΑΙΤΥΛΙΑ, ΒΑΙΤΥΛΙΑ; see IUD. ATRV, § 2. MASSILIA; ΒΑΙΘΑ [BADEL.]; but Gen. 35.7, ΒΕΘ. [D.]; gentile Bethelites, see HULL.). 1. A town on the border between Benjamin and Ephraim, W. of the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18.12; on 12.16, where 5 omits the clause, and 5^{BE} has ΗΛΑΣ for Bethel or Makledah, see TARTARU, 2), without doubt the present *Bethin* (from Beith, by the common interchange of *l* and *n*), a small village (said to have 400 inhabitants), with ruins of early Christian and Crusaders' buildings, about 10 m. N. of Jerusalem. It lies on the back-bone of the central range, a little E. of the watershed, and 2800 ft. above the sea. From the village itself the view is confined to the plateau, which, like most of the territory of Benjamin, presents a bleak prospect of gray rocks and very stony fields, relieved by few trees and a struggling cultivation. A few minutes SE., however, lies one of the great view-points of Palestine, the Burj-Beitun or Tower of Bethel (probably the ruin of an early Christian monastery), supposed to mark a traditional site of the tent and altar of Abraham 'to the E. of Bethel' (Gen. 128), and of Lot's view of the 'Circle of Jordan' (13.15). Four good springs

and a great reservoir amply certify the present village as the site of the city, which 'was called Luz at the first' (Gen. 28.11; οἶκος θεοῦ [ADEL.]). The sanctuary, 'God's house,' the 'place' (as it is called in Gen. 28.11, where it is distinct from the city) which grew famous enough to absorb the city's name in its own, may have lain either on the site of the Burj-Beitun, or on one of the neighbouring slopes, where there is a natural stone circle (*PEFQ*, 1881, p. 255); and the curious formation of the rocks in terraces and ramparts has been taken as the material suggestion of the 'flight of steps' (see LABBE) which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. 28.10 ff.).² There he raised a pillar, or masseloh, to Yahweh, and afterwards is said (Gen. 35.1-2) by the same narrator, E (it is J who gives the previous story of Abraham's altar), to have built an altar and called the 'place' (not yet 'city') 'God of Bethel' (for which 5^{BE} has Pesh. and Vg. read 'Bethel'). Here Deborah, Rebekah's

1 Cp the Targ. בֵּית בְּנֵי שֵׁן, 'place of the gate of 2 together of the shepherds.' For *eked*, however, we should perhaps read *u'kedim* (עֵקֶדִים), and omit the next word (in 2.12, not in 2.14) *ha'edim* (עֵדִים) as a gloss; *u'kedim* was a less common word for 'shepherds' than *edim*.

2 Schlatter (*Our Topog.* 230) infers from Gen. 128 Jos 7.2 (om. 5A) that the sanctuary lay E. of the town, in Deir Dejan.

de Παράδεισος
sus to regard
Vg. *de domo*
s. 'The view,
and favoured
the Bit-adini
inadmissible,
us, and had,
Assur (Wt.
[79]). No
N (v. 13, ii.).
Nikath-aven
eden in the
T. K. C.

ing house';
in met. Aha-
ore probably)
I am certain
K. 10 is 14;
 $\hat{\eta}$ Belong J.
throwing the
14 22 22 22.

word [Ba.
a hyphen;
- (cp Bat-
VERY, § 2,
357. BEÖ.
1. A town
aim, W. of
1216, where
or Bethel or
the present
hange of 4
habitants),
bankings,
the back-
watershed,
llage itself
like most
k prospect

A later (perhaps post-exilic) narrative records a prophecy as made by a prophet from Judah, by which Jeroboam was judged according to the Deuteronomic standard, and Yahwé's overthrow of Bethel was predicted (1 K. 13; cp 2 K. 10.20). There was no such feeling of guilt or foreboding of doom, however, among the prophets of the northern kingdom, for we find a company of them settled in Bethel, and the place visited by Elijah and Elisha (2 K. 2.27; 23).

For a national sanctuary the position was convenient. The present village lies about a furlong off the most easterly of the three parallel branches into which the great north road here divides, very near its junction with the road by Michmash to Jericho, and not many miles from the heads of those two other roads which come up from the coast by the Beth-horons, and by Gophna, respectively, to meet the north road just mentioned. That is to say, the main lines of traffic N. to S. and E. to W. crossed at the gates of Bethel. Like other ancient sanctuaries, it must have had a market; its mercenariness and wealth are implied by Amos (84, etc.). Moreover, Bethel lay upon the natural frontier between the two kingdoms on the plateau between the passes of Beth-horon and Michmash (on the Chronicler's story of its capture by Sijah of Judah, see *Amos*, 1). The prophets Hosea and Amos appear in opposition to Bethel, not on the ground (taken by the later Pentateuchonomists) that it was the seat of a schism, but because of

¹ In Judg. 21a Bethel might probably to be read for Bechim (p. 77).

² AV 'for it is the king's channel, and it is the king's road', RSV 'for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a road of house'.

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the superstitious and immoral nature of its cult, even though the object of this was Yahwe himself. They regard it as apostasy from Yahwe (Am. 4. 4. 'Come to Bethel and revolt', 5. 5 [בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים אֲפֹסֶף], 'Seek to Bethel, seek Yahwe'), and its crimes culminate (Am. 7. 13) in the silencing of his prophet Amos by his priest Amaziah (see Amos, § 20). It shall, therefore, bear the brunt of the impending doom (Am. 3. 14. Hos. 10. 15 יִסְּאוּ רֹאשׁ אֲפֹנֶהָן BAC[¹]). In seven Amos had said 'Bethel shall become AVEN', i.e., vanity, falsehood, false worship, idolatry (5. 5); so Hosea calls it Beth-aven (1. 5-6 Hos. 10. 5) oftener than he calls it Bethel. The nickname was the reader because of the actual BETH-AVEN (7. 13), which once stood, and perhaps in the eighth century still stood, in the neighbourhood. After the fall of the northern kingdom the heathen colonists naturally adopted the cult of the 'god of the land', and Bethel retained its importance as a religious centre (2 K. 17. 29). Isaiah and Micah do not mention Bethel; it is very doubtful if Jeremiah does (see Gesenius' *loc. cit.* on Jer. 18. 14). The frontier of Judah, however, must have been gradually pushed N. so as to enclose it, for when Josiah put down 'the high places in the cities of Judah' he destroyed the altar at Bethel and desecrated the site (2 K. 23. 15). The city itself must have been inhabited by Jews, for its families are reckoned in the great post-exilic list (see Ezra, ii. §§. 9, 8 c; Ezra 2. 3 [בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים B]) = Neh. 7. 32 [בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים B] = 1. 15 c; 2. 21 [בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים B], 3. 7, 4. 1]. It was the most northerly site reoccupied by Jews (Neh. 11. 3; בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים [B] = 1. 15 c; 2. 21, 3. 7, 4. 1]. We hear nothing more of Bethel till it is described as one of the strong places of Judah which Baalache, reformed in 160 B.C. (1 Macc. 9. 5; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13), and then it disappears from OT history.

5. Post-biblical. put there to intercept Jewish fugitives (Midrash, *Levitic*, ii, 3; *Sanh.*, treg. *Talm.*, 115). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (1331) gives it as Beuthar 12 R. m. from Jerusalem (see *ibid.*, 133).

that Bethel in Jerusalem. Kilduff's theory (*ZKR*, 270), founded on the evidence of the *Itinerarium* of Adam of Bremen, Eusebius, and Jerome call it a village; the *Itinerarium* adds (under Azzad) that where Jacob dreamed there was built a church – perhaps part of the ruins at Burj-Beitun. The Crusaders exhibited the rock under the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as Jacob's Stone; but the 'Catalary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' gives Bethel as a castle added to that of Jerusalem, the site of a castle and chapel built by Hugh of Le Puiset (1105–21). See Gieseler, *op. cit.* 2, 239; *Revue d'histoire*, 2295 ff. 205 ff.; Stanley, *N° 212*; *C.A.S.M. III*, chap. xii, and pp. 283 ff. 285.

BETH-FMEK (בֵּית פֶּמֶךְ, *z. q.* 'house in the valley'), a place on the boundary of Ashter (Josh. 19:27).

Before *Παθημεν* some words appear to have dropped out: perhaps they are represented by *ὁς καὶ ἐπιστήσεται* [τα] *ὅρια*. After *ὅρια* *ὁς* continues: *συνδραβαίμεν*, where *συνδρα* seems to be a corruption of *συνδραβή* [*συνδραβή*], prefixed wrongly to *βαίμεν* [*-βαίμεν*]; *ασφαθὶ* *Βηθανίαν* [*Α*], *σάρᾳ* *Βηθανίαν* [*Ε*]; *Συμὸν, ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας*. The description in 27: 27 f. is not clear; there would seem to be two descriptions of the northern boundary (if 'on the left hand', 27: 28, means 'northward', 28: 1 f. the equivalent of *καὶ εἰς ἐκτ.*, *ὅρια* is to be inserted before 'northward', 27: 27).

T. K. C.

² *Parthup* also occurs in 1 Ch. 6:39 (M) as a substitute for

² *Phyllanthus niruri* occurs in the Chittagong [A], as a substitute for *arrar* [li]—i.e., *Juncus*.

BETHER

of Jerusalem), which stands on the slope of a steep projecting hill between the Wady Bithur and a smaller valley. If we ascend higher we shall reach a site admirably adapted for a fortress, where there are still some ruins connected by popular legend with the Jews. On the E. side are chambers in the rock and old cisterns. Neubauer (*Géog. Pal.,* 103-114, pp. 50) and Guérin (*Ind.* 237-245) had all but demonstrated that this was the Bether (בֵּתֶר) or rather Beth-ter (בֵּתֶרֶת), within whose walls Bar Cochba so obstinately resisted the Romans under Julius Severus (A.D. 134-5). The proof has now been completed by the discovery of an inscription setting which divisions of the Roman army were stationed there.¹ It is, therefore, no longer possible to maintain with Gratz (*Hist.* 247) that the Beth-ter of Bar Cochba was identical with the Bethar of the itineraries, which was situated between Antipatris or Diospolis and Cesarea (see ANTIPATRIS, § 2, end). See GIBGAL.

Only two ancient statements respecting the position of Bether need be here quoted. Euseb. (*It.* 36) describes βῆθηρα in these terms: πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου ὁρους τῶν ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφοδρὰ πόρρω διεστῶσα, and the Talm. of Jerus. (*Taanith*, 42), 'If thou thinkest that Beth-ter (spelt with two ת almost always in this section) was near the sea, thou art in error: truly it was 40 m. away from the sea.'²

T. K. C.

BETHER, The mountains of (בֵּתֶר בְּתָר). Cant. 217 EV, following Vg. (*Bether*). The word Bether, however, all recent critics agree, is not a proper name: it qualifies the preceding words. Putting aside the old, forced explanations of the phrase, such as 'mountains of ravines' (ἄρκα δὲ καὶ κοιλώματα—i.e., 'בְּתָרִים בְּתָרִים'; cp BETHRON), and 'mountains of separation' (between the lovers), one might conjecture that 'Bether' was the Syrian plant manolathron, from which a costly oil was procured, used in the toilet of banqueters (Hos. *Od.* ii. 77), and also in medicine (Plin. *NH* xiii. 448). So Symm. (*Field. H.*, on Cant. 217). RV¹⁹⁰⁴; Wellh. *Prod.* 399; ET 391. Others emend בְּתָרִים to בְּתָרִים, 'spices', in conformity with 814 (so Pesh., Theod., Meier, Gratz). The best solution, however, has yet to be mentioned: בְּתָרִים is miswritten for בְּתָרִים, 'cypresses'; cp 117 (Che.). 'Mountains of cypresses' is an appropriate term for Lebanon; cp 'mountains of panthers' (18). See JQR 10571, and cp CANTICLES, § 15 n.

BETHESDA (ΒΗΘΕΣΔΑ [colloid]—i.e., בֵּית הַקְּדָשׁ, 'house of mercy'; ΒΗΘΣΑΘΑ [Ti. VII]), the reading of TR in Jn. 5, for which the best authorities have BETHZATHA or BETHSaida. On the topographical question, see JERUSALEM.

BETHEZEL (בֵּית הָאֵל; ΒΗΘ ΕΙΛΩΝ ἐχόμενον αὐτῇ, i.e., אֵלָה, 'near her'), an unidentified place in the Shephelah mentioned by Micah (111), who foresees the captivity of its noble ones (עֲצֵי, emended from עֲצֵי, G's reading [שְׁמֵרָה], where MT has עֲצֵי; so Che., JQR, July '08). It is scarcely the same as Azel (cp AZEL).

BETH GADER (בֵּית גָּדֶר; Βαιθγαδω [B], βαιθγαδω [A], Βηθγαδω [L]), a town, whose 'father' Hareph was of Canaanite origin (1 Ch. 2511); the genealogy seems to represent post-exilic relations. On the analogy of the other great divisions Shobal, abn Kirjath-jerim and Salma abn Bethlehem, Beth-gader was perhaps no unimportant place, and we may possibly identify it with Gader, i. 2. It is noticeable that the further divisions of Hareph are not enumerated, as they are in the cases of Shobal and Salma.

BETH-GAMUL (בֵּית גַּמּוּל, 'place of recompense'?) [cp Gamaliel, גַּמְלִיאל; ΟΙΚΟΝ ΓΑΜΩΛ [B], Ο. ΓΑΜΩΛΑ [A], Ο. Α [Q], Ο. ΓΑΒ [N¹], om. N²]. In Moab on the table-land E. of the Jordan (Jer. 4823), identified by

¹ Cf. Gan, *Acad. des insc.*, *Comptes rendus*, 1894, p. 13 f.
² The position of GADER, with which it might otherwise be connected, is unknown.

BETH-HARAM

some with *K'h. Jemil*, which lies to the east of the known DIBON; according to others, it finds its most representative in *Umm el-Jemil*, about five hours from Bosra.

BETH-GILGAL (בֵּית הַגִּלְגָּל). Neh. 1229 RV¹⁹⁰⁴; GILGAL, § 6 (5).

BETH-HACCEREM, AV Beth-Haccherem (הַכֶּרֶם, § 103, 'vineyard place'), is expressly called a town, but a 'district' (קֶרֶת), near Jerusalem, Neh. 1229 (BΘΔΧΑΜ [B], ΒΑΧΧΑΡΑΜ [A], ΒΑΧΑΜ [S], ΒΑΧΑΜ [L]). From Jer. 61 it appears to have included a conspicuous height to the S. of Jerusalem which was used as a beacon-station (Βαθβαχάρμα [B], Βαθβα [A], Βαθβαχάρ [A]).

Jerome (in his comment on the latter passage) says that it was one of the villages which he could see every day with his own eye from Bethlehem, that it was called Beth-haccherem, and that it was on a mountain. Hence, many since Brooke have placed it in the so-called Euphrates or 'Frank Mountain' (2437 ft. above sea-level), between Bethlehem and Tekoa, and very near latter (so even Gieseler). Jerome's statement we are not to criticise; but there is now no name near the 'Frank Mountain' which confirms this theory, and the special fertility which the name Beth-haccherem implies to have characterised the district suggests looking elsewhere. After all, it was rather hasty to infer from Jer. 61 that Beth-haccherem was bound to be near Tekoa.

Since we have found reason elsewhere (BETH-EMAN) to correct 'Beth-car' in 1 S. 711 into Beth-haccherem, and to identify this with the beautiful village of 'Ain Kārim, about an hour and a half W. of Jerusalem, it becomes difficult to resist the conclusion that the h. referred to by Jeremiah was the *Jebel 'Ali*, at the foot of which lies the village in question. The beautiful olive groves and vineyards of 'Ain Kārim are watered from a superb fountain, and would justify the name Beth-haccherem. The summit of the *Jebel 'Ali* commands a view of the Mediterranean, the Mount of Olives, and part of Jerusalem (Baed. 112). Conder mentions that there are still cairns on the ridge above 'Ain Kārim which may have served as beacons (PEFQ, 1881, p. 271). One is 40 ft. high and 130 ft. in diameter, with a flat top measuring 40 ft. across.

Two more references to Beth-haccherem may be indicated. In the Mishna treatise, *Middoth* 3 4, it is stated that the stones for the great altar in the second temple came from the valley of Beth-ezer, which Adol. (JQR 8399) identifies with Beth-haccherem and 'Ain Kārim; and among the eleven towns which G¹ has (but not MT) in Josh. 1559 occurs Karem (Καρεμ), which, from the context, can only be 'Ain Kārim. (Cp TAICHEMONITE. For another (probable) Beth-ezer, see BATH-KARIM.)

T. K. C.

BETH-HAGGAN (בֵּית הַגֶּן, *domus horti* [Vg.], EV 'the garden-house'; better in G as a proper name, ΒΑΙΘΑΝ [B], ΒΑΙΘΑΓΑΝ [A¹], sup. ras., ΒΑΙΘΑΡΩΝ = Beth-horon [L]), a place, apparently to the S. of Jericho, on the road to which Ahaziah fled in his chariot when he saw Jehoram slain by Jehu (2 K. 927). Jennm, the first village which one travelling southwards would encounter, may very well be Beth-haggan (= Beth-haggannim, 'place of gardens'), i.e., EN-GANNIM (p. 21, 2). If, however, we hold with Conder that Megiddo, which Ahaziah reached at last to die—was Mageddai at the foot of Gilboa, a little to the S. of Beisan, it will become natural to identify Beth-haggan with a northern *Beth Jann*, between Mt. Tabor and the S. end of the Lake of Gennesaret (Beth Jann is, in Arabic nomenclature, a favourite name). Against this view of the flight of Ahaziah, see GASM. JIG 387, n. 1.

T. K. C.

BETH HANAN. See ELON-BETH-HANAN.

BETH-HARAM, AV incorrectly BETH-ARAM (בֵּית הָרָם; ΒΑΡΑΡΑ, or perhaps ΒΑΡΑΜ [B], ΒΗΘΑΡΑΜ [A¹], Josh. 1327 [P]). For the true form of the name, see BETH-HARAN.

BETH-HARAN

BETH-HARAN (בֵּית הָרָחַן, probably 'house of HARAN', ΒΑΙΘΑΡΑΝ [B], -αρα [A], -ן [F.L.], Nu. 32:26 [L.]), the correct and original pronunciation of the name of the place also called BETH-HARAM (cp GERSTHOF for GERSTON). The place thus designated was an ancient Amorite city, founded by the conquering Gadiates. The site is occupied by the modern *Tell er-Rameh*, which stands up in a wady of the same name, between Heshan and the Jordan, at no great distance from the river. The objection to this raised by Guthe (*ZDP* 23, n. 1) is not decisive.

Râmeh does indeed imply a form, Beth-harâmeh; but this form is vouched for by the existence of the Aramaic Beth-harâmeh (see below). It arose out of BETH-HARAM (phonetic modification of Beth-haran) when the older and correct form of the name had passed out of use, and so the later form, Beth-haram, came to be misinterpreted. Moreover, Lénormand's discovery of a 'non-phonetic monoid' (called Beth-Harâmeh (*Land of Moab*, 192) has not been verified by subsequent travellers,¹ though it is still recognised in Baed.² (map of Peraea), and the identification (which stands in Di's comm.) is retained by von Kriess in *Bibel-Herab.*, on the assumption that Beth-Harâmeh (or Harâm) is nearer to the outlet of the wady than Tell er-Râmeh.

The really conspicuous mound is simply that of Tell er-Râmeh which is 673 ft. above the sea-level, and certainly marks the site of an ancient town of importance (Conder, *P.E.F. Mem.*, *L. Pal.*, 1237). Such a town was the Beth-râmeh of the Talmud (Nabhaner, *Gloss. Talm.*, 247), the name of which is attested by Josephus, Eusebius, and Jerome.³

Herod had a palace here (Jos. *Ant.* xvii, 106; *Rf* ii, 42); Herod Antipas walled it and called it Julius after the wife of Augustus, at the same time that Herod Philip rebuilt Bethsaida and gave it the same name after the emperor's daughter (Jos. *Ant.* xviii, 24; *Rf* iii, 91). Jerome, however, enables us to correct this statement (*CS* 1017). The older name of the city was Livia; the name was changed to Julius when Livia was received into the gens Julia by the emperor's testament (see Schurer, *Hist.* ii, 142). Euseb. (*CS* 234-235) and Theodosius (*CS* 110) also call it Livia; the latter (*De Situ Terre Sancte*, 66) describes it as 12 R. m. from Jericho, near warm springs that were efficacious against leprosy.

T. K. C.

BETH-HOGLAH, once (Josh. 156) AV Beth-hogla (בֵּית הַחֲגֹלָה, § 104, 'place of partridge,' cp HOGLAH),³ a Benjamite city on the border of Judah (Jos. 156, ΒΑΙΘΑΓΛΑΑΜ [B], -αα [L.], -θαλα [A]; 18:21, ΘΑΛΑΑΑΑΑ and ΒΕΘΕΓΑΙΩ [B], ΒΑΙΘΑΛΑΓΑ [A], ΒΗΘΑΓΛΑ [L.], and A in 21). It is the modern 'Am (and Kasr) Hajla, a fine spring and ruin situated between Jericho and the Jordan S. of Gilgal (cp Di. on Gen. 111 and Baed.² 154). Under the form Beth-alaga it is, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xiii, 15), the place to which Jonathan fled before Baechides, 1 Mace. 9:63 (but see BETTIBAST). The *Onom.* erroneously identifies Beth-hoglah with Atad (see ABU-MIZRAIM, end). The interpretation 'Bethagla, locus gyri' of Jer., according to WRS (*Rel. Sem.* 191, n. 1), may rest upon a local tradition of a ritual procession around some sacred object there (cp Ar. *hajla*, 'holah, hop')—similar perhaps to the Ar. ceremonial *faraf* (for which see We. *Heid.* 110).⁴ The form *hajla* survives also in Makhlâlet Hajla (see BETH-ARABAU, 2), a noted bathing-place for pilgrims at the mouth of the Wady el-Kelt (Baed., 169).

BETH-HORON (בֵּית הָרוֹן, also בֵּית הָרֹן and בֵּית הָרֹן, and in Ch. הָרוֹן; ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ or Βεθ. [B.M.],

1. **Site.** Βεθωρα, Βαιθ, -ωρα, ΒΗΘ. in Jos. [cp the modern form Beit 'Ur], probably 'the place of the hollow' or 'hollow way' was the name of two neighbouring villages, upper Beth-horon (בֵּית הָרוֹן, Josh. 16; Βεθωρα [L.]) and lower Beth-horon (בֵּית הָרוֹן, Josh. 16; but in 2 Ch. 85 הערלין and

¹ See, e.g., Schick, *ZDP* 211; cp p. 2.

² Jos. gives the name as Βηθαραμ and Βηθαραμφθα; once (*Ant.* xvii, 106) the text gives *αμαμθα*. Euseb. (*CS* 234-235) Βηθαραμφθα, with a fragmentary reference to the *αμαμθα*. Jer. (*CS* 251; 10316), 'Betharam domus sublimium vel montium'; 'que a Syris dicitur Betharam'.

³ The *o* in Hoglah is not supported, and all the evidence points to the reading 'Hacalah.'

⁴ For another explanation see EN-EGLAIM.

BETH-HORON

בֵּית הָרוֹן—hence the dual form preserved by *αμαμφθα* [B]; but Βεθωρα [A], Josh. 10:11), near the head and the foot, respectively, of the ascent from the Maritime Plain to the plateau of Benjamin, and represented to-day by *Beit 'Ur el-hajla* and *Beit 'Ur el-hajla* (large *P.E. Surv.* Map, Sheet xvii). The road leaves Beit 'Ur in which some see *ezzen-shorah*, see SHIR KATH, 810 ft. above sea level, on the high

road. plain of Ajalon; climbs up the spur of the Benjamite hills in about 50 minutes to the lower Beth-horon, 1230 ft., and thence, dropping at first for a little, ascends the ridge, with the gorges of Wady Selman to the S., and Wady es-Sant and Wady el-Tamish to the N., to the upper Beth-horon, 1710 ft. from its fellow and 2022 ft. above the sea; and thence, still following the ridge, comes out on the Benjamite plateau about 4½ mi. farther on, to the N. of el-Jib (Jablon), at a height of about 2300 ft. The ascent or descent to Beth-horon (Josh. 16) may be the road towards the upper Beth-horon from Gibeon; it does not at first from the plateau before descending; the ascent or descent to the two Beth-horons (Josh. 10:11, 15) is the whole road from the edge of the plateau. More probably, the two are the same taken from opposite ends. This Beth-horon road is now no longer the high road from Jerusalem and the watershed to the Maritime Plain; but it was used as such from the very earliest times to at least the sixteenth century of our era, and indeed forms the most natural, convenient, and least exposed of all the possible descents from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem to the plain of Sharon. The line of it bears many marks of its age and long use. Carried for the most part over the bare rock and rocky debris, it has had steps cut upon it in its steeper portions, and has remains of Roman pavement. Standing as they do upon mounds, the two Beth-horons command the most difficult passages of this route and form its double key.

The constancy with which the Beth-horons appear in history is, therefore, easily explicable (they do not occur, however, in either the lists of the conquests

3. **Military history.** According to JE, after Joshua had won for Israel a footing on the Benjamite plateau and made peace with Gibeon, the latter was threatened by the Canaanites. Joshua defeated them at Gibeon, and pursued them all the way down by the Beth-horons (Josh. 10:11 ff.). In the days of Saul the Philistines must have held the pass from their camp at Michmash (1 S. 13:8).² Solomon fortified Beth-horon the nether, along with Gezer, on the opposite side of Ajalon (1 K. 9:17 [om. B.], Jos. Βεθωρα; in 1 K. 2:35 Βαθωρα, A); 2 Ch. 85 adds Beth-horon the upper [Βεθωρα, B].

During his son Rehoboam's reign Shishak or Sothen of Egypt invaded Judah by the Beth-horon passage, it would appear, for both Ai-yu-ru-u (Ajalon) and Bi-ti-ha-ru-u (Beth-horon) occur in his lists of the towns he conquered (Nos. 26 and 24; see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 166).

In the Syro-Maccabean wars, Seron, a Syrian general, advanced on Judah by Beth-horon; Judas with a small force met him on the ascent, defeated him, and pursued him out upon the plain (1 Mace. 3:13-24 [CS 116, Βεθωρα; Jos. *Ant.* xii, 71). A few years afterwards, Nicanor having retired from Jerusalem upon Beth-horon, Judas attacked and slew him, and routed his army as far as Gezer (1 Mace. 7:30 ff.; Jos. *Ant.* xii, 105). Beth-horon was among the places fortified by Baechides (1 Mace. 11:5 [Βεθωρα, V*]). Jos. *Ant.* xiii, 131. See also Judith 44 (Βεθωρα [A]).

¹ A similar dual (בֵּית הָרוֹן) is to be read in 2 S. 13:34 with We. Dr., and Bu. *SBOT*, following Euseb. *αμαμφθα* (αμαμ φ θ α μ φ θ α [vid]), *αμαμφθα* [L.]).

² It was probably by the Beth-horons that the Philistines were routed by Saul (1 S. 13:14) and 'from Gibeon south to Gezer,' by David (2 S. 5:23).

BETH-JESHIMOTH

In 65 A.D. a Roman army under Cestius Gallus, ascending by Beth-horon, laid siege of Jerusalem, and the Jews, and after a same way. Josephus describes the difficulties of the ground in haste cannot have kept to the high road, but the Romans in their were swept down the gorges on either side (*Ant.* vi. 413). Beth-horon, but he is not in this experience. Thus, in his advance upon Jerusalem mentioned in the military history of Palestine.

4. Population. The Beth-horons (in h. 1615 [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836,

4. Population.

to Ephraim (Josh 21:25). They remained part of the N. Kingdom; and we do not read of any Jews settled there in post-exilic times. That is to say, they were held by the Samaritans. Sanballat, one of the chief foes of the Jews in Nehemiah's day, is called 'the Horonite' (Neh 2:10, *qanah* [cf. BA], *qanayeh* [Svd., *qanayeh* [L.] to B22, om. BA, *qanayeh* [S.-mg.], etc.). Schlatter (*Zur Topogr. u. Gesch. Pal. 4*, 'Wahr Beth-horon = Wohnort Sanballat's?') seeks to prove that Horonite means 'from Horonaim,' the town in S. Judah (Is. 15 Jer. 48:34, and Moabite Stone), partly on the ground that Sanballat is associated with Tobiah the Ammonite; but Ammonite may mean 'from CHEPHTAR-AMMONI' (a town of Benjamin, Josh. 18:21); and Hülst (*Geog. 160*) points out that Qs form of Beth-horon (*Hē-beu* [Josh. 10:13], cp 2 S. 13:34) confirms the possibility of *Hōron* meaning 'from Beth-horon.' By 161 B.C. Beth-horon had become a city of Judaea (1 Macc. 9:50; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1, cp 71).

According to the Talmud, it was the birthplace of many rabbis (Senh. *legg.* *Talm.* 154). Jerome gives it in the itinerary of S. Paula, who came to it from Nicopolis (*Ap. S. Paul.* *Her. Op.*, ed. Migne, i. 883). There are the ruins of a medieval castle.

5. Post biblical references.

remains of a medieval castle in upper villages are probably in error, but the substrations in both few medieval travellers (*Itinerarium*, ch. 9). The name is given by early and not at all, it would appear, by the Arab geographers – unless the French mentioned by Yāqūt, but not located, be the same place. The medieval pilgrims went to Jerusalem, be the same and the present line of road. In 1507 Dr. Clarke (*Travels*, pt. II, vol. 1, 928) rediscovered the name. Cf. *Itinerarium*, ch. 9; *Itinerarium*, pt. I, 338, 346; Stanley, *SP* 212; *GAAS*, *Itin* 21, 221, 254.

BETH-JESHIMOTH

BETH-JESHIMOTH. ^{G. A. S.} once (Nu. 33.49). AV Beth-jesimoth בֵּית הַיְשִׁמוֹת, Bēth-jesimōth [AV], is assigned in Joshua (12.24) ἀρεῖς ἡμῶν [BAV], αἰετῶν [Ew], Βηο-ἀρεῖ τῶν [L], 13.22 Βαηοῦ ἀρεῖων [B] to the Remhentes (cp. Nu. 33.41, ἀρὰ μὲν αἰετῶν [BE]). A. W. AC. [M]; but probably it was, like most of the neighbouring places, in the possession of the Moabites during a considerable period of the Hebrew monarchy. We know that it was Moabite in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 25.9, οἰκὸν βασιμῶν [B], ο. βελασ. Brev. etc.), ο. βαβίλ. [G*], ο. βαβὶ λασ. [G4], who speaks of it along with Baid-meon and Kirathaim as 'the glory of the country.' As Βηομαθ is it mentioned by Josephus (Biv. 7.5) as having been taken by Phadaius; Eus. vi. 1. 15. Βηομαθ (OSB 296.27) and Βηομαθ (233.51); Jerome (ib. 103.4), writing *Bethimoth*, describes it as a village bearing in his day the name *Lamuth*, opposite Jericho at a distance of 10 R. m. 'in meridiana plaga, juxta mare mortuum.' The name and description point to the modern *Khisbet es-Suweimeh*. The name *Jeshimoth* may be compared with the *Jeshimon* 'on the face' of which 'the headland of Pisgah looked down' (Nu. 21.20); for probably this *Jeshimon* ('-desolation') is not the *Jeshimon* of Judah, but the barren land off the N.E. end of the Dead Sea. With this name Hommel (AHF 197) compares *Yasamenu*, the name of a Palestinian district mentioned by an early Assyrian king, Cp G. A. S. *IB* 564, n. 1.

BETH-LE-APHRAH (בֵּית לֵאֶפְרָח), Mic. 1:10† RV,
AV APHRAH, HOUSE OF.

BETH-LEBAOTH **בֵּית לְבָאוֹת** §§ 93, 104.—i.e.,
abode of lions;—Josh. 19^a, Βαθαρωθ [B], Βαιθαλ-

BETHLEHEM

BAΘ [A], ΒΗΘΛΕΒΑΩΘ [L]), or, simply, I. 14.10.15.3, ΛΑΒΩC [P], -ωΘ [M]), an unmodified sibilant, the Negeb of Judah (Josh. 15.34), assigned to sibilant (Josh. 10.16). The parallel passage in 1 Ch. 4.33: ΒΗΘ-ΛΗΜΙ (בֵּית לֶחֶם), which has probably arisen from corruption of the text. For 'and at Beth-heri and Shabrum' Θ has καὶ οὐκ ἀναμνηστικῶC [P], ἀναμνηστικῶC [M], α. ἐν δὲ βήθληρι καὶ ἐν σαβάρη. 1.1

BETHLEHEM

BETHLEHEM (בֵּית לֶחֶם) *Ru. Lohm, etc.*; *Ḥal.* Ἰσ. 206, etc.; ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜ [*L. commonly*] some c. Βεθλεεμ, Βαθλεεμ [*BAV.*], Jos. Βηθαλ, and Βεθαλ; gentile **Bethlehemite**. בֵּית לֶחֶם. *B. LEHEMITE*. *IS* 161, etc.) meant, to the Hebrews, 'house of bread'; *NAMBS*, § 10; or a less obvious explanation of *H. G.* Pankins, see *ELIASAN*, 1. 13. 1. Beth-lehem-judah (בֵּית לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה) *July* 17 //, etc. the modern *Beit Lohm*, 2350 ft. above sea-level.

1. Site.

1. Site. S. of Jerusalem (nos. 1, 20 *Studia Biblica* vii, 12). A little off the high road to Hebron, on a s. running l. from the watershed, surrounded by vall among the most fertile of Judaea. The site is with springs (the nearest being one 800 yards S.E. of town, and others at ARTAS 1½ m. away), but never water from an aqueduct from the Pools of Sodom (CONDEVIS, § 3) compassing the S.E. end of the sp and from many cisterns of which the greatest is three in front of the great basilica; there are the others from 12 to 21 ft. deep, on the N., called B. Da'ud. The immediate neighbourhood is very fertile bearing, besides wheat and barley, groves of olive at Athoud, and vineyards. The wine of Bethlehe ("Tallium") is among the best of Palestine.

2. OT refer-
ences.

2. OT refer- ences. but the references to it in Judges—as the home of the Levite who sojourned in Moab's house (17.7), and of the young woman whom the Benjaminites maltreated (19.1 f. etc.)—and in the Book of Ruth are of uncertain date, and into the clear light of history Bethlehem first emerges with David. It was his home (1 S. 20.6-22, very early), for the war of which, when it was occupied by the Philistines, he expressed so great a longing—probably as a pledge of his fatherland's enfranchisement—that his three captains broke the enemy's lines, and drew water from the eastern 'in the town's gate' (2 S. 23.14 ff., from the same early source), which tradition has identified with the Beer David (but Guerin, *Jud.* 1.106 ff., following Qureshmis, prefers those in front of the basilica). Other references to Bethlehem as David's home are 1 S. 16.14-17.12-15-33 (from later strata). Asahel, brother of Joab, was buried in Bethlehem in his father's grave (2 S. 2.32). Thus, Joab, like his leader, was a Bethlehemite. Except for a statement of 2 Ch. 11.6 (C⁹ = A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹ W⁹ X⁹ Y⁹ Z⁹ A⁹ B⁹ C⁹ D⁹ E⁹ F⁹ G⁹ H⁹ I⁹ K⁹ L⁹ M⁹ N⁹ O⁹ P⁹ Q⁹ R⁹ S⁹ T⁹ U⁹ V⁹

¹ If it does so even then: see DAVIS, § 1.4.

BETHLEHEM

includes is too important to have been omitted from the original.

The name Ephrathah or Ephrath of this passage is assigned to Bethlehem also in Mic. 5:1 (the reading

3. Ephrath. עֶפְרַתָּה or עֶפְרַת is not certain; but the reference to Bethlehem is clear, in Ru. 1:1, virtually in Ru. 1:1 (1. om.) in 1 S. 17:12 (B om.), and probably also in 1 S. 13:26. Apart from Micah, the documents in which Ephrath[ah] occurs are probably so late that we might reasonably suppose that Bethlehem was the earlier name of the town. On the other hand, these documents are probably based on very early material. Micah (cf. Mic. 5:2 in his work) takes the name as well known. It is possible to argue from 1 Ch. 2:49-54 (גִּבְעַת אֶפְרַתָּה [B], גִּבְעַת אֶפְרַתָּה [A]), that Ephrath[ah] was the name of the whole district in which Bethlehem lay.

Bethlehem is not mentioned by Josephus after Solomon's time, nor in the Books of Maccabees; which proves how insignificant it continued to be. As the place commanded the fertile wadies and water-supply around it, the Philistines had deemed it important enough to occupy; this silence is very remarkable.

4. Christian times. Bethlehem reappears in Mt. 2:1 k. 2 as the birthplace of Jesus, distinguished still as Βηθλεὲμ τῆς τοῦ δαυὶδ (Mt. 2:1 k. 2, cp. 6:50), 'the city of David' (Lk. 2:415 cp. Jn. 7:42). Lk. describes the new-born child as having been laid in a manger (ΜΑΡΒΛΕ) omit the definite article of ZK), 'because there was no room for them in the *Khan*'; they had retired then 'to a stall or cave where there was room for the mother and a crib for the babe.'

It is significant that Bethlehem appears to have been chosen, along with the sites of the crucifixion and the resurrection, for special treatment by the Emperor Hadrian. As he set up there an image of Jupiter and an image of Venus, so he devastated Bethlehem and planted upon it a grove sacred to Adonis (Jer. *1st. ad Paul.*, 583). This proves that even before 132 A.D. Bethlehem was the scene of Christian pilgrimage and worship, as the birthplace of Jesus. (The Talmud also admits that from Bethlehem the Messiah must come: Berachoth, 50.) About 150 A.D. Justin Martyr (*Phil. c. Tryph.* 70-73) describes the scene of the birth as in a cave near the village. This tradition may be correct; there were many ancient cave-stables in Palestine (Conder, *Tent Work*, chap. 10), and caves are still used as stables. In 315 A.D. the site of Bethlehem was still 'a wild wood' (Cyr. Jorns, *Catech.* 1220). Constantine cleared it and built a basilica. Soon after, in Jerome's time, a cave in the rock near the basilica was venerated as the stable, and in a neighbouring grotto Jerome himself prepared his translation of the Bible. From that day to this the tradition has been constant.

The centre of interest in modern Bethlehem is, therefore, the large basilica S. Maria a Præsepio, surrounded and fortified by the Latin, the Greek, and the Armenian monasteries. Although the architecture is mixed and of many periods, the bulk of the church is that built by Constantine. Cp. De Vogüé, *Églises de la Palestine*, 46 ff.

Eny-chius (circa 937, quoted by Guérin, 2161) asserts, indeed, that the church is a building of Justinian, who pulled down Constantine's as too small and raised a grander edifice. Procopius, however, in his *De Edific. Justin.*, whilst recording that this emperor built the walls of Bethlehem (53), does not mention any basilica there of his construction, as, had there been one, he must have done. Probably Justinian only added to Constantine's church, and the building is, therefore, the most ancient church in Palestine and one of the most ancient in the world. The fine mosaics are from the court of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus (circa 1162 A.D.), and the rafters by Philip of Burgundy (in 1452).

In the latter two passages Ephrathite means, of course, 'of Ephrath[ah]'. Bethlehem. It is interesting that in *PLPQ*, Jan. 1893, Schick attempts to prove that Ramallah-a-qubla, the town of Samuel 'an Ephrathite', was in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. 'Ephrathite' in 1 S. 11 probably means Ephraimite (cp. Judg. 12:5 where for עֶפְרַתִּי is Εἰς Εφραθιτῶν καὶ Εὐλά του Εφραϊμ).

BETH-MERH

Under the church is the Grotto of the Nativity, called also the Milk Grotto and the Grotto of our Lady, 'Migharet el habb' and 'Migharet es Sayde'. We have seen the precautions of the tradition which sanctifies it: it is only probable that Jesus was born in a cave, and there is nothing to prove that this was the cave, for the site lay desolate for three centuries.

Among recent works, consult Tobler's monograph, *Bethlehem in Palestina*, and Fahn, 'Das jetzige Bethlehem', *ZDPV* 17: 176, with map and named lists.

2. Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 19:15, Βηθσαι [B]), now *Bait Lakm*, 7 m. NW of Nazareth, 'a miserable village among oak woods' (Guérin, *Gallide*, 1: 34; Robt. *BA* 3:11). In the Talmud it receives the designation בֵּית נָזָרִית, perhaps a corruption for בֵּית נָזָרִית, 'of Nazareth' (Neubauer, *Gloss. Talm.*, 189 f.). The combination of two names so famous in the Gospel history is remarkable. Most scholars take this Bethlehem to have been the home and burial-place of the judge Hozai (Judg. 12:31). Josephus and Jewish tradition assign him to Bethlehem Judah (*Ant. v. 713*). G. A. S.

BETHLOMON (Βηθλωμών [A]), 1 Esd. 5:17 = Esd. 2:2, BETHLEHEM, § 2.

BETH-MAACHAH (בֵּית מַעֲכָה), 2 S. 20:14. See ABEL-BETH-MAACHAH.

BETH-MARCABOTH (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבוֹת, § 6, i.e., 'the house of chariots') and HAZAR SUSAN (חֲצֵר סוּסָה, i.e., 'station of horses') are mentioned together in Josh. 19:5 f. in the list of Simeonite towns.

The B readings are 1 for Bethmarcaboth: in Josh. 19:5 Βηθμαρκάβοθ [B], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [L]; in 1 Ch. 4:11, where the B reading is omitted, Βηθμαρκάβοθ [B], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [L], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [A]. For HAZAR-SUSAN: in Josh. 19:5 Βηθμαρκάβοθ [B], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [A], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [L]; in 1 Ch. 4:11, Βηθμαρκάβοθ [B], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [A], Βηθμαρκάβοθ [L].

The names seem to indicate posts of war-horses and chariots, such as Solomon is said to have established (1 K. 9:25). The two places may possibly be identical respectively with MADMANNAH and SANSANNAH, 'cities' in the Negeb towards Edom. The latter are the older names; for Madmannah, at least, appears in 1 Ch. 2:40 (which belongs to the list of pre-exilic settlements of the Calebites), whilst it is impossible to assign a very early date to 1 Ch. 4:11, where Bethmarcaboth and HAZAR-SUSAN are mentioned as Simeonite towns 'before the reign of David.' That the two places actually were regular stations for horses and chariots may be taken for granted; but it may be questioned whether they were so before post-exilic times, when the Persians established post-stations on the route from the Shéphelah into Egypt (by Gaza to Pelusium). On this view Samsannah may very well be the modern *Samsim*, a village in an olive-grove on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (6½ m. NE. from the latter town), and Madmannah may be conjectured to be the modern *Khan Yunus*, 14 m. SW. from Gaza (so Guérin, *Jud.* 2:241). *Khan Yunus* has always been an important station. It may be noted that in the time of Micah (1:1) Lachish (about 8 m. from Samsim) also was a chariot city. Cp. MARCABOTH. W. R. S.

BETH-MEON (בֵּית מֵעוֹן), Jer. 48:21. See BAAL-MEON.

BETH-MERHAK, AV 'a place that was afar off,' RVmss 'the Far House,' בֵּית הַמֵּרְחָק. ΕΝ ΟΙΚΩ ΤΩ ΜΑΚΡΑΝ [BM], *procul a domo*. Beth-merhak is either the proper name (so Ges.¹³, BDB doubtfully),—in which case the name is Beth hammerhak, like Beth-hacezeret,—or a description (Ew., The., Ke., Kan. *HS*, 'the last house') of the place outside Jerusalem where David waited with his attendants until the people and the body-guard had passed, 2 S. 15:17 (on the text, which is doubtful, see Dr. *HSm*, and Klo. *ad loc.*).

It is evident that chariots went down to Egypt by this way at least as early as the eighth cent. B.C. Cp. Gen. 46:5 Mic. 1:13.

BETH-MILLO

BETH MILLO (בֵּית מִלּוֹ), Judg. 9:6 RV^{ms}; see JERUSALEM.

BETH NIMRAH (בֵּית נִמְרָה) perhaps 'place of pure water'; cp. Ar. *nimra*, Ass. *nimri*, 'transparent'; but see NIMRIM and NIMRI, § 104; Nu 32:6 נַמְרָא [N] אַמְרָא [N], [N] אַמְרָא [N]; Josh. 13:27 ΒΑΙΝΘΑΝ-ΑΒΡΑ [H], ΒΗΘΑΝΑΒΡΑ [I], ΒΗΘΑΜΝΑ [A], or Nimrah (Nu 32:6 נַמְרָא [H], אַמְרָא [N], אַמְרָא [N], אַמְרָא [N]), one of the Amorit cities which were afterwards 'built' by Israel (Nu 32:6), is the *Βηθανιά* and *Bethannan* of Eusebius and Jerome (OS² 241; *ib.* 102), a village still extant in their day, about 5 R. m. N. from Laviat (H. H. HAVAN, *q. v.*), the modern *Amman*, a well-watered oasis on the bank of the Jordan valley some 14 miles E. of Jordan (cp. Baed. *Palest.* 102). Beth-nimrah is nowhere mentioned under this name in OT outside of Numbers and Joshua, but it is identified by many modern cities with the waters of NIMRIM (*q. v.*), and, as stated elsewhere (BETHANY, 2), Beth-nimrah may be the original of the variants Bethany, Bethabara, in Ju. 1:8.

BETHORON (Judith 14), RV BETH-ORON (*q. v.*).

BETH PALET, or (Neh. 11:26) BETH-PALITE, RV always *Bethpelet* (בֵּית פֶּלֶט, 'house of escape'), an unknown Caldean town (cp. PILET [1], 1 Ch. 2:47), on the Edomite border of Judah, Josh. 15:27 (ΒΑΙΦΑΛΑΔ [H], ΒΑΙΦΑΛΕΘ [N], ΒΗΘΦΕΛ [I]), mentioned in the list of Judahite villages (see EZRA, II, § 5 [6], § 15 [11]; Neh. 11:26 (ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑΤ [N] *anac*), ΒΗΘΦΑΛΑΤ [I], om. BN^a A). For the gentile Palite (פֶּלֶט), corruptly PILETITE (1), see PALITE.

BETH PAZZEZ (בֵּית פֶּצֶץ), an unknown point on the border of Issachar, Josh. 19:21 (ΒΗΡΑΦΗΝ [H], ΒΑΙΦΑΡΗΝ [N], ΒΗΘΡΑΦΗΝ [I]). Compare the equally obscure name HAPPAZZEZ.

BETH-PEOR (בֵּית פְּעוֹר), ΒΗΘ ΠΟΡΩ [BAFL], a place named in Dt. 3:29 4:46 31:6 Josh. 13:20. In Josh. 13:20 (ΒΗΘΠΟΡΩ [H], ΒΕΘ [N]) it is enumerated among the cities of Reuben; in Dt. 3:29 4:46 the ravine (פְּעוֹר) in front of (פְּעוֹר) it is mentioned as the place where Israel was encamped when the Deuteronomy discourses were delivered; and in Dt. 3:16 the same ravine is mentioned as the place of Moses' burial. The exact site is uncertain; but it seems clear that it cannot have been very far from the Pisgah ridge. Eusebius states (OS² 233*) that *Βηθφοργ* was near Mount *Φοργ* (cp. 'the top, or head, of Peor,' ראש פְּעוֹר, Nu. 23:28), opposite to Jericho, 6 m. above Livias (*i. e.*, Tell er-Rameh; see BETH-HAKAN); and (OS² 21347) that Mount *Φοργ* was opposite to Jericho, on the side of the road leading up from Livias to Heshbon, a part of it being 7 m. from the latter place (1151-2). If we may judge from the map in the *Survey of P. Palest.*, the ascent from Livias to Heshbon would be made naturally either along the Wady Heshbon (cp. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 525 f.; Tristram, *Arab.* 346) or along the more circuitous road N. of this, said by Tristram (p. 343) to be the one ordinarily used. The statements of Eusebius, if correct, would thus point to a site near one of these two roads, some four or five miles N. of Nebi. The 'head of Peor' (Nu. 23:28) might be an eminence in the same locality. The opinion that this was the site is supported by the mention, in Josh. 13:20, of Beth-peor next to the 'slopes' (רָמֹת) of Pisgah, *i. e.*, in all probability, the declivities on the S. side of the Wady 'Ayin Musā. The 'ravine in front of Beth-peor' might thus be the Wady Heshbon. Conder (*PEPQ* 1882, p. 85 f.; *Heth and Arab.* 146 f.) suggests a site farther to the S.—*e. g.*, on the crest of a hill above 'Am el-Minyeh, 8 m. SW. of Nebi, commanding (see Nu. 23:28; and 24:2 compared with 25:1)

BETH-REHOB

an extensive view of the lower valley of the J. Peor, however, the spot at which kind of Peor worshipped (which can hardly have been far from Beth-peor), would seem (Nu. 25:1) to have been readily accessible from the plain of Shatim (the Es-Sasbeh) than 'Am el-Minyeh would be; Nu. compared with 25:14 makes it probable also that it is less distant from Pisgah; whilst, as we have seen, ever other indications we possess point to a site on the N. side of the Pisgah ridge (the modern Nebi, Ras Sāgh, rather than to one S. of it. Until, therefore, it has been shown that there is no eminence in the neighborhood of the Wady Heshbon commanding the plain, as implied in Nu. 23:24 and 24:2 (cp. 25:1), it is here the ancient Beth-peor must be sought. Travellers perhaps explore this region with the view of ascertaining whether there is such a height. (p. 140) A. R.

BETHPHAGE (ΒΗΘΦΑΓΗ [Ti. WH]), *Βηθφαγή* a locality near the Mt. of Olives, on a small hill or road from Jerusalem to Jericho. It is mentioned together with BETHANY (2:1, 1), and probably in the E. of it (Mt. 21: Mk. 11: Lk. 19:29). Chrysostom (vol. xvi. chap. 17) describes it as a place of pilgrimage (cp. OS² 18879). According to various passages in the Talmud, Beth-phage was the name of the district extending from the base of Olivet to the walls of Jerusalem, and, according to the Talm. Bab. (*Men.* x. 78 b), Beth-phage was one of the limits of the Sabbath zone around Jerusalem (cp. *T. T. K.*), whence (I. Guttman) would identify it with Kefr et-Tur (see *PEPQ* 1882, p. 60; but see BETH-ZUR).

The current explanation of the name is a little more plausible than that of BETHANY (2:7). *Βηθφαγή* (cp. *Men.* x. 78 b) would naturally mean 'place of young figs'; cp. 22 in Cant. 2:13 with *Dehitzeli's* *u.* This, however, may be no more than a popular etymology. Nestle (*Phil. Sac.* 1896; cp. *W. F.*, etc. 148) is convinced that the narrative of the barren fig tree, which in Mt. 21:17-19 Mk. 11:12-14 is localised at Bethphage. It has often been remarked that this is a startling peculiarity in this narrative as compared with the other evangelical traditions. See also Meyer, *Jesus Mattersprache*, 166.

The mediæval Bethphage was discovered by Guillelmus and Clermont-Ganneau in 1877 between the Mount of Olives and Bethany. In his account of this discovery the latter scholar offers the suggestion that the 'Village of the Mount of Olives' (*K'fr et-Tur*), which admittedly stands on the site of some important ancient village, may be the Bethphage of the Gospels and of the Talmud. This view would clear up the Talmudic statement respecting the Sabbath zone already mentioned. See *PEPQ* 1878, pp. 51-61.

BETH-PHELET (בֵּית פֶּלֶט), Neh. 11:26 AV. See BETH-PALET.

BETH-RAPHA (בֵּית רָפָא), in an obscure genealogy of Cheleb (= Caleb), 1 Ch. 4:12 (ΒΑΘΡΑΙΑΝ [H], -ΡΕΦΑ [N], ΒΗΘΡΑΦΑΝ [I]). No place of this name is known; Rapha appears to be a clan-name, unconnected of course with 'Raphaiah.' RAPHA [2] appears to occur as a name in BENJAMIN (§ 9, in. β).

BETH-REHOB (בֵּית רְהוֹב), ΒΗΘΡΑΒ [BAFL], an Aramaean town and district, which with ZORAN and MIVAT sent men to the help of Ammon against David (2 S. 10:6, 7, 8; R. H. H. [p. 23 A]; ΒΑΙΘΡΑΒ [I], in both).² See ARAM, §§ 5, 6. It is stated in Judg.

1. In the Talmud, *רָהַב* also means a jaw or cheek, and *פֶּסַח* 183 we learn that the cheeks (Syr. has *רָהַב*) belonged to the portion of the priests (cp. *Rehob*, 6:3). Hence, on the supposition that Beth-phage meant 'place of cheeks,' it was presumed that there was a school of priests here.

2. A reference to a similar defeat at the hands of Saul in 1 S. 14:7 (cp. *Βηθφαγ* [H], *Βηθφαγ* [I], *Bethphage* [A]) is open to suspicion; see SAUL, § 3, and cp. *W. F.* 144-5.

BETHSAIDA

1822 that Laish-Dan was in 'the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob' (אֵלֶּיךָ בְּרֵחַב [B], o. בְּרֵחַב [L], o. בְּרֵחַב [M]). Beth-rehob is doubtless the Rehob of Nu 13:21, which, according to P., was the most northern point reached by the spies (בְּרֵחַב [B], בְּרֵחַב [L]). A connection with the Asherite Rehob (1, 2, 3) is improbable (though not impossible, see ARAM, § 5).¹

The exact site of Beth-rehob is uncertain. It can hardly be the Jebel Hanni, finely situated above the great plain of Huleh to the W. of Minias, and remarkable for the remains, partly ancient of a fortress (so Rob. *BAR* 4:37 f.). Others have thought of *K. el-Hana*, about 1 hour N. of Dan; but may not the site of the *heron* Beth-rehob be placed quite as reasonably at Minias itself (see C. S. ARAM, § 7 f.)?

BETHSAIDA (ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [L], ΒΗΘΣΑΙΔΑ [M]); Syr. ܒܝܬܫܝܕܐ; place of fishing or hunting). Josephus

tells us (*Ant.* xviii, 21) that the Tetrarch 1. **Julias**, Philip raised a village (κώμη) Bethsaida on the lake of Tiberias to the rank of a city, and called it Julias, after Julia the daughter of Augustus. There, where he describes Julias as in the lower Gaulonitis (*Ant.* 9:1), close to the Jordan (*Ant.* 7:2), near where the latter runs into the lake (*Ant.* 10:9). Philo (x, 14) and Jerome (*Comm.* Mt. 16:9) also place it E. of Jordan. In conformity with these data, the site has been fixed on the fertile and very grassy plain El-Buteiha, in the NE. corner of the lake, either at et-Tell, a mound with many ruins, close to the Jordan where the latter issues from the hills, or at Mas'adiyah, by the mouth of the river (to which Thomson [*Land and Book*, ed. 1877, 350] heard the name Bethsaida attached by Bedouins). Fish abound on either side of the Jordan's mouth and (presumably) in the river itself. There can be little doubt that this was the 'city called Bethsaida' (Lk. 9:10; εἰς τὸν ἑρῆμον πόλεως καλουμένην βηθ). εἰς τὸν ἑρῆμον, etc., which reads εἰς πόλιν καλουμένην βηθ; so Th. W. H., etc.) to which Jesus withdrew, as being in Philip's jurisdiction, when he heard of John's murder by Antipas (cp Mt. 14:13). Lk. places near it the feeding of the five thousand, which Mt. (14:14 ff.) and Mk. (6:31 ff.) describe as in a desert (i.e., uninhabited) but grassy place (Mt. 14:19 Mk. 6:39 'green grass,' such as grows in the Buteiha, in contrast to the paler herbage of the higher and drier parts), to which Jesus proceeded by boat, followed by multitudes on foot. J. also describes the scene on the E. shore of the lake (6:1), and says 'there was much grass in the place' (v. 13). A site on the Buteiha suits also the Bethsaida of Mk. 8:22, for Jesus was already E. of Jordan (v. 13) and went thence to the villages of Caesarea Philippi (v. 27). All interpreters of the Gospels are virtually agreed about this.

The question has been raised, whether there was not a second Bethsaida. After the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus, it is said, constrained his

2. **Mk. 6:45**, disciples to go before him to the other side to Bethsaida (Mk. 6:45, εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς βηθ). This has forced some scholars, one or two much against their will (Rehml, *Pal.* 653 ff., Herderson, *Pal.* 150 ff.), to conclude that there was a Bethsaida to the W. of Jordan, either a suburb of Julias, separated from it by the river, or at 'Ain Tihigha (Rob. *BAR* 3:58 f.), 4 m. along the coast, where there is a bay containing fish in abundance, and the modern shrine of *Sheikh 'Ali* (cp *Leid.* 'Aly of the Fishermen, and strong streams flowing). But, in the first place, the phrase 'to go to the other side' does not necessarily imply the passage from the E. to the W. coast of the lake, for Josephus speaks of 'sailing over' (διεπαραώθη) from Tiberias to Taricheus.

¹ The mention of the 'entrance to Hamath' here is possibly a gloss (cp Moore, *Jude*, 399).

² In 2 S. 8:32 the king of Zobah is called 'son of Rehob'; see HADADZER.

³ So Thomson, *Land and Book*, 350 f.; Buhl, *Pal.* 240; Moore, *Jude*, 359.

BETH-SHEAN

(*Ant.* 19), though these towns lay on the same side; and, secondly, Jesus would not seek again the territories of Herod Antipas so soon after leaving them for those of Philip, but would most probably return to what Lk. tells us he had just chosen as his headquarters. We may be certain, then, that the Bethsaida of Mk. 6:45 is still Bethsaida (here).

Now need we seek for another in the 'Bethsaida of Galilee' to which the Fourth Gospel (4:44 [40] 12:21) says that Andrew, Peter, and Philip belonged.

3. **John 1:44** In the time of the Great War (66-70 A.D.) [1] 12-1 the name Galilee appears to have been

extended round the Lake. Josephus calls *Galilee* of Gamla the Galilee (*Ant.* xviii, 10), and at Caesarea the jurisdiction of the ruler of Galilee may have comprised part of the E. coast (cp *Ant.* x, 14). Besides, a town which lay so immediately on the Jordan might easily be reckoned to Galilee. In any case, by 81 A.D. the E. coast was definitely attached to the province, and Ptolemy (v, 13), writing about 140, places Julias 'in Galilee'. That being so, it is somewhat meant that it is only the Fourth Gospel that speaks of 'Bethsaida of Galilee'. There is, therefore, as held by Wilson, *Revol. of Jesus*; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ed. 1877, 372 ff.; Holtzmann, *NT*, 1876, 496; ARAM; Turner, *ZEPH* 266 ff.; Socin and Benzinger in Buhl, ed. 1891, p. 256; G. ARAM *II* 457 ff.; Buhl, *Pal.* 241 ff.) no reason compelling us to the theory of a second or western Bethsaida. It is interesting that the disciple of Jesus called Philip should come from Philip's Julias.

Early Christian tradition and the medieval works of travel agree in showing no trace of more than one Bethsaida. The site shown for it, however, is uncertain, and may have varied from age to age. Eusebius and Jerome define it only as on the lake (178). Epiphanius (*Haer.* i, 51 f.) merely says it was not far from Capernaum. Willibald's day (722 A.D.), which place it on his journey between Capernaum and Chorazin, suit the E. bank of the Jordan (in spite of what Robinson says) even if Chorazin (*q.v.*) be Kerāzēl, but Gergesa (Kheresa) may be meant.

In all probability Bethsaida remained locally distinct from Julias after the erection of the latter by Philip. The custom of Jesus was not to enter such purely Greek towns as Julias must have been; yet, according to Mt. 11:21, he did many 'wonderful works' in Bethsaida. Julias had fourteen villages round about it (Jos. *Ant.* xx, 84). Schumacher suggests for Bethsaida some ruins on the lake called el-'Ataj, which were joined with et-Tell (Julias) by a Roman road (*ZEPH* 919).

G. A. S.
BETHSAMOS (ΒΗΘΣΑΜΩΣ [A]), 1 Esd. 5:13 AV; RV^{mg} ΒΗΘΣΑΜΩΣ (*q.v.*, 1).

BETH-SHEAN (בֵּית-שֵׁן, § 90, cp *Bay-ti-Sa'-a-ry*, i.e., בֵּית-שֵׁן, WMIM *Ac. u. Fur.* 153; ΒΑΙΘΑ[Α]Ν

1. **Position.** [BALE]), or Beth-shan (בֵּית-שֵׁן, in *pause* בֵּית-שֵׁן; ΒΗΘΑΝ [A], ΒΑΙΘ, [L]), or Beth-

san (1 Macc. 5:52 12:40; *Isbora* [A] f.), mod. *Beisan*, 320 ft. below the sea-level, was finely situated on a low table-land above the Jordan valley, at the mouth of the W. Jāhid, which leads gently up from the Jordan to Zer'in (Jezreel). The Jordan itself is three miles off (cp ZAKUTHAN, § 1); but Beth-shean was unusually well supplied with water, being intersected by two streams. Amid the extensive ruins rises the *tell* of the ancient fortress, 'a natural mound, artificially strengthened by scarping the side' (*PEF. Mem.* 240-8).

The illustration given in the *Memories of the Survey* will enable the reader to divine the grandeur of the prospect from this eminence. The eye sweeps from four to ten miles of the plain all round, and follows the road westward to Jezreel, covers the thickets of Jordan where the fords lie, and ranges the edge of the eastern hills from Gadara to the Jabbok (G. ARAM, *II* 457).

This 'farthest-seeing, farthest-seen fortress' must have been hard for the Israelites to conquer, yet

2. **History.** till it was in their hands they were excluded from one of the main roads between western and eastern Palestine, and from the occupation of a coveted portion of the Jordan valley. That Beth-

BETH-SHEAN

shelem was included in one of the prefectures of Solomon's kingdom is certain (1 K. 12, *ô akatay hay* and *šayakayur* [12], *š'ô š'ô* [10], *ô akatay šay* and *šakayur* [X], *ô akatay šay* and *šakay* [1, 12]). On the death of Saul, on the other hand, we find it in the hands of the Philistines (1 S. 31, *šayakay* [10], *š. š. šayakay* [B], 2 S. 21, *šay* [10]); and, though both shelem may be one of the cities of the Jordan (1 S. 17, *šay* text) which the Israelites deserted after the battle of Gilboa, it is equally likely that it was still a Canaanish city when captured by the Philistines. We know at any rate, that it retained its Canaanite population for some time after the Israeliite occupation of Palestine (Judg. 12, *šayakay* [10], *šakayur* [1, 1], Josh. 17, *šakayur* [10], *šakayur* [10], *š. š. šayakayur* [B]). It may possibly have been as late as the time of David that this great fortress fell into the hands of the Israelites. Standing on the road from Damascus to Egypt and also from Damascus by Shechem to Jerusalem and Hebron, it had a commercial as well as a military importance which would have attracted the notice of such a keen-sighted king as David.

From the Mueoumian period onwards Bethshean bore the strange Greek name *Seuthopolis* (see Judg. 127, *בֵּית שֵׁט* *Seuthōp* π. *Se*; 2 Macc. 129-11, etc.), which probably records the fact (or belief) that some of the Syrian invaders of the seventh cent. B.C. (see *SEUTHANS*) had settled here. In N.E. times it was one of the most important cities of the Decapolis (p. 2),

BETH SHEMESH (בֵּית שֵׁמֶשׁ) § 95 f. (i.e., 'temple of the sun')

BETH SHEMESH בֵּית שְׁמֶשׁ (Gen. 38: 9 f., temple of the sun) ΒΑΙΘΕΜΥΣΗ [BAI-], gentile ἡ θεοῦ β. [HAI, θ̄ ēē β̄, -L], in TS בַּיִת שָׁמֶשׁ Baithashemish [BI], ὁ θεὸς βαίθημυση [V, -IA] Beth shemite).
1. Bethlishemesh or Ir-shemesh (בֵּית שְׁמֶשׁ Josh. 19: 4)
ΠΟΛΙΣ CAMEE [VI], ΠΟΛΙΣ CANNAAE [B], a Levitical city (Josh. 21: 6, ΒΕΘΟCAMEE [-A], ΤΗΝ CAMEE [-L], 1 Ch. 16: 7 [VI]). BACAMYE [B] on the borders of Judah (Josh. 15: 3), ΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΛΙΟΥ [HAI], lost assigned to Dan (Josh. 19: 4), is the modern 'Am Sheims, 917 feet above sea level, on the south side of the broad and beautiful and still well-cultivated W es-sarâr, opposite Zorah and two m from it, 'a noble site for a city; a low platform at the junction of two fine plains' (Robinson). It is a point in the lowland on the road from Philistia (Ekron) to the hill-country of Judah (Simeon's camp) (1 S. 19: 30) Βεθσαμει [-A], 1 S. 23: 34 Βεθα [-A], and probably was an ancient sanctuary, since the field of Joshua the Beth shemite may for some time during the Philistine domination the resting-place of the ark. In truth, it is difficult not to identify it with the Šimāšna of the Palestine lists of Rameses II. (KAT² 627; WMF Pl. n. Fur. 166) and Rameses III? (KAT² 639), whose sanctuary may be presumed to be connected with the myth of SAMSON (Judg.). It was at Bethshemesh that Amniah of Judah was defeated and made prisoner by Iehozab, king of Israel (2 K. 11: 16, 1 S. 31: 2) Αμφαμει [-A], 1 S. 31: 2 [-A]. According to the Chronicler it was one of the cities in the lowland of Judah taken by the Philistines from Ahaz, 'king of Israh' (2 Ch. 28: 2). The place was still shown in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, who give its position as to Km. E. of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis, a statement which suits the identification given above. There are many traces of ancient buildings.

2 An unidentified city within the territory of Naphtali, apparently in its northward portion (Josh. 19:2, *ḥaṣṣa* [18], *ḥaṣṣa* [A], *ḥaṣṣa* [14]). From Judg. 1:27, *ḥaṣṣa* [A] we learn that, along with Bethanath, its population continued to be chiefly Canaanite.

3 An unidentified city on the border of Issachar (Josh. 19:22, *ḥaṣṣa* [A], *ḥaṣṣa* [14]), perhaps = (2), if the latter lay in the extreme south of Naphtali.

† The double possessive is not unusual in Hebrew.

² The latter was discovered by Sayce at Medinet Habū in 1892.

Discovered by Sayce at Medinet Habu in 1892.

BETHUL

4. A city of Egypt, mentioned in Jer. 43:14. **וְהָיָה יְהוֹשָׁפָט** 'he shall break the obelisks of sheshem in the land of Egypt'. It is commonly supposed by Griffith in Hastings *Thes.* that what is meant is Heliopolis, the city of the sun (see 198); but it is simply photographed from **יְהוֹשָׁפָט** in 1926. We read **וְהָיָה יְהוֹשָׁפָט** 'pillars of the sun or obelisks' *J.T. Unter*, 80 f., 1, he, *ibid.*, p. 192, n. 29.

BETH SHITTAH (בֵּית שִׁיטָּה, 'place of acacia') is mentioned in Judg. 7:22 (**BALETTA** [V], **BAIOACETTA** [I]) as a point to the pine-stricken *Muhannites* (but before *Unleaven*) was on the way toward **ZERIKAH** (see **ZARU**, *Agur*), but has not been identified; probably it well down in the Jordan valley, at the mouth of wady where acacias flourish. The identification Shitta on the north side of the W. Jabbul, c. 10 N. Beisan and 6 m. E. of Zer'in (cp. Kob., *Conder*), has little to recommend it. It has much too been supposed scene of the surprise. More, perhaps, c. be said for Beisan. Others compare el-Meshitta (*AMPP*, 1895, pp. 81 ff., Schumacher, *ED* 159) with *meschatta* 14 m. SSE. of Joghbeh, whole narrative is, however, composite (see *It. 1895*), and the Heb. construction favours the assumption Zerarah does not belong to the same source as B. Shittah. In J. *Mulan* (lies east from Shechem to other side of the Jordan, whereas from 7:23 it appears in E's narrative they turn S. into Zerathim) through the Jordan valley, where they are intercepted by Ephraimites (cp. Moore, *Judg.*, 212).

BETH SURA (H BETHCOYPA / V), 1 Macc. 4
2 Macc. 11:5 RV Bethsauron See Beth SUR,

BETH TAPPUAH (בֵּית תַּפּוּחַ), § 103 = *ע.ר.*, 'city of apples' (אֵפֶל, apple), a town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15:11. ΒΑΙΘΑΧΟΥ [13]. ΒΕΘΘΑΠΦΟΥΕ [14]. ΒΗΘΘΑΦ, [14]), having a traditional connection with greater neighbour Hebron (1 Ch. 24; see TAPPUAH, and very possibly identical with the fortified town called TAPPUCH (19.7.) in 1 Macc. 9:53. If the similarity of names, the vicinity of Hebron, and the fruitfulness of the district prove anything, the modern *Tuffah* is the ancient Beth-tappuah. The village so named is 4½ m. W by N from Hebron, and stands on a high hill, the slopes of which are planted with aged olive-trees; indeed, the whole of the *Hady Tuffah* abounds in fruit-trees of all kinds. Traces of old buildings remain, and there are two ancient wells (Rob. LEPK 248; *Vuclm. Judae*, 3:174). Several ancient sites named *Tuffah* have lost this prefix. Thus the *בֵּית תַּפּוּחַ* of Nu. 32:36 is modern Nimria.

The notices of Eus. and Jer. (OS 235 is 104 17; cp. 156 m) are of interest only as showing that there was another place on the confines of Palestine and Egypt bearing the same name. Whatever the fruit called *lappinā* was (see APP 1), it was a common one in Palestine as quinces and apricots are now.

BETHUEL (בְּתוּאֵל, for בְּתוּאֵל, 'man of El' = cp Methushael, and see CAINITES, § 7; hardly for אֵל, *bit il*, 'house of a deity'; ΒΑΘΥΛΛΑ [ΒΕΤΙΛ])
 1. B. Nahor: father of Laban.

22:24; 21:5 [1]). In Gen. 25:20-23 [1'] he is called an 'Aramean,' as is also his son Laban in 31:2-24. See AKAM, § 3.

2. Not Built.

BETHUL (בֵּתוּל), a Simeonite town (Josh. 19:4. Βεϋλα [B]. Βαθυλα [A.], called בֵּתוּלָה [B]. Βαθυλα [B]. -οϋλα [V]. -οϋχα [L.] in 1 Ch. 4:9 and corruptly Βεϋλα [B.]) in Josh 19:4 Βαθυλα [B]. λαειρ [V]. Βεϋλα [L.] The form בֵּתוּלָה may perhaps be classed with Bethel; for elision of **א** ep. HAMEL. It is doubtless the BETHEL (בֵּתְאֵל, בֵּתְאֵלָה [A.], Βεϋλα [L.], Beth-zur [B])¹ of 1 S. 30:27, mentioned along with

¹ The situation of fleth-zur is less suitable (Wol. 19.).

BETHU' LA

latter and other places in the Negeb, but the site has not yet been identified. There was probably a Bethel near Gaza.¹

BETHULIA (ΒΕΤΟΥΛΙΑ [B¹⁸N]). [the preferable reading, but ΒΑΙΤΗΥΛΙΑ [B¹⁸N], ΒΑΙΤΟΥΛΙΑ [B¹⁸N], are also found]; *ΒΗΘ-ΛΕΛ* [B¹⁸g]; *بيت حوله*], the centre of the action in the book of Judith (2, 21 [B¹⁸g] 16 [N], ΒΑΙΤΟΥΛΙΑ 2, 20 f. 1, 7 ff.). In the shorter version of the narrative its place is taken by Jerusalem, and there is little doubt that Bethulia (properly Baitelia) represents שָׁרָא, ² the house of God, viz., Jerusalem (see [L¹⁸g], n. 1). So already Reuss who, however, together with Wette, derived the name from שָׁרָא נָצַר. Bertholdt's conjecture שָׁרָא, 'virgin of Yahweh,' may be worth noticing.³

According to the representations of the book (p. 167), Bethulā lay near Jezreel, upon a rock by a valley, commanding the passes to the S. (so Buhl, *Pal.* 201, n. 927). Various identifications have been suggested.

Some have caught for it near the modern Kfar Kold, formerly Capthoroth, NE. of the plain of Dothan (Hil., *op. cit.*); Kildun, other suggestions are the fortress Samir (Gross in Smith's *EDS*, K. 1), Karkel-Mellah (Marta, quoted in *DDP* 12113, p. 40) (K. 2), Karkel (Schulze), and possibly in *DDP* 12114, and *ibid.* 12115, often confounded), Mithlath or Misila (Gouda; *ibid.*), Samir, also inclines to this view, *ibid.* 12115, 256). More recently, Torrey (*Journal, Am. Or. Soc.*, 29 (1907), 199) argues ably in favour of Shechem.

So large and important a place as Bethulia—with its rulers and elders (6.14.16), its streets and towers (7.2.12), and its siege, lasting for four and thirty days, by an immensely superior army (7.2)—cannot reasonably be identified with any small and insignificant locality. It remains to be added that the mention of Jerusalem and Bethulia as two distinct places (cp 16.15.5 f.) is probably to be assigned to a time when the identity of the ideal Bethulia with Jerusalem was forgotten.

3. 3. 3.

BETHZACHARIAS. AV (by misprint?) BATHZACHARIAS (ΒΕΘΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ) [N. BATH, (N)] ; Jos. 8:092, BETHZ., the scene of the defeat of Judas the Maccabean by Lysias, and of the death of his brother Eleazar (1 Mac. 6:12 f.). Its position is defined by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 94) as 70 stadia (N.) from Bethsur ; it is thus represented by the modern *Bet-Sakana* (described by Robinson¹² 1233 f. and PEF. Mem. 345, note).

BETHZATHA (ΒΗΘΣΑΘΑ), the reading adopted by T¹WH in Jn. 52, where T¹R has ΒΗΘΣΑΔΑ. For the evidence, see WH, ii, App. 76; perhaps the purest form would be Βηθζαθά, 'the place of the olive' (cp P¹LA, III).

BETH ZUR (בֵּית צֻר). Beθōzūr [AL], § 96, 'house of rock,' or, on the analogy of Beth-el, 'house of *Zur*'—a thymic name. Nestle, *Eigennamen*, 47, n 1; Hommel, *IEHT* 319; see ZUR), a city in the hill-country of Judah, mentioned between Mahal and Gedor⁴ (Josh. 15:3, *βαιθזור* [B]; cp 1 Ch 24:5, where Bethzur = *βαιθזור* [B], *βηθזור* [M]; is the 'son' of Maon), is stated in 2 Ch 11:7 (*βαιθזור* [B], *την βαιθ*, [M], *την βαιθזור* [L]) to have been fortified by Rehoboam. It was head of a district in Nehemiah's time (Neh 3:16, *βαιθזור* [NS], *βηθזור* [M]). Frequently an object of struggle in the Maccabean wars (1 *βαιθזור*, *τα β*, [SV], *η βαιθ*, *τα β*, [AN], 1 Mac 3:2, 3:4, 6:2, 7:1, 40:5, 9:5; 10:14 *βαιθזור* [V*]; 11:5, 11:7, etc.).⁵ It was in the time of Josephus (*Int.* xii. 56) 'the strongest place in

¹ Bethel (Βηθελμα), a populous village of Gaza with very ancient and much-revered temples, is mentioned by Strabon (v, p. 14, p. 202). [MS. note of WRS.]

2 For the form *Berylia*, cp the magical stones *Berylia*, which derive their name from *Beth-el*; and on interchange of the forms *Bethu* and *Beth*, see *BETHU*.

³ So Jerusalem is referred to as *kōpē* in Sibyll 3784, 786 (APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 66 ff.). Cp DAUGHTER, 4.

⁵ In 2 Macc. 13:19-22 SA has τ. βυθος, 11 ε. βεθσυρων [A].

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all India, and was still an inhabited village (Tibetans) in the days of Tachibana and before (1818-1819) (p. 260). It is represented by *Red Sun (ling)* *Sun*, and occupies a position of strategic importance, commanding the road from Jerusalem to Tethouan, 4½ m. N. from the latter city. The modern village has a ruined tower, and there are broken stones scattered about, as also some fragments of columns, and many foundations of buildings. It must have been a small place (Tibetans).

If the statements in 2 Mac. 11:13-14a are reliable there must have been a second Beth-zur in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Given since the time in the modern village of Beit-She'an, half an hour SE from Jerusalem. Such a, with more probability, identifies it with the modern *Beit el-Jar* (the Ar. form of Beth-zur) on the central height of the Mount of Olives (*PT* 14, Jar. 1933, p. 37, see *Camb. Jour.* on 2 Mac. 11:13). See, however, the Introduction.

BETOLIUS (*Betullia*) [H]. + *Lasiacis* AN, RV
Betollon = *Lasiacis*, H. 1011

BETOMESTHAM RV *Betomesthalm* in Judith 19, or *Betomasthem*, RV *Betomasthalm* in 15; (Baitomasth) *thaim* [15, - *ACHES* N]. **BETOMASTHAIM** [A. *βητομασθαιμ*; con. *Q* RV in 15 and *Q* Vg. Syr in 15] by 'cover again' joined in face of the plan that is near Bethan. 'It toward' (*kata πηλοσπον*) can be taken as meaning 'eastward' of the plan of Bethan, we are able to determine its position pretty nearly, but the exact site has not been identified.

BETONIM (בֵּטוֹנִים) § 103 *l.c.*, 'pistachio nuts,'
BOTANET [14], **NIN** [V **NEIM** [1]], in Gadi-
territory (Josh 13:6), may perhaps be *Betunah*, 3 m.
W. from es-Salt (Ramoth-gilead).

BETROTHAL. The Heb. verb is **נָשָׂא** *nasa* (נָשָׂא *nasa*), on which see MARRIAGE, § 4. In 2S. 3:14, RV rightly has 'betrothed' instead of 'AV' 'espoused.' So also in Mt. 1:18, 1:22, 1:24, 1:25, 1:26, 1:27, 1:28, 1:29, 1:30, 1:31, 1:32, 1:33, 1:34, 1:35, 1:36, 1:37, 1:38, 1:39, 1:40, 1:41, 1:42, 1:43, 1:44, 1:45, 1:46, 1:47, 1:48, 1:49, 1:50, 1:51, 1:52, 1:53, 1:54, 1:55, 1:56, 1:57, 1:58, 1:59, 1:60, 1:61, 1:62, 1:63, 1:64, 1:65, 1:66, 1:67, 1:68, 1:69, 1:70, 1:71, 1:72, 1:73, 1:74, 1:75, 1:76, 1:77, 1:78, 1:79, 1:80, 1:81, 1:82, 1:83, 1:84, 1:85, 1:86, 1:87, 1:88, 1:89, 1:90, 1:91, 1:92, 1:93, 1:94, 1:95, 1:96, 1:97, 1:98, 1:99, 2:1, 2:2, 2:3, 2:4, 2:5, 2:6, 2:7, 2:8, 2:9, 2:10, 2:11, 2:12, 2:13, 2:14, 2:15, 2:16, 2:17, 2:18, 2:19, 2:20, 2:21, 2:22, 2:23, 2:24, 2:25, 2:26, 2:27, 2:28, 2:29, 2:30, 2:31, 2:32, 2:33, 2:34, 2:35, 2:36, 2:37, 2:38, 2:39, 2:40, 2:41, 2:42, 2:43, 2:44, 2:45, 2:46, 2:47, 2:48, 2:49, 2:50, 2:51, 2:52, 2:53, 2:54, 2:55, 2:56, 2:57, 2:58, 2:59, 2:60, 2:61, 2:62, 2:63, 2:64, 2:65, 2:66, 2:67, 2:68, 2:69, 2:70, 2:71, 2:72, 2:73, 2:74, 2:75, 2:76, 2:77, 2:78, 2:79, 2:80, 2:81, 2:82, 2:83, 2:84, 2:85, 2:86, 2:87, 2:88, 2:89, 2:90, 2:91, 2:92, 2:93, 2:94, 2:95, 2:96, 2:97, 2:98, 2:99, 3:1, 3:2, 3:3, 3:4, 3:5, 3:6, 3:7, 3:8, 3:9, 3:10, 3:11, 3:12, 3:13, 3:14, 3:15, 3:16, 3:17, 3:18, 3:19, 3:20, 3:21, 3:22, 3:23, 3:24, 3:25, 3:26, 3:27, 3:28, 3:29, 3:30, 3:31, 3:32, 3:33, 3:34, 3:35, 3:36, 3:37, 3:38, 3:39, 3:40, 3:41, 3:42, 3:43, 3:44, 3:45, 3:46, 3:47, 3:48, 3:49, 3:50, 3:51, 3:52, 3:53, 3:54, 3:55, 3:56, 3:57, 3:58, 3:59, 3:60, 3:61, 3:62, 3:63, 3:64, 3:65, 3:66, 3:67, 3:68, 3:69, 3:70, 3:71, 3:72, 3:73, 3:74, 3:75, 3:76, 3:77, 3:78, 3:79, 3:80, 3:81, 3:82, 3:83, 3:84, 3:85, 3:86, 3:87, 3:88, 3:89, 3:90, 3:91, 3:92, 3:93, 3:94, 3:95, 3:96, 3:97, 3:98, 3:99, 4:1, 4:2, 4:3, 4:4, 4:5, 4:6, 4:7, 4:8, 4:9, 4:10, 4:11, 4:12, 4:13, 4:14, 4:15, 4:16, 4:17, 4:18, 4:19, 4:20, 4:21, 4:22, 4:23, 4:24, 4:25, 4:26, 4:27, 4:28, 4:29, 4:30, 4:31, 4:32, 4:33, 4:34, 4:35, 4:36, 4:37, 4:38, 4:39, 4:40, 4:41, 4:42, 4:43, 4:44, 4:45, 4:46, 4:47, 4:48, 4:49, 4:50, 4:51, 4:52, 4:53, 4:54, 4:55, 4:56, 4:57, 4:58, 4:59, 4:60, 4:61, 4:62, 4:63, 4:64, 4:65, 4:66, 4:67, 4:68, 4:69, 4:70, 4:71, 4:72, 4:73, 4:74, 4:75, 4:76, 4:77, 4:78, 4:79, 4:80, 4:81, 4:82, 4:83, 4:84, 4:85, 4:86, 4:87, 4:88, 4:89, 4:90, 4:91, 4:92, 4:93, 4:94, 4:95, 4:96, 4:97, 4:98, 4:99, 5:1, 5:2, 5:3, 5:4, 5:5, 5:6, 5:7, 5:8, 5:9, 5:10, 5:11, 5:12, 5:13, 5:14, 5:15, 5:16, 5:17, 5:18, 5:19, 5:20, 5:21, 5:22, 5:23, 5:24, 5:25, 5:26, 5:27, 5:28, 5:29, 5:30, 5:31, 5:32, 5:33, 5:34, 5:35, 5:36, 5:37, 5:38, 5:39, 5:40, 5:41, 5:42, 5:43, 5:44, 5:45, 5:46, 5:47, 5:48, 5:49, 5:50, 5:51, 5:52, 5:53, 5:54, 5:55, 5:56, 5:57, 5:58, 5:59, 5:60, 5:61, 5:62, 5:63, 5:64, 5:65, 5:66, 5:67, 5:68, 5:69, 5:70, 5:71, 5:72, 5:73, 5:74, 5:75, 5:76, 5:77, 5:78, 5:79, 5:80, 5:81, 5:82, 5:83, 5:84, 5:85, 5:86, 5:87, 5:88, 5:89, 5:90, 5:91, 5:92, 5:93, 5:94, 5:95, 5:96, 5:97, 5:98, 5:99, 6:1, 6:2, 6:3, 6:4, 6:5, 6:6, 6:7, 6:8, 6:9, 6:10, 6:11, 6:12, 6:13, 6:14, 6:15, 6:16, 6:17, 6:18, 6:19, 6:20, 6:21, 6:22, 6:23, 6:24, 6:25, 6:26, 6:27, 6:28, 6:29, 6:30, 6:31, 6:32, 6:33, 6:34, 6:35, 6:36, 6:37, 6:38, 6:39, 6:40, 6:41, 6:42, 6:43, 6:44, 6:45, 6:46, 6:47, 6:48, 6:49, 6:50, 6:51, 6:52, 6:53, 6:54, 6:55, 6:56, 6:57, 6:58, 6:59, 6:60, 6:61, 6:62, 6:63, 6:64, 6:65, 6:66, 6:67, 6:68, 6:69, 6:70, 6:71, 6:72, 6:73, 6:74, 6:75, 6:76, 6:77, 6:78, 6:79, 6:80, 6:81, 6:82, 6:83, 6:84, 6:85, 6:86, 6:87, 6:88, 6:89, 6:90, 6:91, 6:92, 6:93, 6:94, 6:95, 6:96, 6:97, 6:98, 6:99, 7:1, 7:2, 7:3, 7:4, 7:5, 7:6, 7:7, 7:8, 7:9, 7:10, 7:11, 7:12, 7:13, 7:14, 7:15, 7:16, 7:17, 7:18, 7:19, 7:20, 7:21, 7:22, 7:23, 7:24, 7:25, 7:26, 7:27, 7:28, 7:29, 7:30, 7:31, 7:32, 7:33, 7:34, 7:35, 7:36, 7:37, 7:38, 7:39, 7:40, 7:41, 7:42, 7:43, 7:44, 7:45, 7:46, 7:47, 7:48, 7:49, 7:50, 7:51, 7:52, 7:53, 7:54, 7:55, 7:56, 7:57, 7:58, 7:59, 7:60, 7:61, 7:62, 7:63, 7:64, 7:65, 7:66, 7:67, 7:68, 7:69, 7:70, 7:71, 7:72, 7:73, 7:74, 7:75, 7:76, 7:77, 7:78, 7:79, 7:80, 7:81, 7:82, 7:83, 7:84, 7:85, 7:86, 7:87, 7:88, 7:89, 7:90, 7:91, 7:92, 7:93, 7:94, 7:95, 7:96, 7:97, 7:98, 7:99, 8:1, 8:2, 8:3, 8:4,

BEULAH (צִיּוֹן, 'married'; אֶרֶץ מְנוּחָה [EṢṢAḤ], 'Aq. עֲשׂוּמְנָה, Symm. Theod. **CYNGIKIEMENO**, the symmetrical name (Is 62) by which Zion may ultimately be called when her land is 'married' (Sggs²; cp BAVT). Two primitive and related ideas underlie the expression. The first is that the people of a land, as well as all other 'fruits' (Dt 28⁴), arise from the fertilising influence of the land's *Bad* or *divine Husband* (cp **ḲṢ**² 107 f.); the second, that a people which remains faithful to the land's *divine Husband* is sure of his protection. The former is merely limited by means of the contrast of the two names 'Desolate' and 'Married' (Is 62¹); in Is. 54-6, on the other hand, it engrosses the mind of the prophetic writer. It is on the latter, as the context shows, that the writer of Is. 62 (who is not the author of Is. 54) wishes to concentrate our attention. Zion is at present despoiled (v. 7), and her harvests are plundered by the heathen (v. 8 f.); but when her land is once more 'married,' she will be entitled to the protection of the God of the whole earth.

The sense of the passage has been obscured by an error in the ovel points. For 725, 'thy sons' (725), read 732 'he who milderth thee up' (p. 54 in *CL*, p. 147 in *ES*). See *Ding, Che, SROF*, and on the other side *Ding*, who gives no parallel, however, for the startling play upon meanings which he assumes. T. K. 1

BEZAAANANNIM (בִּזְאָאָנָנִים) occurs in Josh. 19:11 LXXB: 'the oak of Bezaananim,' where EV has 'oak' in ZAANANIM, 'a view of the text now pretty generally abandoned.' The 'oak' (oak of Bezaananim) is a landmark on the W. border of Naphtali, following Heleph and preceding Adinn-nekel and Abneel, and is usually identified with 'the oak of Bezaanum' (בִּזְאָנָנִים) following the pointers, or of 'Bezaanum,' or of 'bezaanannau' (בִּזְאָנָנָא) in Judg. 4:6, where RV has 'the

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ark in Zaananim,' and has inconsistently omitted to record the modern view of the text in the margin. In Josh. 1:11 it has *καὶ μὲλα καὶ βεβαιῶναι* [B], *καὶ μὲλα καὶ βεβαιῶναι* [A], *καὶ μὲλα καὶ βεβαιῶναι* [I]; in Judg. 1:11 it has *ὡς ὅπου πλεονεκτήσῃ* [B], so Theod., *πρὸς ὅπου ἀνατασσέσθαι* [A]; see Field's *Hesychia*. The difficulty, connected with the text, is that the

The difficulty connected with the phrase is twofold. (1) In Joshua 15, this famous tree is placed on the border of Naphtali; but Judges 9:6, read in the light of Judg. 1:7-9, makes the tree much nearer to the battle-field, which, according to Judg. 5:21, was by the stream Kishon. (2) The name is inexplicable, whether we read כִּנְעָנִים (Bezannim?) or כִּנְעָנִים (Bezannim?). If, however, several times in Judges (see KAHN 510), and once in Judg. 1 (see HAKOSHIM), the name כִּנְעָנִים = קִישׁ has been correctly restored, it is plausible to suppose that the incomprehensible name, pronounced sometimes Bezannim or (better) Bezannin, sometimes Bezannamin, may conceal the same old name, especially as in Judg. 1:7 the words 'which is by Kedesh' are added. It is extremely probable that both in the far north (see KADESH, 2) and in the territory of Issachar there was a place which bore the name of Kadesh (Kishon); the people of either place could be called Kishonim (Kishonim). Nor need we hesitate to emend כִּנְעָנִים (the form which the best critics prefer) to כִּנְעָנִים, a form which should be restored, as the present writer has sought to show, in Judg. 5:25 (see KAHN 511). It is easier to suppose that the 'oak' or 'sacred tree' which forms the subject of this article was near the Kishon (Kadesh) of Issachar than to follow the Priestly Writer in Joshua, who places it on the border of Naphtali. The error of the latter seems to have arisen from the statements in Judg. 16:9 f., which place the murthering of the Israelitish warriors at Kadesh-Naphtali. The error of the scribe who wrote כִּנְעָנִים was facilitated by an unfortunate recollection of the term כִּנְעָנִים Kēn'anim (Canaanites). Whether he also thought of the new field, כִּנְעָנִים 'ditch, dike, pond' (עֵץ = 'marsh,' Job 8:11-12), cannot be determined (cp. Neub. *Gen.*, *Psalm*, 225).

An identification of 'Bezuman' with Khir¹ el-Bessim, E. of Tyber, on the plateau of the Sea of Galilee, was proposed by Goulder in *JTS* 77, p. 25 (*See Tent Work*, 2: 101, 102). Goulder, *ibid.* 77, p. 25 (*See Tent Work*, 2: 101, 102) says: 'But we must first of all be clear of the meaning of the name. It is remarkable that tradition still affirms that the "look of . . ." which was a fixed element in the story, was "by Kedesh". Of course, קדש *Qadosh* is not required when we read קדשן קדשן, 'In the sacred tree of the Kiddshoun.'

BEZAI (צָבַי, § 52; Halprecht has found the Jewish name Baisan on a tablet from Nippur [ZFAK, Jan. 1808, p. 55]). The line Bezai, a family in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii., §§ 9, 36), EZRA217 (BACQY [B]. cc. [A], BACQ [L]). Neh. 7:23 (BCCI [B]). BAC [A]. COH [1].) and 365 BASSA, RV BASSAI (BACCAI [B]. COCA [A]. CCCI [L.]); represents (among the signatures to the covenant see EZRA, i. § 7). Neh. 10:18 [w] (BCCI [B]). BCCI [S]. BCCI [L.]).

BEZALEEL, RV Bezalel (Gen. 35: 29, 29, 'in the shadow of God'), cp. Hebrew **בְּזַלְלֵל** [BAZ.L]. The form is improbable. Sd Hcl. 'Bel is a shelter', the name of a king of Gata in Sennacherib's time (Kt. 179 162), even if correctly represent it, is not parallel. Read **שֶׁזַלְלֵל** 'God rescues', and cp. the Phoen. names **שֶׁזַלְלֵל**. The number of the artificial religious names of later times has been exaggerated.

is a tribe, Hur of the tribe of Judah, a Calebite (1 Ch. 2. 26), a skilled workman in gold, silver, and brass, who together with Ahishah executed the work of the tabernacle (Ex. 31. 30-36; 36. 37; 38. 22, all Ph). He is mentioned in 1 Ch. 2, as having made the brazen altar. He is named in the list of the

One of the blue Palanth-Moah in the list of those with

BIDKAR

foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5, end), EZRA 10³⁰ (βεσσα-
βουσ. [K], βεσσαλεθα [L] = Isrl. 131, SETHIL (σεσθηλ)
T. K.

BEZEK (712, cp § 100, 'gravel'? cp Syr.; B [H1]; *BEZ*). 1. A place at which Saul was the fourth he had raised for the relief of Jabesh-gad 18.118 (*ap̄heke ep̄ šaul* [1]; cp *šr̄yā* [V], *šāpā* [1]). Eusebius (18.2237.2) locates two neighbouring villages of this name 17 K. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis; beyond them Khirbat 14 Eng. m. from Nabulus and nearly opposite the 14 Eng. m. from Vabz., with which Elishon Tarchi 13.222 identified it. See *PLF Mem.* 223.217. 2. A place of which the name is not known.

2. A place at which Judah and Simeon, in invading the S. of Palestine, encountered and routed Candidates under Adoni-bezek; *Judg.* 14 f. (3 [A], cm. B* in r. s.). Many scholars, from Eusebius downwards, identify this with No. 1; but this is admissible.

Judah and Simeon set out from the neighbourhood of G (Judg. 1.16, 2.1) to invade the region in which they afterwards settled; the end of the story of Adoni-bezek conducts him to Jerusalem, which was ruled by his own city (Adoni-zedek, i.e. of Jerusalem; see *Adoni-bezek* and *Adoni-zedek*); he is wholly out of this sphere of action and in a quite different direction.

The Bezek of Judy. I must be sought much further south. Conder would find it at Bezek, 6 m. S. of Lydda (*FEF.M. 319*), but this view is somewhat probable. In view of the change which the name of king has suffered, it may be questioned whether the name of the place has been correctly preserved.

BEZER (752, § 100, 'fortress'; Bœcap [Bœal] [Levitical city and city of refuge, Dt. 34; Josh. 20.2] (con. MT; Bœcap [L-], 1 Ch. 6.78 [con. the Bœcap] (7522) and Jer. 48.24 (C¹ *boozar*) is described in Josh. 20 as lying in the wilderness on the (Amorite) 'Mishor' of Leliland, and is usually identified with the modern *Keser of Bechar* (or *Bechar*), about 2 m. SW. of Dabab and about the same distance N. of Aroer. King Mesha of Moab in his inscription (cf. 27) says: 'I built Bezer, my ruins had it become.' With this place some have identified Bœcap (cf. 2).

BEZER (בֶּזֶר; *coBaa* [14], *BaCap* [14]), in genealog
of *Ashm* K [§ 4 (ii)], 1 Cl. 7, 17f.

BEZETH (ΒΗΘΟ [V], ΒΗΘΑΙΟ [N], ΒΑΙΘΑΙΟ [Y], ΒΗΡΑΙΟ [Jes. *Ant* XII.102; but ΒΗΘΑΙΟ [V], ΒΗΡΑΙΟ [N, II.1; Schlatter, *ZDPV* 1922] i. a place near Jerusalem where Barchanes encamped, and, having slain some deserters and prisoners, threw them into the great pit' which was there (i Macc. 7.46). The readings of *MS* and *Syr*, in this passage (*βηθ* [Jes. I.eg. II.] point to an original Beth-zuth (house of the olives). Hence it is possible that Bezeth may be the later Beth-zuth ('place of olives'), the name given to the N. end of the plateau, on the S. part of which lay Jerusalem. See *RE. BETHATHA, JERUSALEM, OLIVES, MOUNT OF*.

BIATAS ($\phi 180 \Delta c = 1A$), 1 Esd. 943 $\Delta V = Nch. 8\%$,
1961 MAY 2.

BICHRI (בִּחְרִי, § 61; Βαχρὶ [BA], Βεχδαδρι [I]) in Shulha b. Bala, s. 20, 17), a gentile from Bichri (p. 3). The 1st d. **Bichrites** (בִּיחְרִיתֵי) is postulated to **CH** (and *peages de Naxos*) in s. 20, 14 in place of Bichris [p. 3]. See SHULH. (I), BENJAMIN, § 61, n. 3.

BIDKAR [𐤁𐤊𐤕𐤓; BAΣEK [L], *KA [B], *kap | B^hAr]
 BAΛEKAP [B^hanc]. Jehu's adjutant (𐤁𐤊𐤕𐤓), 2 K 9.
 The name is noteworthy, because the chief support of
 the theory that 𐤁 at the beginning of proper names some-
 times stands for 'son of' is that Pesh. here has *KA* 𐤕𐤓
 (hence 𐤁 𐤁𐤊𐤕𐤓, 'son of peering', a suitable name for
 a warrior; cp L^{at}nknecht; cp Ass. *bundikiri* [Del. ZA^l]

BINDING AND LOOSING

BIER (722, 8, 20, 28, 40, 60, 100), 1 lb. 714
See DRUG, § 1.

BIGHTHAN (בִּיתְחַן, etymology doubtful; בִּיתְחַן [N. and m.]; BITHAN, Jos. בִּיתְחַן 1 Th. 2, 1, or **Eigthana**, Esth. 12 (שִׁתְחַן, G as in 2a; Jos. בִּיתְחַן), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus, who, in Esth. 12, is called GABATHA (גַּבְתָּה [B. M.]). See ESTHER, II. § 3.

ii. § 9), *Folia* 22 (*Batonna* [16], *Bayona* [17]). Neh. 7.7 (*Garon*
[18], *Sarroux* [19]). c. Fol. 58. *M^e*. *Batou* (ibid.). *HAB.*

1016 [1] (β aynaw) [1] β aynaw, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 8

3. Family in *Ezra's* language (see *Ezra*, i § 2, n. § 15 [i.] *et*, *Ezra* 811 (*dayo* [B], *yachuro* [A], *yachoria* [L]) + 11.80, 840 *l'acat* (*garat* [B], *dayo* [A]). Cp *Hebra*,

BIKATH-AVEN (187777), Am. 15 Ave. See
AVEN. 3.

BILDAD (77², § 43, БАИЛАД [BAC], -ΔAC [-A]), the Shuhite (see SHUH), one of Job's friends (Job 2:11 and elsewhere). The name either means 'Bel has loved' (cp Nald, *ZDMG* 42.47n [83]), or is a softened form of Beldad, which appears to be at the root of BEBAD (so Del. *Pur.* 208). See ELIAD, and cp DOU.

BILEAM (בִּלְעָם, § 77), 1 Ch. 6:34 [15]. See **IBILEAM**.
BILGAN (בִּלְגָּן, *bilgan*, § 77).

1. Head of the fifteenth course of priests, a Ch 2114 (Baḏa 1M, -aš 11P). *Baḏ* is *ḥaḥab*, which must represent *ḥanin*, the head of the sixteenth course. (*ḥaḥa*, the name of the head of the fourteenth in *Ch* [MT 282²], is merely a transposed form of *ḥaḥab* in a different place in the list.)

2. A priest (*βαλγας* [*ḡ aung*], *βελ*, [1]); om. *18A*) in Zerah's hand (*ΕΖΡΑ*, ii § 65), Neh. 12:5; in 7:18 (*βαλγας* [*ḡ aung*], *βελγας* [1]; om. *18A*) a 'father's house.' Cp. also *ΕΙΡΕΑ*.

BILGAI (Bilgāi) [c] [t] [M], -Ae[c]hA [BN], a priestly signatory to the covenant (see LRA, i. §§ 6, 7), Ach. 103 [a]. No doubt the same as Bilgamī.

BILHAH (בִּלְהָ) : BΛΛAΔ [BΛIDEI.], but 1 Ch. 7:13
BΔΔAΔ [B.], -AΔAΔ [L.]

t. The 'mother' of the tribes Dan and Naphtali, according to J; also represented as the maid of Rachel (mother of the house of Joseph) and concubine of Jacob and his eldest son Reuben.

We have now unfortunately, the means of determining how far we are warranted in regarding these relations as representing traditions of fact, and how far they may be imaginative incidents of the story. Was Bilhah, e.g. a tribe (Canaanish? Aramian?), elements of which were taken up into some of the clans of the house of Joseph (the first Israel) in the earliest days after their arrival in W. Palestine before they crystallized into the three well-known branches (Manasse-Machir, Ephraim,

Benjamin)? Or does the name, which occurs nowhere outside of Genesis and the equivalent (Gen. 7:14), simply indicate that not only Dan but once also Naphtali tried unsuccessfully to settle somewhere in the Highlands of Ephraim before taking itself to the extreme north? Or, once more, is this title only of Dan, the inclusion of Naphtali being then due simply to its geographical nearness to Dan in its later seat, and to its willingness to stand by the side of the noble Rachel tribes (Gen. 50:22)? Again, is the Kuben story (Gen. 35:22 f. Gen. 50:2) to be brought into connection with the other places of the extension of the house of Joseph (see above), Kuben's interest in the ketenes of Joseph (Gen. 35:7 f. Gen. 41:2) beyond Jordan (MAVHAL, 1. THURAM, 350ff.), or is it to be explained, as Stade (*op. cit.* 1. line) explains it, as a memorial of the primitive society that survived E. of the Jordan when there had been a change in W. Palestine? Or, let us give serious consideration to a combination (G. H. B. Wright) with the story of BUBAN (p. BUBAN, 21) the son of Reuben (Josh. 15:6 f. 17), an indication that Reubenite elements were once actually to be found W. of the Jordan in that land? (Gen. 35:22 f.) That there really was contact between Benjamin and the Bilhah tribe Dan was a matter of course, and indeed had ultimately become Benjamite (p. B. STAMM, § 34 *W. Zeitschr.*, 42 n. 13). It was Rachel, however, not Bilhah, that died when Ben-on was born.

2. In Simeon (1 Ch. 4.9). See HAMM, 2.
H. W. H.

1. A HEBREW (2, 2), Gen. 36:27 (βαλαμ [B¹]); 1 Ch. 1:42 (βαμ [B¹]).

BILSHAN (Gen. 8:3; perhaps Bab. *Bel-shan*; but more probably we should read *Bel-sar*, a mutilated form of *Bel-sar-ur* = *acc.*, Bab. *Bel-sar-ur*, *ur* = *CP* 6^m in 1 Esd.). A name in the great post-exilic list (see 1 Esd., n. 3 q), borne by one of the ten (Javan, or eleven (Neh., 1 Esd.), persons who accompanied Zerubbabel from Babylon (see 1 Esd., n. 8 q) = 1 Esd. 2:2 *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [1], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [M], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [1 b] Neh 7:7 *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [8], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [M], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [1 b] = 1 Esd. 2:2 *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [1], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [M], *בַּלְשָׁרֹוּר* [1 b]. If *Bel-Sar* is correct, may not this be the Shattar of Zech. 7:2 (see SHATTAR, 2 K, 2)? This undesigned coincidence (if accepted) may have important bearings on criticism. L. K. C.

BIMHAL (5722), in gemology of ASHER (§ 4 [ii]),
 1 Ch 7 : (מַבְהַל [15], בַּמַּבְהַל [A], בַּמַּבְהַל [L]).

BINDING AND LOOSING (Mt. 16:19-18:18). The explanation given under *MAKOT* (§ 3 [4]) may account for the origin of the Jewish phrase 'binding' (עֲבָרָה) and 'loosing' (פְּטָרָה); but in usage 'to bind' and 'to loose' mean simply 'to forbid' and 'to permit' by an indisputable authority, the words of authoritative prohibition and permission being considered to be as effectual as the spell of an enchanter (עַרְסָה, *Large Ps.* 58:1-3). The wise men or rabbis had, in virtue of their ordination, the power of deciding disputes relating to the Law. A practice which was permitted by them was said to be 'loosed' (פְּטוּרָה), and one which was forbidden was 'bound' (עֲבוּרָה). Such pronouncements were made by the different schools; hence it was said, 'The school of Shammai binds; the school of Hillel looses.' Theoretically, however, they proceeded from the Sanhedrin, and there is a Talmudic statement that there were three decisions made by the lower 'house of judgment' to which the upper 'house of judgment' (*i.e.*, the heavenly one) gave its supreme sanction (*Middot*, 23b). Probably, therefore, Jesus adopted a current mode of speech when he said to the disciples that what soever they bound or loosed on earth (*i.e.*, in expounding the new Law) should be bound or loosed in heaven (Mt. 18:18). Probably, too, it is a less authentic tradition

BINDING AND LOOSING

which makes Jesus give the same promise to Peter individually (Mt. 16:19). Nowhere is it recorded that the great Teacher made Peter the president (כֹּהֵן) of his council of wise men. The words which immediately precede Mt. 16:19 — self-evidently taken by the editor from another context — represent Peter, not as an expounder of the new transfigured Law, but as a practical administrator (cp Is. 22:22). It is in favour of the view here adopted (viz., that the words on 'binding' and 'loosing' were addressed to the disciples in general and not to Peter individually) that in Jn. 20:23 the power to remit and to retain is granted to the disciples collectively, not to any one of them individually. Though the use of *κράτειν* in that passage has no exact Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent, the saying is not a new one, but a paraphrase of Mt. 18:18.

T. K. C.

BINEA (בִּנְיָא), in genealogy of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [3]), 1 Ch. 8:17 (BANA [B]). BAAAN, [A.] = 943 (BAANA [BNI.], BAN, [A]).

BINNUI (בִּנְיָא, 'a building up'; on form cp NAMES, § 5).

1. Family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. §§ 9, 3 c), Neh. 7:15 (Bavon [BNA], Bavon [L.]) 12:10, BANI [7:15, 2] (Bavon [B.], -on [A.], -on [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:12, BANI (Bavon [B.], -on [L.]).

2. A Levite, temp. Ezra (see EZRA, i. § 2, ii. § 11 [1] D), Ezra 8:31 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 8:17, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]); so SABBAN, *Ph. Litten*, etc. Most probably the same as

3. A Levite in the list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 f., EZRA, ii. §§ 16 [1], 15 c), Neh. 3:24 (Bavon [BNA], -on [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]). In Neh. 3:25, BAVAN (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]). In Neh. 3:25, BAVAN (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

4. and 5. One of the line Pahath-moash, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

6. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

7. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

8. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

9. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

10. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

11. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

12. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

13. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

14. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

15. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

16. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

17. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

18. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

19. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

20. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

21. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

22. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

23. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

24. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

25. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

26. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

27. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

28. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

29. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

30. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

31. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

32. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

33. One of the line Bani, Ezra 10:30 (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]) 1 Esd. 9:11, BANI (BNA, Bani [L.]) 2:12, SABBAN, RV SABBANES (Bavon [BNA], Bani [L.]), and probably Neh. 12:24 (MT 'the son of'; καὶ υἱοὶ [BNA], καὶ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [L.]).

BIRSHA

Food, § 8); the Torah divides them into clean and clean (Lev. 11:13 Dt. 14:15; see CLEAN and UNCLEAN § 9). Many contrivances for capturing birds were common use (Ps. 91:1 1217 Prov. 1:17 6:5 7:23 Am. Eccl. 9:12 Jer. 5:27 Hos. 7:12 9:8 Eccl. 11:30). Torah protects them against cruelty (Dt. 22:6). Sometimes the captives were tamed and treated as (Job 1:3 [10:24], Bar. 3:17 Eccl. 27:19 Jas. 3:7). C. in cases of extreme poverty does the Torah allow birds to be used for sacrifice (see SACRIFICE). Natural common small birds, on account of their abundance were of little value; they were probably so numerous to prove a nuisance (Mt. 10:29 31 Lk. 12:6 f.; cp *L. and Book*, 43). To what extent — if any — birds were studied for omens in Israel as in Babylonia (see BABYLONIA, § 32, MAGIC, BABYLONIAN, § 3) it is difficult to determine (see Lev. 19:26 Dt. 18:10 2 K. 21:6 2 Ch. 33:1 K. 1:3 [5:13], and cp DIVINATION, § 2, *leg.*, a Schultz, *OT Theol.* 1:250 ff. ET).

Allusions to their habits in metaphors, similes, and proverbial expressions prove how prominent they were in the life and thought of the people (cp *L. and Book*, 43).

3. Literary and popular allusions. *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Lect. vii, vol. i, ET 1787.

They were evidently observed with the keenest interest as being links between earth and heaven, and regarded with a certain awe (Job 12:7 28:21 35:11 Eccl. 10:20). It was noticed how they cared for and protected their young (Dt. 32:11 Ex. 19:1 18:31 5 Mt. 23:37); how and where they made their nests (Ps. 101:12 17 Ezek. 31:6) — sometimes according to a pleasing but very doubtful interpretation in the very temple itself (Ps. 84:3 [4]); in what sad plight they wandered alone when cast out of the nest (Prov. 27:8 Is. 16:2 Ps. 102:7 [8]); how eagerly they returned to their nest (Hos. 9:11 Ps. 11:1); how free from care they were (Mt. 6:26); how regularly they migrated (Jer. 8:7 Prov. 26:2); how voracious they were (Gen. 40:17 Mt. 13:4 Mk. 4:4 Lk. 8:5); how they descended from the clouds in a bevy (Eccl. 13:17), and with what delight they gathered in a leafy tree (Dan. 4:9 [12] Eccl. 27:9 Mt. 13:32 Lk. 13:19); how sweetly they warbled (Eccl. 12:4 Wisd. 17:18 Cant. 2:12 [see, however, VINI, Ps. 104:12]); how God recognises and protects them (Ps. 50:11 Lk. 12:24); and how they praise and reverence him (Ps. 118:10 Ezek. 38:20). Further, Israel's enemy is often pictured as a rapacious bird that sights its prey afar off and swoops down upon it (Is. 46:11 Jer. 12:9 Dt. 28:49 Rev. 19:17 21). Thus, 'to destroy' is to give a man's flesh to the birds of the air for meat (Gen. 40:17 Dt. 28:26 1 S. 17:44 46 1 K. 11:11 16:4 21:24 Ps. 79:2 Jer. 7:3 16:4 19:7 31:20 Ezek. 29:5). A place is desolate when its only inhabitants are the birds of the air (Jer. Ezek. 31:13 32:4 Is. 18:6), and an utter desolation when even these too have perished (Jer. 4:25 12:4 Hos. 4:3 Zeph. 1:4). The saying in Mt. 8:20, where Jesus contrasts himself with the birds which have nests, has not yet been made perfectly clear (but see SON OF MAN).

BIRSHA (בִּרְשָׁא, scarcely 'with [or, in] wickedness'; the name is corrupt; cp BERA), king of Gomorrah who

1 Cp WRS *Rel Sem.* 2:160, and Che's note, *Psalm* 104. The common view of the meaning is untenable on all grounds — exegetical, historical, metrical. 2. No natural exegesis can be given, if בִּרְשָׁא 'thine altars' has any relation to the birds. 3. The sanctity of the temple proper would certainly have excluded the winged visitors; Jos. *Ant.* 3:16 speaks of pointed spikes on the top of the (Herodian) temple to prevent birds from sitting even on the outside. This seems to have been generally overlooked. 4. The psalm consists of long verses (lines) divided by a caesura into two unequal parts. 'Thine altars, my King and my God,' is too much to form the second and shorter portion of one of these verses. See Che, *Psalm* 104, and cp Baethgen, *ad loc.*, who attempts an exegetical compromise. 5. Read this, 'Do I count my heritage a carcass torn by hyenas (בִּרְשָׁא בִּרְשָׁא; ὁ σπηλαιον θάινης = γ τ-τ-τ)? Are vultures round about it?'

BIRTHDAY

joined the league against CHEDOR-LOMER (§ 2), Gen. 14: 9 (בָּרְאָה [VPEI]; ΒΑΛΑΙΑΙ, Jos. Ant. 1.91).

BIRTHDAY (יּוֹם הַחַיָּיָה, ΗΜΕΡΑ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ [ADE], γ. Η. [L], Gen. 40: 20; ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ [Ti. VII], Mt. 116 Mk. 6: 21). The only express mention of the celebration of the anniversary of birth in OT or NT is in connection with kings: Pharaoh's birthday (Gen. 40: 20), when the 'chief butler' was restored to his office and the 'chief baker' hanged; Antiochus Epiphanus' birthday (2 Macc. 15: 7); and Herod's birthday (Mt. 14: 6 Mk. 6: 21), when Herodias's dancing was the occasion of the execution of John the Baptist. When it is said in Job 1: 4 that Job's sons 'were wont to go and feast in the house of each one upon his day,' 'his day' denotes a weekly and not an annual feast; and in Hos. 7: 1 'the day of our king' may refer to the anniversary of his accession quite as well as to a birthday. However, this silence on the subject is no warrant for us to conclude that the Israelites did not follow the general custom of observing birthdays, especially those of kings (see, for Egypt, K¹ 477, and for Persia, Herod. 9: 10). The curses invoked by Job (31: 12) and Jeremiah (20: 14) on the days of their birth imply that under happier conditions these days would have been remembered in more cheerful fashion.

Doubts have been raised as to whether Herod's γενεσῖα meant his birthday or the anniversary of his accession. The Mishna (*Aboda Zarra*, 1: 3) mentions as heathen festivals, calends, saturnalia, *κρατήσεις*, kings' days of γενεσῖα (יְנִיסָא), and the day of birth and the day of death. It is probable that the last two mean the actual days and not the anniversaries; the *κρατήσεις* would naturally be the anniversaries of accessions and the יְנִיסָא the birthday. So Talm. Jer. *Aboda Zarra*, 1: 3a takes יְנִיסָא as יְנִיסָא (birthday), but Bab. *Aboda Zarra*, 10a understands יְנִיסָא as anniversary of accession. γενεσῖα is used as birthday in Late Greek (in classical Greek it is anniversary of death) and never as anniversary of accession; thus the sense of birthday seems well established. Cp Schürer, *Hist.* 2: 26, and the Talm. Lexx. of Levy and Jastrow on יְנִיסָא; also Gratz, *MGH* 20: 230 [71]. See also LORD'S DAY, § 2.

W. H. B.

BIRTHRIGHT (בְּכוֹרָה, Gen. 25: 31; ΠΡΩΤΟΤΟΚΙΑ, Heb. 12: 16); see FIRSTBORN, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14. On the story of Esau and Jacob see Esau, § 2.

BIRZATH (בִּרְזַת, Kt. γ. ΒΙΡΖΑΤΗ [L], in genealogy of ASHER (§ 4 n.), 1 Ch. 7: 31). The name (בִּרְזַת, 'well of the olive tree') seems to suggest a locality.

BISHLAM (בִּשְׁלָם; ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ [BA], ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΡΕΟΥΜ ΒΕΛΤΕΕΜ [L], Ezra 4: 7, for which 1 Esd. 2: 16 has ΒΕΛΛΕΜΕΣ [ΒΗΛΕΜΟΣ [BA] or ΒΕΛΛΕΙΜΟΣ [L]), the name of a Persian officer of unknown origin, who joined with others in writing a letter of complaint against the Jews. Es¹ takes the name as descriptive of the tranquil state of the writers of the letter (ἐν εἰρήνῃ); but Bishlam is clearly a proper name. It either means 'in peace,' cp BIZALLEL, BIRSHA, or, more probably, like those names, it is a corruption. The true name may be Babylonian. It may perhaps be recovered if we start from one or the other of the forms presented in the MSS of 1 Esd., where the proper names are sometimes more accurately preserved. Ball (*Var. Apoc.* ad loc.), adopting βήλεμος, supposes a corruption of Bab. Bel-sham—i.e., 'Bel made.' It would seem, however, that the βελισμος of Es¹ must be more original, and this form may have arisen from Bel-sham-iskun—i.e., 'Bel made a name' (Nestle, *Marg.* 23: 29).

T. K. C.

1 EV 'the day of the king's birth every month'; so G and Peshe. Vig. om. κατά μήνα. Grimm suggested that 'every month' is from 1 Macc. 1: 59; 1 Ch. it is probably genuine (see LORD'S DAY, § 2).

BISHOP

BISHOP (ἐπίσκοπος). The word is of rare occurrence in the NT.

The elder of the church, summoned from Ephesus to Miletus to receive Paul's farewell charge (Acts 20: 17), is thus addressed:

1. **Occurrence of name in NT.** It is not clear from this passage whether the word is used as a definite title, or merely as a description implying that ἐπίσκοπος, oversight or superintendence, was a function of the presbyterate. In the address of the Epistle to the Philippians, however, we have 'bishops and deacons' formally mentioned; it is difficult, in view of the later usage of the words, to suppose that this is merely a general description of 'those who rule and those who serve.' In 1 Tim. 3: 1 ff. the bishop and the deacon are again brought together. The qualifications of a bishop are enumerated: δὲ οὗν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ., where the article is commonly regarded as generic, or at least as not implying that there was only one bishop in the Ephesian church. In Tit. 1: 5 ff., in connection with the duty of appointing presbyters in the towns of Crete, a similar description of a bishop's qualifications is given (δὲ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.); but no reference is made to deacons. The only other occurrence of the word is in 1 Pet. 2: 25, where it is applied to Christ himself, 'the shepherd and bishop of your souls.' It is not necessary to interpret these titles as metaphors drawn from the Christian ministry.

We note, then, that the word is found in all cases on Greek ground, and it would seem as if those who in the Palestinian churches were called 'presbyters' were in the Greek churches spoken of at first as 'bishops' and then indifferently as 'presbyters' or as 'bishops.' This view, however, assumes that ἐπίσκοπος was already at this time in use as a title of office; and the assumption requires a careful examination. It will be best to begin such an examination with what is admittedly the latest portion of the NT evidence.

1 Tim. 3: 1 ff. 'If a man: keth ἐπίσκοπὸν he desireth a good work. The bishop, therefore, must be without

2. (a) **Pastoral Epistles.** ὁρᾶται καλὸν ἔργον ἐπιθυμεῖ δὲ οὗν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπιληπτὸν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.). The whole conception of the function of an ἐπίσκοπος, as it is here described, suggests that the authority which he wields is independent, not merely that of a member of a governing board. To begin with, ἐπίσκοπος does not give any idea of assessors; it is distinctly personal. It is a position of independent importance and control, such as a man may naturally desire. Secondly, the epithet 'given to hospitality' (φιλόξενος) suggests a personal responsibility; the Church's duty of showing hospitality to Christians from other parts seems naturally to centre in some one person; we could scarcely have had 'Presbyters must be given to hospitality' (δὲ οὗν πρεσβυτέρους φιλόξενους εἶναι). In like manner, 'apt to teach' (ἱδοδακτικός) would scarcely be a qualification for a member of the presbyteral body as such; and the same may be said of the epithets μὴ πάροινος, μὴ πλῆκτης, 'not passionate or ungoverned in temper.' The control of his own house, again, gives the thought of independent jurisdiction in the case to which it is made a parallel—'how shall he act as ἐπιμελητής of the church of God?'

The singular noun with the article may, according to Greek usage, be taken generically; but we must observe that in the writer passes on to give a similar list of qualifications for a deacon the plural is used: 'Deacons in like manner . . . Women in like manner . . . Let deacons be husbands of one wife' [διακονοῖς ὡσαύτως . . . γυναῖκες ὡσαύτως . . . διάκονοις ὡσαύτως] (m. the last case the use of the singular with the generic article would have avoided an awkward phrase). (2) in 1 Tim. 3: 17, we have an exact parallel: δὲ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ., where we might easily have had δὲ γὰρ ἐπισκόπους κ.τ.λ.; (3) the usage of the article in the Pastoral Epistles is a further reason for hesitating to explain it here as generic, for the article is very sparingly employed, and there

1 [Analogous to ΜΗ [?], superintendent in the synagogue or elsewhere. See Jastrow's *Lex.*]

seems no example at all parallel to these in any of the three Epistles.

The difficulty is to some extent met by insisting on the use of *ἐπίσκοπος* as a descriptive epithet rather than as a formal title: 'He who exercises *ἐπισκοπή*.' In so far as his status in the Church is dwelt on, such a man would be spoken of most naturally as 'one of the elders'; but here the subject in hand is the function to be exercised by him individually. That function is *ἐπισκοπή*: in the exercise of it he is *ἐπίσκοπος*. The watchful oversight which is regarded as 'an excellent work' is not an eminent position, but a responsible activity. He who is to exercise it needs to have certain special qualifications. We feel the contrast when we come to *διακόνους* *ὑποτάκτως*, which introduces in an ordinary way the members of a large and subordinate class.

The passage in Acts 20 is, as we have seen, quite indeterminate. If *ἐπίσκοπος* can be shown to be a title in use at the time in question, we may

3. (A) Other NT writings. render the words, 'hath set you as bishops.' Otherwise we should perhaps render them, 'hath set you for oversight.' The phrase in the Epistle to the Philippians, if taken quite by itself, would, in the light of later history, be naturally rendered 'with the bishops and deacons' (*σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνις*), notwithstanding the absence of the definite article. If, however, *ἐπίσκοπος* be not yet found as a title, a less definite interpretation may be allowed. The decision between the two views must depend on a further consideration which shall include the use of the term *διάκονος* at this period (see *Deacon*, § 6), and the use of *ἐπίσκοπος* outside the NT, in other than Christian contexts, and in the earliest Christian writings.

In the use of *ἐπίσκοπος*, *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, in other than Christian contexts, a great width of meaning is noticeable, due, no doubt, to the original signification which fitted the words for application to any person who exercised an office of superintendence. The commissioners who superintended Athenian colonies, various other commissioners or inspectors, magistrates who regulated the sale of provisions, and, apparently, financial officers of a temple or of a guild (Lightf. *Phil* 95; Hatch, *Organisation of Early Christian Churches*, 37 f.)—all these are spoken of as *ἐπίσκοποι*, or are said *ἐπισκοπεῖν*. Nor was this the only term which had a similar largeness of reference: quite parallel is the usage of *ἐπιμελεῖν* and *ἐπιμελητής* (Hatch, see above).

In the LXX the word *ἐπίσκοπος* is equally wide in the persons and offices which it embraces. Taskmasters, captains or presidents, and commissioners, are in turn so entitled; and as a synonym in the list of these cases we find also *ἐπιστάται* (Lightf.; see above).

All this evidence points to the fact that *ἐπίσκοπος* and *ἐπισκοπεῖν* were words which naturally offered themselves as descriptions of any persons charged with responsible oversight, and were the more available in that they had no predominant association with any one class of officers in particular. The words were, as far as possible, colourless, much as our words 'preside' and 'president' are to-day.

Hatch's position, adopted by Harnack, in reference to *ἐπίσκοπος* is as follows:—The most important corporate function of the earliest Christian communities

5. Hatch's theory. was that of providing for their poor and sick members. They were, in fact, benevolent societies, and as such they had parallels all around them in the heathen world, in the countless clubs and guilds which combined social purposes with certain religious practices. The finance officers of these heathen societies were called *ἐπίσκοποι*. Now, the duties which the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* had to perform are described as intimately connected with the care of the poor, with hospitality to travelling brethren, and with the manage-

ment of the common fund which was devoted to and similar purposes. It is probable, therefore, both the title and the functions of the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* are directly derived from his heathen counterpart.

The best examination of this theory is that by Harnack (*Geschichte der Christenheit*, 21).

6. Criticism of it. After pointing out the very general signification of the word *ἐπίσκοπος* in heathen literature—a signification which could not be applied to any person in authority for whom there was no fixed title already, and so to be used with great freedom by the LXX as a rendering for various officers mentioned in the OT—he takes up the evidence of the inscriptions on which Hatch's theory mainly rests. They fall chronologically into two classes. The first class is pre-Christian: one inscription of the Macedonian period in the island of Thera, which contains a designation of certain *ἐπίσκοποι* to receive moneys and render them; and two inscriptions of the second century B.C. in the island of Rhodes, relating to municipal officers, not further defined. Those of the second class belong to the second and the third century A.D., and are found in a district E. of the Jordan. They are ten, and refer to municipal officers. In one case the officers are charged with some responsibility for the moneys of a temple. In this district they seem to have formed a kind of municipal board, chosen from various trades or divisions of the community. Further, in a Latin inscription of the fourth century certain *episcopi* regulate prices in the market.

This appears to be the whole of the evidence on which the statement that *ἐπίσκοποι* were the finance-officers of clubs and guilds is found to rest. In Loening's opinion it points exactly in the opposite direction.

As to the other part of the argument,—viz., that the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* is, as a matter of fact, a financial officer,—that is no peculiarity of function linking it especially to the title. To the presbyters at Jerusalem gifts are brought; and presbyters are warned not to exercise their office 'for filthy lucre' (E.V.; *ἀσέβην ἔργον*, 1 Pet. 5.3); moreover, in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (chap. 11) presbyters are charged with duties towards the poor and are warned against covetousness. The word *ἐπίσκοπος* in itself suggests a far wider responsibility than the mere charge of finance: it implies superintendence of persons as well as of things.

Loening even goes so far as to suggest that the word *ἐπίσκοπος* was chosen just because it had no heathen associations either in the Jewish or in the Greek world, and was, therefore, free to be used in a community which stood in contrast to all other communities surrounding it.

In the extreme scarcity of evidence, we may be content to say that the theory that the Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* derived his title and functions from those of the officers of the Greek guilds or of the Greek municipalities has not been established.

We may say, then, that the NT evidence seems to point to the existence in the apostolic age of two classes of administration—a class of rulers and

7. General conclusions. a class of humbler ministrants who acted under their orders. As far as the first

of these has a distinctive official title its members are called Elders; but, since their function was summed up in the general responsibility of oversight (*ἐπισκοπή*), they could be spoken of as 'overscers' (*ἐπιστάται*), a term which was already passing from a mere description of function into a definite title. The men of the second class added those of the first in the humbler parts of their ministrations. They were naturally described by the general designation of 'servants' (*διάκονοι*); but this term too is passing in the apostolic age into a recognised title. On the whole, it seems simpler to suppose that the latter stage has been reached in Phil 1.1 and in the Pastoral Epistles; but the decision of this point is not a matter of serious importance.

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In the later history, the second class retains its designation, which in some localities comes to be a title of considerable dignity. The first class, on the other hand, presently undergoes a subdivision: one member comes to stand out above his fellows, and, whilst all continue alike to be Elders, the title of *ἐπίσκοπος*, which in itself connotes an individual responsibility and importance, is not unnaturally appropriated as the designation of the one who has come to be the supreme officer of the community. The causes which led to a monarchical development are still wrapped in obscurity, but the appropriation of the name *ἐπίσκοπος* to the chief ruler is not hard to understand. We are fortunate

8. Clement of Rome.

in possessing a document of the last decade of the first century, by which we can, to some extent, test the position which we have taken up. The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was occasioned by the ejection from their office of certain Elders of the church in Corinth. As the writer may quite well have had personal knowledge of one or more of the apostles, his evidence is of high importance, not only for determining the existing organisation of the church in Corinth (and probably in Rome as well) in his time, but also as indicating the belief that this organisation was instituted by the apostles themselves.

First let us consider the use of the designations in question in the most important passage.

(§ 42) The apostles . . . appointed their first fruits (cp. 1 Cor. 16:13), having tested them by the Spirit, to be *ἐπισκοποι* and *διακονοι* (eis *ἐπισκοπὴν* καὶ *διακονίαν*) of them which should believe. The words have clearly become titles, and their use as such is justified as being not new, but foretold in Is. 61:1. It is curious that *ἐπίσκοπος* in this citation is an insertion of Clement's, and is not found in the LXX. He is clearly quoting from memory, and his memory has played him false. (§ 44) 'The apostles foresaw that there would be strife about the title for "office" of oversight (περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς). Hence they appointed the aforesaid and provided for successors to them. It is a sin to turn such, if they have discharged their ministry blamelessly, out of their *ἐπισκοπή*. "Blessed," he goes on at once, "are the Elders who have gone before," and are safe from such treatment. In § 47 we have the offence described as a revolt "against the Elders"; in § 54 we read: "Let the flock of Christ be at peace along with the appointed Elders"; and in § 57, "Do ye who began this sedition submit yourselves to the Elders."

It is plain, then, that the persons whom the apostles 'appointed as *ἐπίσκοποι*,' and as their successors, are spoken of also as 'the appointed Elders.' These Elders are not to be rashly ejected from their *λειτουργία* or *ἐπισκοπή*.

The difficulty which Clement's epistle presents in the matter of these designations belongs to the earlier chapters, before he has come to speak definitely of the Corinthian disorders: he seems to use the term 'elders' as though he referred not to an office, but only to a grade of persons dignified by that name in contrast to the young (*οἱ νέοι*).

In the first of the passages in question (§ 1) he praises their former orderliness, 'submitting yourselves to your rulers (or "leaders," *τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν*), and paying the due honour to the elders that were among you; and on the young ye enjoined modesty and gravity; and on the women' certain appropriate duties. Similarly, in § 21 we leave, 'let us reverence our rulers (*τοῖς προηγούμενοις ὑμῶν*), and let us honour our elders, let us instruct the young . . . let us guide our women aright.' Here we seem to have a contrast between 'rulers' and 'elders'; and it has been held (e.g., by Harnack) that the 'rulers' are a class of persons whose authority came from their possessing the *charisma* of teaching (cp. Heb. 13:7-24), whilst the Elders are an undefined grade of senior members of the Church to whom honour is due on account of age and length of discipleship. But the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, occurring in both passages (not *ἡγουμένης* as elsewhere so often), is an important clue, which has not been sufficiently attended to. Clement is in fact alluding to a passage of Isaiah, which he cites with some additions in § 31: 'so, he says, 'of old the mean rose up against the honourable,' the young against the elder (*οἱ ἥλικες ἐπὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις*), Is. 33. It would be possible to interpret 'the rulers' as the civil rulers to whom Clement several times applied the term *ἡγουμένοις* (§ 37); but on the whole it seems most natural to suppose that at first he is carefully avoiding definite references to the Corinthian revolt, and only preparing the way for its direct rebuke. Thus he speaks in the most general terms of 'the rulers,' and passes rapidly away from the word 'elders,'

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just introducing it as a hint beforehand, but dwelling on the root-meaning which was still strongly felt in the word, and contrasting it with *ἐπίσκοπος* in accordance with the OT passage which is in his mind.

No argument, therefore, can safely be based on the rhetorical use of the word 'elders' in the opening part of the letter. No doubt the Elders were elder men; and no doubt the revolt came from some of the younger men; this was a part of its heroism, and the covert allusion would be understood by those to whom the letter was addressed.

The development of the monarchical episcopate lies outside the limits of the NT, but even within the Canon we find indications of a tendency which the later history enables us to interpret as moving in this direction.

We have noticed that all passages which describe the functions and responsibilities of Elders speak of them as a class and in the plural number; whilst, on the other hand, where the duties of oversight (*ἐπισκοπή*) are portrayed, the *ἐπίσκοπος* is spoken of as a single person, charged with responsibility—and this in one place in sharp contrast to the *διακονοι*, and in the other immediately after Elders have been mentioned in the plural number. From this we may gather that, in as far as a member of the ruling class was thought of as *ἐπίσκοπος*, it was natural to consider him by himself as exercising an independent control and holding a position of eminent authority.

As far as terminology then, is concerned, the way was prepared for the distinction that presently came into being.

10. 'Episcopos' easily individualised. The word *ἐπίσκοπος* suggests an individual, just as the word *πρεσβύτερος* suggests the member of a ruling class, or the word *διακονος* the member of a serving class. The class of rulers, however, did not need two designations, and when the course of development led to a supreme officer it was easy and natural to appropriate to him the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, while his inferior colleagues were simply termed *πρεσβύτεροι*.

But this consideration does not really give us any guidance as to the causes of the change from government

by a body of co-ordinate *ἐπίσκοποι* or *πρεσβύτεροι* to government by a single *ἐπίσκοπος* with a consultative college of *πρεσβύτεροι*, among whom he is *πρῶτος* or *inter pares*.

11. Change foreshadowed in NT. The apostolic age, however, presents us with several foreshadowings of the monarchical rule which presently became universal. In the church in Jerusalem the position of James, the Lord's brother, was one of real if undefined authority, and, though not marked by any special title, it closely resembles that of the Bishop of the second century. We have the statement of Hegesippus that on the death of James his cousin Symeon was appointed by general consent to fill his place (Eus. *HR* iii. 11). Here, then, was a monarchical type of government, naturally evolved and continuously recognised; and such an example could not fail, as time went on, to exercise an influence on other communities.

In the Greek world the churches of Paul's foundation were from the first controlled by the strong hand of their founder. It is true that he urged them to corporate action of their own in the exercise of jurisdiction and discipline; but he himself commanded them with an authority beyond challenge, and his commands were obeyed. In certain cases he transferred this his apostolic authority to delegates, such as Timothy and Titus; but only, it would seem, for a period, and in order to cope with special needs. Still, in doing this, he had given a practical proof of the advantage gained by the presence in a community of one who could rule with supreme authority; and this temporary sway would doubtless help in determining the tendency of subsequent development.

These examples, however, would have been powerless

Two passages may be cited which point in the

15. Eastern Church.

15. Eastern Church. In the direction for the eastern side of the terranean. 1. In the *Didache* (chap. 13) the prophets are spoken of as 'giving thanks' in reference to the eucharistic position of special importance in reference to the eucharist. They are not bound by the prescribed formulae of thanksgiving, but may 'give thanks as they will.' This implies that, if present, they naturally take a prominent part in the service. They may order an *anaphora* (ἀνάφωρη) to be given, 'for they are your chief-priests' (chap. 13). The same document declares, however, that the ministry of the prophets and teachers was likewise exercised by the bishops and deacons (chap. 15). It is safe to suppose that if no prophet were present, the conduct of the service would be in the hands of the permanent local ministry, although in this case there would be no exemption from the duty of using the prescribed formulae.

2. The Ignatian Epistles, as is well known, present the completed development of the three orders in certain Asiatic churches at a comparatively early period. It is noteworthy that the one bishop is expressly connected with the one eucharist (for references see ECHCHRIST). No eucharist is to be held without the bishop, or some person deputed by him to celebrate it. There is "one bishop, one altar, one eucharist" (ἐὺς ἐπίσκοπος, ἑὺς θυσιαστήριον, μία εὐχαριστία).

We may feel confident, then, that in the development of the eucharistic service we have an element, perhaps the most important element—of the development of monarchical episcopate.

As soon as this monarchical rule had been established in a church various sacred parallels which would be taken as confirmatory of the divine origin of the institution, would be observed.

16. Final stage.

stage. Bishop and his presbyters might be compared with Christ and his apostles. Or again, the orders of the Christian Church—bishop, presbyters and deacons—would find a ready analogy in the priest, priests, and Levites of the Jewish ritual. These parallels would serve to confirm the validity of the institution, and would facilitate its adoption in localities.

Meanwhile, the extraordinary ministry of apostles and prophets had passed or was rapidly passing away. Some of the functions which they had exercised were essential in the Church; and these devolved as a heritage upon the permanent ministry. The prestige which had been attached to their exercise passed over in the main to the chief officers of the community, who thus came to be regarded, with a large measure of truth, as successors of the apostles, wielding apostolic authority as the rulers of the Church and the defenders of its Christian faith.

BISON (bison)

PRARG (p. 77).

BIT (כֵּתָב).

See also *BRIDLE* and *BRIDLE*, 3

BITHIAH (בִּיתְיָה)

ΘΟΥΙΑ [L], *daughter of Pharaoh, and wife of Menelaos, in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Ch 1:7). The assumption that *Pharaoh (פַּרְעֹה) is correctly read Bithiah (which might be explained *daughter = בַּת, worshipper of Yahweh = יָהוֹוִה [Osh. § 277 A]) might be a Hebraised form of an Egyptian name such as Bint Anu, *daughter of Anta (= Anuth), to indicate that the bearers of the name had entered the Israelish community.

This, however, does not accord with the view implied in the vowels of the name of Bithai's husband. Mered apparently means 'rebellion,' and suggests a war in which the wickedness of taking foreign wives is in question (cf. Ezra 9:1, and cp 2 Ch. 24:26). It would be in accordance with this that Mered's wife should bear the honourable

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name 'daughter of Yahwé': we should expect to find the old heathen name retained. Perhaps, then, Bithiah is not the right name; Θ 's $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ suggests to Kittel $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$, and Θ 's $\gamma\alpha\lambda\theta\alpha$ may conceivably be based on $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$, which in turn may have sprung from $\gamma\epsilon\lambda$, producing a description of Mered's non-Jewish wife as 'a young Egyptian princess' (Mered's other wife 'the Jewess' [יְהוּדִיָּה] is not named). However, the corruption is antecedent to Θ , and the whole story (half-told, half-implied, by the text as it now stands) is imaginary. The idea of the double marriage of Mered had not occurred to the original compiler; the true text conveys no warning against mixed marriages. Four at least out of the five names, Mered, Bithiah, Pharaoh, Jehudijah, and Hodiah, are corrupt; perhaps indeed all five are. Mered, or, more strictly, M-R-D, has probably come from M-R-T-H, which is an incorrect form of R-M-T-H—i.e., Ramoth—or rather of Jarmuth (see M. R. D.). 'Bithiah' is not improbably a corruption of 'Beahah' (בְּעִיָּה, 1 Ch. 12:5 [G. B. 6]). Pharaoh should rather be פִּרְעֹה, a clan name (cp PIRAHOS), H-Jehudijah (RV's) and Hodiah are plainly the same name (in 7:19 read בְּעִיָּה, 'his wife'). Accepting this view, we have two accounts of the family of Mered. It is not quite certain, however, that the person mis-called Mered is represented as having two wives. Hodiah may have been deliberately substituted for Beahah from a dislike to the first element in that name.

We are now rid of the only case in the OT of a name compounded with lah (לָה) — of such names there are 157 — being borne by a foreigner (cp Gray, *Heb. V* 158). Next, another mistake has to be noted. It is plain that 1 Ch. 17 as it stands is not right. The remedy is (with Birch and Kitt.) to transpose 7:15b to the middle of 7:17, inserting of course בְּעִיָּה after פִּרְעֹה. This gives us, as the children of Bithiah or Beahah, Manai (2), Shammai, and Ishbah the father of Eshlema. Eshlema also occurs (together with Keilah) in the list of the children of Hodiah (7:10), while Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah are connected with Mered through Hodiah's double, H-Jehudijah — an important notice (see M. R. D.). It is perhaps sad to have lost what was supposed to be an early testimony to the presence of an Egyptian element at and about Eshlema, as contrasted with the more purely Jewish character of Gedor, Soco, and Zanoah; but we gain an attestation of the traditional importance of Jarmuth. It may be added that in Jewish legend Bithiah becomes the foster-mother of Moses (*Ugriktu*, R., par. 1).

T. K. C.

BITHRON (בִּיתְרוֹן, $\tau\eta\eta$ παραπενοῦσαν [BAL].

אֵלֶּם בֵּית־חֹרֹן, BETH-HORON) 'the groove' or 'cleft' for excellence situated between the Jordan and Mahanaim (2 S. 22:9), and possibly to be identified with the H. 'Ajlun, along which, though at a later time, ran a Roman road from 'Ajlun to Mahanaim (Buhl, *Pal.* 121); see EPHRAIM, WOOD OF. For the sense of Bithron cp Θ 's rendering of בֵּית in Cant. 2:17 ($\delta\eta\eta$) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\sigma$ (like $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ in Θ for $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$). The reading Bithron is not certain, and the Vss. give little help, although Vg. (cp also Aq.'s $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\theta\alpha\pi\omega\sigma$) suggests that there was another Beth-horon E. of Jordan (see HOROSAIM). Theodorus's conjecture, BETH-HARAM, is improbable.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία [Ti. W11]), the district round the central Sangarius (*Sakarya*) in the NW. corner of

Asia Minor, extending from the mouth of the Rhyndacus (*Edrenos Çay*) eastwards to that of the Sangarius.

The boundary between Bithynia and the province of Asia coincided, not, as might have been expected, with the line of the Rhyndacus, but with that of the range of the Mysian Olympus (*Gyeshish Dagh*) lying N. of the river (Pliny, *HN* 5:142). The

Θ is unintelligible and, to judge from its similarity to the Heb. (cp We. Dr. *ad loc.*), has arisen perhaps from a trans-
literation.

BITHYNIA

eastern frontier is often made to coincide with the Bikanis or with the Partheidos, i.e. to extend beyond the latter river. In spite of Strabo's statement that the *montes* of the Sangarius marked the boundary (C. 1, 791 *Bithynia* $\delta\eta\eta\sigma\alpha$ $\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\sigma$ $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\sigma\alpha\sigma$). Indeed, it cut out for E. of the river; but the line is indeterminate. According to Pliny (*HN* 5:142) the Helles or Sibiros separated Bithynia from the province Galatia; but the boundary fell some 12 m. E. of that stream (Rous, *Hist. Geogr.* of A. 1: 195), whence it ran W. between the Sangarius and its tributary the Lemnos.

The will of Nicomedes III., the last of its kings, left Bithynia to the Romans in 74 B.C., but it was not until

2. History. 64 B.C., when the sultan of Pontus had been finally expelled from Asia, that Pompeius could undertake the organisation of the province (cp Plin. *Ep. ad Trai.* 79). With it was now combined the whole of the kingdom of Pontus, with the exception of those districts towards the E., as well as those in the interior (Paphlagonia), which were assigned to native dynasts in recognition of their services to Rome (Str. 541). See Niese in *Thom.* 130, and *Rhein Mus.* 38: 57 [83]. Amisos, which lay immediately E. of the Helles (*Kizil Irmak*), was the most easterly community of that part of Pontus which was combined with the old kingdom of Nicomedes to form the Roman province.

This dual origin of the province was recognised in its official title, *Pontus et Bithynia* (so generally in inscriptions, both Lat. and Gr.; cp Agrippa, *Mon.* 121, 1 *IL* 13: 1348, *CH* 13: 2302). The reverse order is perhaps upon the whole later, encouraged by the gradual growth in importance of the western section. Either name, apparently, might be used to denote the entire province (cp Tac. *Ann.* 12:1 with Dio Cass. 49:13 *CH* 2302, *Bull. Hell.* 11:21). In administration also the two parts retained a certain degree of formal independence, each having its own metropolis and Diet (*concilium*).

In the distribution of provinces by Augustus in 27 B.C. Pontus-Bithynia remained senatorial, i.e., its

3. Post-Apostolic. governors, who were of Praetorian rank, bore the title 'proconsul' (Str. 849, Tac. *Ann.* 17:161).

The official residence was Nicomedia. Under the metictive supervision of the Senate the province gradually became disorganised; its finances fell into disorder, and unregulated *collegia* gave birth to turbulence and faction. In order to carry out the necessary reforms, the younger Pliny was sent into the province in 112 A.D. His importance arises from his official contact with Christianity (*Ep. ad Trai.* 96 and 97. See Hardy, *Pliny's Correspondence*, 51 f., Rams. *Church*, 196 f., and cp CHRISTIAN, § 6 f.).

In the early period of post-apostolic history Bithynia is illustrious; but it has little connection with the apostles themselves. The salutation of 1 Pet. 1:1, where Pontus and Bithynia are mentioned separately, bears witness to the rapid evangelisation of the province. Before 112 A.D. Christianity had made such progress in Bithynia that pagan ritual was interrupted and the temples in great part deserted (Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 96). We get a hint that there, as in Ephesus, trade interests were at the bottom of the attack then made upon the Christians. The *contagio istius superstitionis* (*superstitio prava immoliva*), as Pliny calls the faith, would most easily enter the province by way of Amisos, along the route leading from the Cilician Gates by T'iana and Caesarea Mazaea in Cappadocia. Ramsay (*Church*, 225) conjectures from Pliny's letter that its introduction must fall about 65-75 A.D.

Amisos is now *Samsun*. Even in Strabo's time it was gradually displacing Sinope (*Sinub*) as the great harbour on the north coast. The route from Caesarea Mazaea northwards via Aqua Saravene, Edizina, and Amaseia, to Amisos, is even today 'the only road practicable for arables, and must always have been a great trade-route' (Rams. *Hist. Geogr.* of A.M., 273).

The interpretation of the word Bithynia in Acts 16:7 is connected with the question concerning the Galatian

4. Acts 16:7. churches (see GALATIA). On the N. Galatian theory, the object of Paul's vain attempt to enter Bithynia must have been to reach either Amisos or Amastris; for a design of preaching in the barbarous interior is improbable. The direct route to Amastris went, it is true, by way of Ancyra in Galatia;

BITTER HERBS

BITUMEN

but on the other hand no such route could have brought the apostle 'over against Mysia' (so RV; *κατα την Μυσίαν*). Further, both in Roman and in ordinary usage Amastrius, and still more Amisus, was a city of Pontus, not of Bithynia; and only the word Pontus could have been allowable as a single term to express the dual province to which it belonged (as is clear from Str. 541 compared with 543, in speaking of Heraclea). The expression 'to go into Bithynia' can only be taken to imply W. Bithynia *i.e.* the district round Nicæa and Nicomedia, where the wealth and administrative machinery of the province were centred. Dorylaeum (*Δόρυλαιον*), only a few miles S. of the Bithynian frontier, was the point to which all the roads from the south converged; Paul and his companions must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood when they were suddenly diverted westwards (Acts 167). W. T. W.

BITTER HERBS, BITTERNESS (כִּרְסִים)

כִּרְסִים. *Intest. agrestis*, Ex 128 Nu. 91; *πικρία*, *amaritudines*, Lam. 315; in Mishna also in sing.) are twice mentioned along with כִּלְכִּיל as the accompaniment of the paschal feast. Probably such herbs—whether separately or mixed—as lettuce (*Lactuca Scariola*, var. *sativa*), chicory (*Cichorium Intybus*), and endive (*Cichorium Endivia*) are meant. Doubtless they originally came into use simply as a relish or salad,¹ though the prescription of them in the Law may have to do with the atoning significance of the Passover; their association with the sufferings of the people in Egypt is probably a later view (Nowack, *II. 1* 217). See, further, PASSOVER.

'Bitter herbs,' rather than 'bitterness' (G, EV), seems to be the proper rendering in Lam. 315, where כִּרְסִים answers to *עֵשֶׂה* 'wormwood,' in the parallel clause.

N. M. —W. T. W. D.

BITTERN. RV Porcupine (תִּבְּרָה, *εχίνο*, *erichon*; Is. 1123 311 Zeph. 2141). The identity of this animal

(Heb. *ḥap̄s*) is far from certain; opinions of great variety have been held.

The ancient versions unanimously render 'Hedgehog' (or 'Porcupine'), the two were scarcely distinguished, and this is generally supported by Jewish tradition, though Rashi thinks that in Is. 3411 Zeph. 214 a bird is meant, and D. Kimhi interprets 'Tortoise' in all three passages (see their commentaries in *loc.*). Of modern Bibles Weyl's has in all three places 'Urchin,' and so Luther (followed as usual by the Dutch, 'Ezel,' Junius and Tremellius in their Latin OT-renderer *terrena* 'duck-ragle'); Coverdale, followed by the Great Bible, has 'Otter' in Is. 1423 and 'Stork' in Is. 3411 Zeph. 214, while the Geneva Bible has in Is. 1423 'Hedgehog' (1423 mg., or 'tortoise'), and in Zephaniah 'Owl' (mg., or 'hedgehog'). The French Protestant version seems alone to have anticipated AV in the rendering 'loutre' (mg., or 'bécote'). The Roman Catholic Bibles follow the Vulgate.²

The etymology of the Hebrew word is not, however, uncertain.

It is derived from a verb which in Assyrian means 'to plot,' transitively (Sargon, *KTB* 2 667), and in Arabic (1) 'to inflict a blow on the neck of another'; (2) 'to have a thick or loose neck.' The original sense is perhaps better seen in Syriac, where the same verb means 'to gather into a heap or ball (trans. or intrans.); the sense of drawing together also underlies the Assyrian use (cp. 'intrigue,' *intarsare*). The verb occurs but once in OT Hebrew (in Piel form), Is. 3812—'I have *rolled up* (or possibly 'shortened,' see Dillmann *ad loc.*) like a weaver my life,' a simile referring to the treatment of the finished

¹ *mele* is, according to Dioscorides (2157), the wild variety of *scirpus* (chicory or endive); Pliny (xix. 838) mentions it as the bitterest sort of *lactuca* (see the ref. in D. on Ex. 127, and in Nowack, *II. 1* 217); *Pteris esculenta* is probably intended by both. It does not of course follow that the meaning of כִּרְסִים is identical with that of *scirpus*.

² Vegetable food with meat is a dietetic necessity, and would naturally be eaten raw until it was discovered that certain kinds were best cooked. It is a matter for curious inquiry why so many salad herbs were bitter, at any rate in their feral form. Dandelion is a striking example.

³ Also used to render *ḥs*, Is. 1322, and *ḥs*, Is. 3415.

⁴ Which he wrongly supposes to be the meaning of Ar. *kenfeth*.

⁵ Explanations of these various renderings will be found in Fuller's *Middle Eastern Sacra*, 118; Bochart's *Hieroz.* 330.

web; the use of the noun *ḥap̄s* in Ezek. 725 accords with this derivation.

Kenfeth is equivalent in form to Aram. *Ar. kenfeth*,² and that these are the words for 'hog' in their respective languages is made clear (622) by Tamm's account (*History of the Language*, edition, ii. 216) and for Aram. by the Syr. *ḥap̄s* (Land's *Ancient Syriac*, 411).³ The instance of *ḥap̄s* in late Heb. and Aram. prove the post-biblical Jewish usage (see Lowysohn, *Zool. Palæont.*, 1900).

Whilst the philological evidence is thus entirely in favour of the rendering 'hedgehog' or 'porcupine,' must be admitted that 'zoolo-

2. Zoology.

there are considerable difficulties. The animal is always spoken of in connection with water, and once in relation to pools of water, whilst both these conditions would be natural habitat of the Bittern, they have no particular connection with either the Hedgehog or the Porcupine. In Is. 3411, the *ḥap̄s* is mentioned among birds, and in Zeph. 214 it is prophesied that the Pelican (*ḥap̄s*) shall lodge together in the capitals of Nineveh, while 'a voice' (if the text may be trusted) shall sing in the windows. The answers must be made to these objections—that the Porcupine or Hedgehog was regarded as an unfriendly, desert animal on account of its formidable equipments; we can find parallels to the mention of a least a birds in such enumerations as Lucian's 'Luge over horses, and eagles, and bears, and lions'; and the capitals on which the animal is to sit may be the fallen columns—are ingenious, but perhaps unsatisfying. It has been suggested that the translation 'loutre' may be reconciled with the etymology considering the fact that this bird has the power of drawing in its long neck so that its head almost upon its breast.⁴ Still, it is not easy to set aside argument derived from the meaning of the word in cognate languages.

The Bittern, *Botaurus stellaris*, is found in the reedy places throughout Europe, Asia (including India), and Africa. Canon Tristram records its occurrence in the marshes of Huleh. It is a nocturnal of considerable size, and is remarkable for its booming note. Formerly a common bird in suitable localities in Britain, it is now but a winter visitor, is grouped with the Herons in the family Ardeidae (cp. also CORMORANT and PELICAN.)

For Is. 3411 (*ḥap̄s*) RVmg. 'loutre' (see Owl, § 2 (4)).

N. M. —A. L. S.

BITTERNESS, WATER OF (כִּי הָרִים). Nu. RV, AV 'bitter water.' See JEALOUSY, ORDEAL, &c.

BITUMEN, the proper rendering (1) of *ḥap̄s*, RVmg. recognises (αφθαλτος; *bitumen*; EV.

¹ This evidence seems enough to show that the original sense was 'to contract' or 'cause contraction by striking,' not 'cut'; and that those were misled who, like Fuller and most of the older scholars, explained the name of the animal in the latter sense. In post-biblical Hebrew and W. Aramaic the sense of cutting is fairly common; but this may be explained partly perhaps from a mis-interpretation of *ḥap̄s* in Is. 38 and partly from association with Gr. *κοπή* and its derivative cp. Syr. *ḥap̄s* (N.S. *ḥap̄s*), 'a piece of flesh'—late (Korah's).

² So *ḥap̄s* *kenfeth*. It seems more probable that the Arabic word is a loan-word from Aramaic, than that *ḥap̄s* is borrowed. Fränkel, however (*Aram. Fremdw.* xiv), holds the latter is the case.

³ Cp. for Syriac, the other references cited by P. Smith. *Kappitha* appears to be used for the 'owl' in *Kil. ix. 10* (197).

⁴ Cp. Brehm's *Thierleben* (Leipzig, '79) 6383. 'When (the Bittern) rests and is at ease, it holds the body erect in a somewhat forward position and draws in its long neck so that an extent that its head rests upon its neck.'

⁵ Ar. *hamar*. Perhaps with reference to the reddish colour occasionally observed? (Diosc. 199).

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ORDEAL OF
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towards God or man, things holy or things profane
(Jer 33, 4; Is 60, 1; S. 217).

* 'Euphemism (of the verb) to 'blame': Rumanian *blasamari*, cf. *blasamarii*, and see Murray, *et al.*, however occurs in the EV as a neutralising of the following words: 722 Rk, 210114 WK, 1949 e, 1 RVog, 1 Rumanian, 1 p, 124 Rk, 131; 722 e, 2 K, 1622 EV, 1, 375, 21 EV, 1, 262, 202 EV, N, 6, 1530 RV (EV 'republic'), Ps. 117:17 EV; (22) 778: 275 EV, 1 RV, (3) 275 e, 16 EV, and the Gk. *blasphémia* (Mss. 10, 4) (not V 1214 14, 275 e, Mk. 3, 2) (followed by *to blaspheme thou*), Rev. 10, 1 Pet. 4, 7.

In 1 Macc. 7.33 'blasphemies' is the rendering of *δυσφημαίαι*; in 2.41 'to blaspheme' represents the related verb *δυσφημεῖν*; the object of the blasphemies is the temple. It is important to determine the sense of *βλασφημῶν* accurately, because the sense of 'to blaspheme' in 1V follows this exactly. In a word, the conception of 'blasphemy' in current English is narrower than the conception that we find in this supposed pattern of English speech, which includes all moors of reviling or humiliating God or man (see *ES* on 2 K. 19c [Heb. 122c] 134 [Heb. 122c] and 1s. 52.5 [Heb. 122c uncertain con], and ep. Acts 13.15 Jude 9 with 1k. 5.2). In 10.9,

Among the Helows (whose view, it is needless to say, profoundly affected our own common law)

2. **OT senti-** Blasphemy or the expression of unjust,
ment. derogatory opinions regarding God or his
government of the world was made a
capital offense (Lev. 24:11; cp. Ex. 24:16), and see below
(*Int.* iv, 86); the blasphemer must be 'cut off' from his
people (Lev. 24:15 P; see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 13).
It was forbidden to use the name of God lightly (*Int.*
iv, 511), whether to ask a blessing or to invoke a curse
(cp. Ex. 20:7, and see BLESSING AND CURSING, § 1, and
Schultz, *OT Theol.* 2:229 ff. [11] p.). Whenever Israel
is brought to shame God's name is soiled (at least by the
heathen) (Ps. 74:10 ff.). 'At a' or 'dare' it was held to be
a mark of profanity even to pronounce the real name of
God (cf. Ex. 24:11 and cp. NAMES, § 10, 11).
Josephus (*Int.* iv, 86), and the Rabbis interpret Ex.
22:28 as a prohibition of blaspheming 'strange gods';
but the interpretation, however much in the interests of
the Jews themselves, implies a misunderstanding of the
use of *elohim* (see Schultz, 2:227). It was on a charge

3. NT. of blasphemy—claiming to be the Christ, the Son of God—that Jesus was found worthy of death (Mk. 14:61-64 Mt. 26:63; cp. Jn. 10:33), and for blasphemous words against 'the holy place and the Law' Stephen was condemned to be stoned (Acts-6:13, 7:50 ff.). See SILENT. By blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in Mk. 3:29, Mt. 12:32, was meant originally a definite offence of the scribes and Pharisees, who had ascribed Jesus' cures of demons to a power derived from the prince of the demons. This was blasphemy against the divine power which had come upon Jesus at his baptism (Mk. 1:10 Mt. 3:16 Lk. 3:22). In Mt. 12:32, however, a later interpretation is given, which implies that the disciples of Jesus had thoroughly absorbed the idea of the indwelling Spirit. The Holy Spirit is put in antithesis to the 'Son of Man.' One who fails to pierce below the humble exterior of Jesus may be forgiven. One who not merely rejects, but openly disparages, that great gift which 'the Heavenly Father will give to those who ask him' (Lk. 11:13) cannot be forgiven; the inward impediment in the man himself is too strong. The idea of the original distinction was suggested by that in the Law (Num. 15:27-30). A parallel to it will be found in the Mishna (Sanhedr. 10:1)—'He who says that the Law is not from Heaven has no part in the world to come' (825f. Engl.). The later interpretation, however, has no parallel, and is a

1 The entering of קָרַע is very doubtful; but it is quite possible that in passages like Job 15:1, Kt. 21:12 a later editor substituted קָרַע for קָרַע or קָרַע . In Ps. 103 we may even have side by side the correction קָרַע and the original reading קָרַע .

'slime') in Gen. II: 14 to Ex. 23: 7; but also (2) of **רָפֶס**, which, like its Aram. cognate, is an Ass. loan-word (EV Pict II) in Gen. 6: 14, where its occurrence furnishes one of the proofs of the Babylonian origin of the Deluge-Story (see Dittol., § 13). In the Heb. Deluge-Story six 'trees' of **קִפְרִי** (**רָפֶס**, 'bitumen') and three of **לִדְדָּא** (naphtha; Jenson) are poured upon the outer and inner sides of the ship, respectively. **לִדְדָּא**, 'naphtha', is a word used in the legendary account of the infancy of Aaron I. (3 R. 458a; **קִפְרִי** 55b): '—she placed me in a basket of reeds, with **לִדְדָּא** my door she shut' — in the similar story of Moses the words **רָפֶס**, 'bitumen,' and **רָפֶס**, Pict II (23), are combined (18: 2); **דִּקְאֵנוֹס מִסְסָא** [13^b], but **דִּקְאֵנוֹסִיסָא** [18^a M.]. The origin of bitumen, or asphalt, and naphtha need not delay us long. Together with petroleum and mineral tar, they form a series of substances which are the result of certain changes in organised matter. These substances merge into each other by insensible degrees, and it is impossible to say at what point mineral tar ends and asphalt begins.

Naphtha, which is the first of the series, is in some places found flowing out of the earth as a clear, limpid, and colourless liquid. As such it is a mixture of hydrocarbons, some of which are very volatile and evaporate on exposure; it takes up oxygen from the air, becomes brown and thick, and in this state it is called petroleum. A continuation of the same process of evaporation and oxidation gradually transforms the material into mineral tar, and still later into solid glassy asphalt.

Asphaltic deposits are widely diffused throughout the world, more especially in tropical and sub-tropical regions—for example in the basin of the Dead Sea (173, § 6). The asphalt of the Dead Sea (which was very well known to the ancients) is not at present of commercial importance; but the sources of the supply of ancient Babylon, the bitumen springs of flin (the Is. of Hemed. 179), are still used. At this very old city on the Euphrates the shipwrights adhere to the ancient fashion of boat-building. Tar-mastik and mullerry branches form the substratum, which is covered with mats and thickly besmeared with bitumen (cp Ex. 23).² Bitumen was much used in architecture (see Gen. 113). Unburned bitumen protected by a plaster of bitumen proved the most indestructible of materials (see ASSYRIA, § 6. BABYLONIA, § 15, and cp Peters, *Nippur*, 216). Bitumen was used in ancient times as a fuel (Verg. *Ecl.* 833), for medicinal purposes (Jos. *Ant.* iv, 84) and for embalming (see EMBALMING).

BIZJOTHJAH, RV *Bizlothiah* (בִּזְיֹתְיָה), among the cities of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. 15:28). **GB** (καὶ αἱ κῆμαι αὐτῶν κ. αἱ παρ'αὐτοῖς αὐ.) [L. om.] enables us to restore thus—בִּזְיֹתְיָה ('and her villages'). See *Wc. CH* 132, and Hollenberg, *Alex. Ueters. d. B. Jos.* ('76), 14.

ΒΙΖΘΙΑ (ΒΙΖΘ [Bk., Gmsb. for common 'B], **ΜΑΖΑΝ** [Bk* Lb], **ΒΑΖ**, [N^{ca}], -**ΖΕΑ** [A]), a chamberlain of Masuerus (Esth. 1.10). If any reliance could be put on the reading of the Vss., one might, with Marq. (Rand. 7.1), compare **μαζαν** with O. Pers. *mazhāna*—i.e., **μαζ**, or **βαζαν**, with **βαζανης**, the name of a eunuch of Diurus III.

BLACK (חָדָד, יָהָד, קָדָר, תְּיָהָד) and **BLACKISH** (דָּהָד) Job 6:16; see COLOURS, § 8. **BLACKNESS**; for Prov. 7:9 RV and Joel 2:5 Nah. 2:10, see COLOURS, § 17; for Job 3:5 *ib.* § 8 n., for Is. 50:3 *ib.* § 8.

BLAINS (אֵפְרַסֶּת). Ex. 99 f.†. See BOIL, § 3.

BLASPHEMY (ΠΥΝΣ 2 K. 193 Is. 373; ΠΙΥΝΣ Neh. 913 26; 'ΣΣ Ezek. 3512; ΒΛΑCΦΗΜΙΑ Tob. 113

1. **The word.** ¹ Micc. 26 Mt. 12 ² 2665). The word so translated is derived from a root (קס) meaning literally 'to scorn or reject' (see 2 S. 12:14 Ps. 74:10 Is. 52:5). In Hebrew, therefore, it can naturally be used to describe an attitude of hostility

² See the illustration called 'A Noachian Boneyard at Hit,' Peters, *Nippur*, 2162.

product of the Spirit of Christ work in the hearts of the first disciples.

BLASTING בִּלְשָׁן; **BLAST** ἀνεμοφορία [Dt. 28:22 21 b, d, e]; ἐμπύριμος (1 K. 8:37); **BLAST** πύριον [Am. 1:4]; **BLAST** ἀφρο, ἀφορία, ἀφρο. **BLAST** ἀφρο [Hag. 2:7] is, as we learn from Gen. 11, a term specially applied to the blighting effect of wind upon corn. The root in Arabic means blackness; and the Heb. word thus describes a blackening (almost burning) process which is regarded as due to a severe wind—a sense which is expressed by the various renderings of **BLAST**. The word is in each passage coupled with **BLAST** 'mildew.' Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether wind is in itself sufficient to account for such a blackening. In the British Islands wheat when young assumes a yellow colour from cold, a well-known physiological effect. Under a burning drying wind, it might turn brown, but scarcely black. Further, it must be noted that in Gen. 11:6 the corn was in ear; it had made its growth, but the ears were thin, i.e., diseased. It seems probable, then, that the effect conceived in the dream was that produced by 'corn-smut,' *Ustilago tritici* and that this is the real meaning of בִּלְשָׁן. 'Mildew' is the other common disease of corn, *Puccinia graminis*.

BLASTUS (ΒΛΑΣΤΗC [11. VII]), the chamberlain (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *praefectus cubuli*) of King Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12:20).

BLESSING and **CURSING** בָּרַךְ, to bless—a denominative verb; בָּרַךְ the knee, with the lower part of the leg; *per. as* 'to cause to make progress,'—and **CURSING** אָרַר, to curse (cp. Ass. *araru* (1) 'to curse,' *araru* (2) 'to bind'), and their derivatives בָּרַכָה, in parallelism, chiefly in poetic and legal sources of JED and later imitations; cp. Gen. 27:20 Dt. 11:20 Josh. 8:14 etc.).

B represents בָּרַךְ by *εὐλογεῖν*, *barak* by *εὐλογεῖν* (also NT words). In Hebrew for 'cursing' we find also (a) *קָלַל* (prop. to belittle) frequently, (b) *אָרַר*, verbal and noun, cp. *שָׁפַת* 'oath of cursing' Nu. 5:21 (RVog 'adjuration'), rendered 'execration,' Jer. 42:18 44:22, and RV only Jer. 29:13; its derivative *קָלַל* occurs in Lam. 3:63. (c) *רָמַס* see BAN. (d) *רָמַס* only in the Balaam stories (Nu. 22:11 23:24 24:10) and possibly to be connected with *רָמַס* (prop. 'to pierce' rendered in Lev. 24:16 'blaspheme'). From the Jewish tradition which explained it to mean 'pronounce, speak aloud' arose the deep-rooted belief that the divine name was not to be uttered under any circumstance (see NAMES, § 10 n.). In *HALAKA*, § 8. (e) *שָׁפַת*, Is. 65:15, EV 'curse,' properly 'oath' as in RVog; see OATH and cp. COVENANT, § 5.

The NT words are (a) *ἀναθεματίζω* Mk. 14:71 (in **B** for *κατακαίω*); *κατακαίω* [αἰσ], Mt. 26:74 Rev. 22:3; see BVS. (b) *κατακαίω* [αἰσ] Rom. 12:14 [αἰσ], 3:1 (in **B** for *κατακαίω* Gal. 3:10 13 and *κατακαίω* (RVog 'anything cursed') Rev. 22:3, cp. also *ἐκατακαίω* 'under a curse,' Gal. 3:10, (c) *κατακαίω* Mt. 15:4 Mk. 7:10, RV 'speak evil of' (in **B** for *κατακαίω*); see OATH.

In the primitive sense of the word, a blessing or a curse was a spell, pronounced by 'holy' persons, and containing a divine name, or divine names, which drew down the divine favour or disfavour (i.e., prosperity or adversity), as the case might require, on certain other persons. It was a consequence of the hardness of life that curses were more frequently in demand than blessings. Thus (a) the breaking out of hostilities between states naturally led to the solemn utterance of formulae of cursing against the enemy. These invocations would be uttered at the opening of a campaign, and especially when the warriors were on the point of advancing against the foe. Goliath, we are told, 'cursed David by his gods' (1 S. 17:41). The battle-shout certainly had a religious character; and, if it did not always devote the enemy to destruction, at any rate it invoked a blessing on the national side. Cp. 2 S. 68:1-3 and the story of BALAAM [p. 7]. (b) The laws too had

1 Nu. 22:6 shows that Balak, according to the narrator, was about to fight with the Israelites.

sometimes an increased sanction through the formulae attached. Thus A/IV, mentions a respecting the maintenance of boundaries, w. enforced by a curse on any one who should violate. To this category of curses belong those in Dt. 28.

It is true that a series of blessings is attached to series of cursings. Moses, from his close connection with the Deity, had a special power of blessing and cursing. After him the priests had a similar power, which exerted in the interests of the faithful community. URM AND THE MOUNT, § 6. The uplifted hands of the priest drew down (as it were) a blessing on Israel. Lev. 9:22 Nu. 6:23-27 and a curse on Israel's enemies. So potent, indeed, were the blessings and the curses of the founder of Israel that they could be applied to the two sacred mountains which enclosed the original centre of the people—the valley of Shechem ready to descend, as the case might be, with retributive punishments (Dt. 11:20).

Within the family it was the father who (according to primitive ideas not unconnected with the worship of ancestors) had the mystic privilege of determining weal or woe of his children (Gen. 9:25 ff.), and especially when his days were manifestly numbered (Gen. 49:1-27, 49:28, 49:33, 49:34, 49:35, 49:36). Nor does it appear that the early Israelites limited this power by moral considerations (see Gen. 27:35). Obviously, however, a limitation was a necessary consequence of a monotheism. The post-exilic writers declare that the offspring of the righteous can be blessed (Ps. 135:3) and that the observance of God's laws ensures his favour without the aid of priests or enchanters. Fear, then, said the later sages to their pupils, if thine enemies curse thee: 'the curse causeless shall not come' (1 S. 26:2).

Still, even in post-exilic time we sometimes find strange half-consciousness that curses had an immense power. It was worth while to curse a bad man to ensure his full punishment—such is the idea of 109—a strange survival of primitive superstition.

In the discourses of Jesus we find blessings and curses. They are, however, simply authoritative declarations of the eternal connection between right-doing and happiness, wrong-doing and misery (e.g., in the case of Judas).

Parallels to the Israelitish view of blessings and cursings outside of the Semitic peoples hardly need to be quoted. The objective existence of both, but especially of curses, was strongly felt by the Assyrians and Babylonians, as the magical texts show. The Arabic beliefs on the subject are also very suggestive. Goldziher has pointed out. See MAGY, § 2 n. 1, on the 'curse-bringing water' (Nu. 5:18 ff.) see J. H. M. O'S. WATER OF.

BLINDNESS (קִרְיָה), Gen. 19:11 2 K. 6:18; *קִרְיָה* Dt. 28:28 Zech. 12:4. See EYE, DISEASES, and MUTE, CINE.

BLOOD. For blood in law and ritual, see SACRIFICE, PASSOVER; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1 ff.; COVENANT, § 1; KISSING, § 1 ff.; and FOOD, § 9. For 'avenger of blood' (שֹׁרֵף דָּם; Dt. 19:9), see GORE. For 'issue of blood' (רוּס יֵצֵא מִן הַמֶּלֶךְ; Mk. 5:23), see DISEASE, MEDICINE.

BLOOD, Field of (ἀροὶς αἱματός), Mt. 27:3. See ACUDAMA.

BLUE (תְּכֵלֶת), Ex. 25:4, etc., a variety of Purple. See COLOURS, §§ 13, 15.

'Blue' is employed in L.V. of Esai. 1:6 to distinguish certain kinds of stones. Thus for *blue* we have AV 'blue marble' [L.V. *blue*].

1 The blessing and the curse referred to were those attached to the fulfilment and the non-fulfilment of the commands of the Law. They were 'laid before' Israel by Moses, and were to be 'laid' by them on their arrival in the promised land, probably by solemn proclamation, on Mount Gerizim and on Mount Ebal respectively. In Dt. 27:12 ff. we have a later writer's interpretation of this command. See Kue, *ThT*, 1878, pp. 297 ff.

There is an early testimony to the form *Bekoth* in Mic. I. 1, if 1232^W 1231^V (weep not at all) may be emended into 1220 1232 (weep) [1231] *phay-mi*, in *Bek-ur* [Bekothum] weep (I thirst, We, Now, I, then, continuing the intensive *phay-mi*, not, I, up the *Le'el*, July 1904). So the active call *Bekoth* near Micah's native town is known to us. This causes no difficulty. There may have been many places where *Bek* trees grew. It is a distinctive characteristic of the *Arvo* weep not (Reind, Hitt., etc.), is geographically inadmissible. We cannot well suppose a Philistine city of this name (cf. Smith), nor does Micah come in himself with Philistines (p. 101).

BOHAN, THE STONE OF בֹּהַן BAHOH [BA], an unknown point on the boundary between India and the SIAMUS of 30. Lash 150 (BAHOH [1], 1847 (BAHOH [A], 2 [1]). Bohan is cited in both places the son (sometimes son) [2] in 1847 of KEMEN; possibly, however, the stone or rock was a well-known landmark, thus designated on account of its supposed resemblance to a thorn בֹּהַן.

BOIL, BOIL ('Botch') of Egypt. The Hebr. word

1. OT names
and ref

and the "black of black" in D128 was applied again to the "black of black" in the same diagnostic sign that occurred in one or more of the Vietnam contingents and mostly parts of skin affections included under the main rubric of *phlegm* (see Table 2, Fig. 1, 2). The variety called "burning" had 22 mainly phlegmic and 20 acrimic, and the variety of *phlegm* had 19 acrimic and 19 phlegmic spots being in 40. The 40 acrimic and 20 phlegmic spots of acrimic spots in 10 acrimic, a third that is fairly possible to give a mean name to them or to include them.

In 1978, I felt that the new world is applied to a skin
disease that needs to be treated. The result of the he-
lath was a white, warty type of growth. I have been
in Italy for a few years and I feel like I am in a
It is only the best.

It is only the bull that is specially associated with Egypt that is here considered.

[illegible]

Butch is a name commonly, and with the definite article placed, given to plague in the Elizabethan and the Stuart periods. In the Edinburgh treatise on plague by Th. Gilbert (*Plague*, 1625) it occurs in the form of 'butche'. In the *Lexicon of Generic Cures* and *lexica* and *brunnaria* occurs a specific probable etymology is *fr. poche*, meaning pocket, *poche* (as in *poche*, a bubble), and applied in the plural, *poches*, about 1500, and *epidemics* of the plural, *poches*, like the Spanish *las bubas*, to epidemics of bubonic plague, the translators of the AV seem to have meant by 'bub' the fraudulent bubo plague of their time. Milton also says, of the sixth plague (1629-30) 'bubonic' and blains must all plague from Britain attend' (17, 1245). With the disappearance of plague from Britain attend, the word lost its technical meaning.

² Rather, 'sear of the body,' פָּחַד בְּשָׂרִי (pachad beshari RV).

appears to be based on a folk-tale; the designation which it gives to Job's malady is, therefore, general, not technical. We must remember, however, that in Lev. 13:45 the *qay* is the forerunner of leprosy, and that in the speeches of Job the symptoms of his malady, the high, reddish swellings,

41 The text is disfigured by two errors due to ditto-graphy. One is the word 'not' before 'upon them,' repeated from v. 17; the other is 'the nations that' repeated from v. 17. **B** has simply *sai em routou*.

thinking of the 'batch of type'. The reference in Am. 11, 1, however, may possibly be to some attack in the last-19 of the northern kings etc. The 'p' in the number of type may well be equivalent to the power of 10, 2^8 , which should mean some specific size to the 'marks' (i.e. 'monies', or 'plagued' or 'p' etc.) which it is compiled, certainly means. As the sixth is specially called one of 'bols and foms', it may stand for some definite length of use of type.

We must now consider which of the four types of *gaya* is meant by *gaya*. It is stated that

2. Shahin
of Egypt.

might be entirely excluded. On the other hand, anthrax might be entirely described as the kind of epidemic excluded, inasmuch as in man it is epidemic, but only sporadic. It was thought that the narrative, or (as the editors say) the informative, of the plagues to be based on a narrative, or simpler narratives, which would be treated as matter-of-fact description, we might find in the original narrative the sixth plague sent the plague proper (dubio plague), which killed to man, whilst the fifth stood for epizootic in general.¹

Certainly the special association of *hulub* phrase and 1 Egypt is historically correct, so that the 'h-h' in the AV is a happy chance (p. 8). Besides the constructive evidence as to the *d* which is said to have been in Semitic before Ptolemaic (see PESTER-SMITH, and, on the last point, HIEZKIAL, 4), there is, indeed, no external testimony to *hulub* phrase in 1 Egypt other than 3000 BC, and even this testimony has been only indirectly preserved.

Orbasius, who was physician to the Emperor Julian, passage from Rufus of Ephesus, a physician in the Taurus, where he describes a plague occurring in the district of the Taurus, as Poreus, a physician with singular authority, a distinctive mark of the plague, to find in it. He says that the disease is most common in Egypt, in Libya, Egypt, and Syria. He adds that Proserpine, Poseidonios had enlarged upon pestilential buboes in upon the pestilence which at that time ravaged Italy, which is mentioned by Livy, Julius Obsequens, and Rufus further says that the pupils of one Theonius, the maker mention of these pestilential buboes. An account of the Vatican codex of Greek manuscripts explains that the above surname (Humbilis) comes from the geography of Hieronimus. This would fit his date in 280 A.D.

Whilst the batch of Egypt cannot, upon independent testimony, be traced farther back than 300 B.C., it is highly probable that it was last seen there.

Farmer points out, the endemic influences favour plague in Egypt, depending upon the peculiar alterations of wet and dry soil (caused by the periodic and fall of the Nile), were there long before.

Paris) (*Cases de la Peste*, etc., Paris, 1872) has, with great cogency, that the elaborate system in the use of ancient Egypt to preserve the soil from putrefactive matters, human and other, were inspired by the plague, and must have been in a high degree effective. It is clear, however, that any failure of the sanitary code would, in a climate of hydrology being constant, and that such failure, from the time that the ancient civilisation, with sanitation enforced by religious sanctions, was a principal part of it, be an inquiry as permanent.

without the negative particle, but it has the second insert. A critical edition should give the text thus: 'And if I Egyptian people go not up nor come, upon them will the stream with which Yehwe will strike.' . . . The close of the sentence may only have become *eternal*. The plague it is, was, at any rate, not that of the other nations, which was of man.]

The qualification ('in general') is designed. What is of the 'mimra' upon the horses, camels, asses, even a sheep is expressed in a sense too comprehensive for any specific zoonotic malady (e.g., anthrax is a disease that even sheep suffer from in common, but not horses, not so far as is known of asses and camels).

BOILS, PLAGUE

That the sanitary precautions did utterly break down under Mohammedan conquest, and that *habea* plague did become for fourteen centuries the standing pestilence of Egypt, we know as matter of fact. We know also that it was from Pelusium that the great plague of Justinian's reign (542-50) started, to overrun the whole known world. It is probable, further, that the pestilence in Lower Egypt at the time of the massacre of Christians in the episcopate of Cyprian included *habea* plague. The valuable testimony preserved by Oribasius as to Egyptian *typhus*, and Syrian pestilential *habea*, as early as 400 B.C., has been already cited. If beyond that date we are left to conjecture, there is still a high probability that the plague was known in Egypt at a much earlier date.

This historical bulbo plague of Egypt answers best to the sixth plague. The bull breaks out in the

3. Nature of disease.

amplified, gums, and the sides of the neck, and it consists of one (or of a packet) of the natural lymphatic or absorbent glands of those regions enlarged to the size of a hen's (or even a turkey) egg, often of a livid colour, hard, tense, painful, or attended with inflammatory swelling of the skin for some distance around it. Just as in Asiatic cholera and yellow fever there are 'explosive' attacks so suddenly fatal that the distinctive symptoms have hardly time to develop, so there may be death from plague without the 'subor' or the 'bub'. Still the latter is the distinctive mark of plague, the same in all countries and in all periods of history.

Other signs of plague were found or not found in the spots of the skin called "the ticks" or "highly prominent, large carbuncles (especially in the fleshy parts), and blains" (752228), which were really smaller carbuncle-like formations of a core with a collection of fluid on their summits. Besides the pain of the ticks and the blains, there were often a delirium, gentle or violent vomiting, spitting up of mucus like thick gel, and speech, and many other symptoms it is hard to describe. About three days was perhaps the average duration of fatal cases.

4. Mortality. Presumably half the attacks were mortal. In the beginning of the epidemic there would be but few recoveries, while at the end of it as many as four out of five might recover. Because the

4. Mortality.

likely when the bullocks barked and ran, sometimes the suppuration, especially in the groin, would continue for months, the victims being able to go lambling in the streets. In the history of plague in London, which is continuous from the Black Death of 1348 to 1666, the great epidemics came at intervals, and, in those for which we have the statistics, carried off from a fifth to a sixth of the population, including but few of the richer class. With a population of nearly half a million in 1665, the highest mortality from plague was 7105 in the week 12th-19th September. Sometimes for a succession of years the deaths from plague kept at a high annual level, especially during the summer and autumn months. During the whole three centuries of plague in London there were few years which did not have some deaths in the warmer months. From what is known of the mediæval history of plague in Cairo (from Arabic annals; cp von Kremer in *SIU III*, Phil. Hist. Class. Bd. xvi.), and of its modern history (cp Pruner, *Krank. des Orients*), it appears to have come, as in London, in terrific outbursts at intervals of years, and to have been at a low level or apparently extinct in the years between.

The plague season in Egypt, within the period of exact records, has begun as early as September and as late as January, has reached its height in March and April, and has ended with great regularity, almost suddenly, about St. John's day (24th June), the height of the epidemic corresponding with the lowest level of the Nile. There has been no plague since 1844. The last great epidemic was that of 1835, described by Kinglake in 'Eothen.'

BOILS, PLAGUE (D¹/₂W). Deut. 28:27 RV¹⁹⁰⁸ See
EMERODS.

BOSOR

BOILING PLACES (מִבְשִׁילֹת), *Leck* 402, IV;
and **BOILING HOUSES** (בֵּית הַמִּבְשִׁילִּים), *ib.* RV.
See *Cooking*, § 1.

BOLLED (*bol* = swollen, see Skat, *I pur. Dict.*;
 LV = in flower, **223**) **etepmazion** [BM] 1:
 Lx 9 (4). The Hebrew word means only one, but
 is evidently used (as *Lav*, *Lay*, *Lay*, *Lay*, *Lay*,
Abil *Abil*) connected with **223**, cup, and the
 Mishic name (*Ab*, *Ab*) is in favour of its referring to
 the flower cup (perhaps as a closed bud, rather than
 as **6**) opposite to the formation of the seed pods (see,
 however, *Iustrim*, *Abil* 145).

BOLSTER (בולסטר), *S.* 131, 267. See *Id.*, § 11(1).

BONDADE 7722. ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ. 1x 114 Rom 8:15, etc., and **BONDMAN** 7723. ΔΟΥΛΟΣ. Dt. 15:3 Rom. 6:16, etc. See SLAVERY.

BONNET For 7822, *ma^h Mith*, 1 x 284, etc. (KV 'headline'), see MERT, § 1 (1), for 780 *p^ho*, 1s. 3 x 2, (RV 'headline'), 1 x 2, 117 (KV 'line'), see TURBAN, § 2.

BOOK (TEL. Gen. 54 etc.; BIBAC, Lk. 34 etc.;
BIBACON, Lk. 147 etc.; See WRITING, § 3, end;
HISTORICAL LIT., §§ 3-5, 10; CANON, §§ 1-4, 20.

BOOK OF LIFE (H) BIBAC (T) ZONE 4, Philp.
4 Rev 3: Cp Ex 32:2 Is. 1 and see LAW AND
JUSTICE, 11.

BOOT (°N2), 1s, 0 (4)1, RV⁰⁰ See Notes, p. 3.

BOOTHS (7022), Lev 24:17. See TABERNACLE, PAWILION, I, SECOND, and op. TEST, § 1, and CATTLE, §§ 1, 3.

BOOTY (iz, etc.), for *boot*, etc. See *SPRINT*.

BOOZ (BOOC [1: WH], Mt 15; BOOC [1: WH], Lk 3, 2). RV has BOAZ.

BOR-ASHAN (𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴); BOPACAN [A]. BOPACBE [B]. Vg *Isa. 1:17*, Pesh *Is. 1:17*, Hs. tra. M¹ P¹ (sing. (n. B.)) in 2S 20:1, where many printed edd. have 𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡𐎴 (VS CHOR-ASHAN, RV COR-ASHAN). Probably the same as ASHAN (*Is. 1:17*).

[illegible]

BORITH (*BORITH*), 4 Esd. 12. See **BUKKI**, 1.

BORROW (בִּשְׁבָּר, Ex. 322; ΔΑΝΙΣΑΘΑΙ, Mt. 542),
and **LEND** (הִשְׁבִּיחַ, Ex. 222 [25]; ΔΑΝΙΖΕΙΝ, Lk. 634).
See **LAW AND JUSTICE**, § 15, **TRADE AND COMMERCE**.

BOSCATH (0282), 2 K. 221 AV, RV BOSKATH.

BOSOR (Босор [Тл]), 2 Pct. 215 AV, RV BEOR
(2.15, 2).

BOSOR (Βόσσορ [V], -oco, [SV*], -ccop [V]), and in 7; β-oco, [X]; cp Is 316 63, in **Θ**), a town of Galaaditis, taken by Judas the Maccabee in 124 B.C. (1 Macc. 5:26 ff.), is identified by some with ΒΑΣΙΛ (p. 27, i.) in Moab. Galaaditis, however, was the name of the country N. of Moab (GASM II: 549, n. 5), and the campaign in which Judas took Bosor was waged in the latitude of the Yarmūk. If Bosora (p. 27) be the present Basra, Bosor may be the present *Basra-el-Hariri*, in the SE. corner of the Laja, which the Arabian geographer Yāqūt in 1225 A.D. (1621) still calls only Basra (p. 27). The passage in which it is mentioned is obscure; 7; 26 f. are probably corrupt. (Cp We.

BOSORA

175²⁰ 212, n. 1. Herod the Great, in order to keep the Taja in his power (Jos. 2, viii 12), fortified a village called Bathyra, and this may have been the same as Bosora (cp G. Vsm, *176* 618).

BOSORA (Borcopa) [V], -orop, [N], -ocoppa [V], cp *175* 141, 1 Mar 5-6; Jos. Boropa [175] vii, 8, 11, in Galad, held by some to be the Borrah in Moab spoken of in Jer 18:24, must have lain further N. (see Bosora, n.). Hence many (Ewald; *175* Map; etc.) more plausibly take it to have been Bostia, the capital of the Roman province of Arabia, modern *Bostra*, 22 mi. SE. of Elahet (cp Porter, *Five years*²⁰, 12; Merrill, *E. J. Indiv.*, 53, 58; Rev. *Dins le Hasoran* *Atat*; Buhl, *Pal.* 251). See, however, Bathyra under Bosora, n.

G. A. S.

BOSS (בֹּסֶס), text doubtful, Job 15:26. See SHIELD.

BOTCH (בֹּתַח). Dt 28:27 is AV; RV Bott. (*g. v.*, § 2 f.).

BOTTLE. The statement that 'what we call bottles were unknown to the Hebrews' (Richm, *1747*²⁰, art. 'Flasche') needs qualification. It has long been known that the Egyptians manufactured glass from an early period. The Phoenicians and the Assyrians were well acquainted with glass (see the relative volumes of Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, etc.), that manufactured by the former being of special repute in antiquity (see GLASS). It is impossible, therefore, that among the imports from Phoenicia, glass bottles should have had no place. They must always, however, have been a luxury of the rich (cp Job 28:17 [RV]).

The 'bottles' of Scripture fall into two very different classes: (1) leather skins for holding and carrying water, wine, and other liquids, and (2) earthenware jars for the same and other purposes.

For the Hebrews in the nomadic stage of civilisation, as for the Bedouin of the present day, the skins of beasts of their flocks supplied the readiest and most efficient means of storing and transporting the necessary supply of water

1. Skins as bottles. in the camp and on the march. This method was found so simple and so satisfactory that it was retained in a more settled state of society, and, indeed, has prevailed throughout the East until the present day. The writers of classical antiquity, from Homer downwards, contain many references to this use of the skins of domestic animals. The skins used by the Hebrews for this purpose, as in modern Syria and Arabia, were chiefly skins of the goat and of the sheep. When a smaller size than ordinary was required, the skin of a lamb or of a kid sufficed; for larger quantities there was the skin of the ox,¹ and, perhaps, of the camel (Herod. 39). Among the Hebrews the pig-skin was, of course, excluded.

The method of preparation varied in complexity and efficiency according as the peasant prepared his own skins (cp Doughty, *Ar. Dec.* 1227) or employed a professional tanner. The head and the lower part of the legs are cut off (such is the method at the present day), and the animal is skinned from the neck downwards, somewhat as one removes a tight-fitting glove, care being taken that no incision is made in the skin of the carcase. When the tanning process is completed (cp Tristram, *Arabia* 92, Rolinson, *RR* 312 44-6), all other apertures, having previously been closed, the neck is fitted with a leather thong, by means of which the skin is opened and closed (cp L. A. V. n. 1).

In the OT we find such skin bottles designated by a variety of names.

Such are (1) בֹּתַח, *hometh* Gk. (AVD), the water-skin (probably of a kid) which Abraham put upon Hagar's shoulder (Gen. 21:19 D). The Bedouin name is *gubbi*, i.e., *kubbar* (Doughty, *op. cit.* *inf.*). In Hos 7:5 (RV 'heat'), and in Hab. 2:15 (RV 'venom', mg. 'lute'), the RV more advisedly binds another word of similar sound (בֹּתַח). (2) בֹּתַח, *boith*, like the *remity* (*remitylary*) of the modern Bedouin, is the milk-skin of the nomad *lael* (Judg. 1:9; cp Doughty *op. cit.* *passim*). It

¹ According to Lane (*Mod. Eg.*) an ox-hide holds three or four times as much as a goat-skin (*gubbi*).

BOX TREE

also occurs frequently as a wine-skin—Josh. 9:11 18, 10:2. As a water-skin it is used metaphorically in Ps. 105:14 (cp 'tear-bottles', so called, and where the text is doubtful (see *Q*). The exact sense of Ps. 119:83, where the poet himself to a 'bottle' (RVmg. 'wine-skin') in the small doubtful (see the comm. *in loc.*) (1) בֹּתַח, *boith*, and (2) בֹּתַח, *boith*, are frequently of the ordinary wine-skin (*gubbi* [BM] 10, 11, 12, 67) 278, 280, has the same signification in Job, where we read of 'new bottles', i.e., 'ready to burst'. (3) בֹּתַח, *boith*, renders 'skins with new (wine)', which gives us a parallel to the familiar passage in the NT (Mt 9:17—'Mk. 6:47 L'). 'Neither do men put new wine in old skins, etc., where the RV has rightly discarded the misleading rendering 'bottles.' In Judith 10:5 we have the word *ἀσκονιστῆς* [BA], RV 'a leathern bottle' of wine.

Vessels of earthenware also are mentioned in the as receptacles for wine. Such was (1) the בֹּתַח, *boith*.

2. Earthenware bottles. בֹּתַח, *boith*, made by potter, perhaps with a narrow neck, which caused a gurgling sound (*kakbakath*) when the jar was being emptied. It also used to hold honey, 1 K. 11:4 (*ἀραιαὶ* [M], 1 B); EV Crt st. *g. v.*, 2). (2) The name *בֹּתַח* was also given to wine-jars or *ampullae* of earthenware, as clear from Is. 30:14 (EV 'potters' vessels', AVmg. 'potters'), and Lam 1:2 (EV 'pitcher'). In these passages *Q* has ἀγγύων. We have no indication of the size or even of the shape of the earthen *boith* (see POTTERY; also CRT ST).

A. R. S. K.

BOW (בֹּשֶׁת), Gen. 27:1. **Bowstrings** (בִּיטָרִים), 21:12, RV. See WEAPONS.

BOWL. The various Hebrew and Greek words were dealt with in the articles mentioned below.

1. בֹּשֶׁת, *gubbi*, Ex. 25:31. See CRT, Mts, § 12.
2. בֹּשֶׁת, *gubbi*, the bowl or reservoir of a lamp, Zech. 4:2 (*ἀμφορέα*); see CANTABRIGIA, § 2. Used in a simile in Job 12:6 (*ut dicitur*). The globe-shaped bowls or capitals of the twin pillars of JACHIN AND BOAZ (1 K. 7:49, 50) to support the though בֹּשֶׁת? see FRIEDMAN, Ch. 112, 14, AV 'potters' vessels' [BM], Bt. 11, 12, etc., RV. See POTTERY.
3. בֹּשֶׁת, *kephor*, 1 Ch. 28:17, etc., RV. See BASOR, 2.
4. בֹּשֶׁת, *mi-lak*, Ex. 27:3. See BASOR, 3.
5. בֹּשֶׁת, *minakkebiyath*, *minakkebiyath* [BM], used in temple ritual especially upon the table of shew-bread, Ex. 25:31 37, Nu. 4:7 Jer. 52:10 (where AV 'cups').
6. בֹּשֶׁת, *keph*, 1 K. 7:50; see BASOR, 4.
7. בֹּשֶׁת, *sophel*, a larger bowl or basin, probably of wood, Jud. 5:25¹⁰ (*ἀραια* [BM]; in 5:25 *λακ*, [M]; cp Pal. Soc. *loc. cit.*).
8. *seaph*, Bt. 11, a vessel for holding food (in Acts 27:19 *seaph*).
9. בֹּשֶׁת, Rev. 5:8 15:7, etc. (AV 'vial'). In OT it represents CRT, Gubbi, POTTERY.

BOX, synonymous in AV with jar or cruse, not a case of wood or metal.¹

1. בֹּשֶׁת, *gubbi* (2 K. 9:13; RV and in 1 S. 10:6, AV 'vial'; *Q* *φάκος*). Shape and material are both uncertain.
2. For the 'alabaster box' (*ἡ ἀλαβαστῆρα*) of Mk. 14:3, etc. AV (RV 'alabaster cruse'), see CRT st. 4, ALABASTER.
3. In RV of Lu. 12:43 29, where EV has *box*, the *Q* suggested as an alternative rendering of *γλασσιναι*, which originally and etymologically signified a case in which the *maria* (pieces of *γλασσιναι*) of wind instruments were kept. Later it assumed a more general significance and denoted any similarly shaped box or case. *Q* *seaph* employs it to indicate the chest (178) set up by Josiah in the Temple (2 Ch. 24:8 *ph*), which Josephus uses it of the *coffer* (178 1 S. 68 *ph* EV; see CRT st. 4), or small chest, in which the Philistine princes deposited the golden mice. In the Mishna it is used to signify a *coffer* (books (בִּשְׁבָּתִים in Lexa.) and even a coffin (cp the *coffer* of *Isidore*); in the latter sense also in Aquila (Gen. 50:2, of Joseph's mummy-case; see CRT st. 18). Thus it would appear that the preferable rendering in John (2:2) is that of RV.

A. R. S. K.

BOX TREE, **BOX**, RVmg. 'cypress'; *empe* (Ezek. 27:6; *Q* *ἐλαῖος ἀλωδιεῖς*) RV **Boxwood** (בֹּשֶׁת־עֵץ).

¹ For this EV employs 'chest.'

BRAMBLE

Kimhi, however, obtained much the same sense by connecting קִרְיָה with קָרַן , 'ornament.' The Targum on 2 S. 110 renders by קִרְיָה , which is usually applied to the phylactery (Du. 68). A phylactery was, however, also worn on the left arm. קָרַן is apparently connected with קָרַן (occurring only in 1 S. 32-3), into which We. & emendation reduces קָרַן . If the arrangement in 1 S. 318-23 is suggested by the natural order of the parts of the body, קָרַן may be an ornament rather of the arm than of the leg. Barth, *AV* 151, compares Ar. *qadul*, 'arm,' which removes some of the difficulty presented by the usual derivation from קָרַן , to step or walk. See, however, ANKLETS.

BRAMBLE has in EV three meanings.

1. קִרְיָה (*qirya*, *rhannus*); Gen. 50 10 f. (EV ATAD as in Q), Judg. 9 14 f., RV 'brambles,' and Ps. 58 9 (10), EV 'thorns.' It is a genuine Semitic word, found also in W. Aramaic as קִרְיָה or קִרְיָה in Syriac as *qirya* (? *qirya*), in Arabic as *atad* (*qirya* *rhannus* *nigra*, Fr.), and in Assyrian as *qirya*, *qirya* (Ges.-Bu., 527). The root with which it appears to be connected (קָרַן) has in Arabic the sense of 'uttering a rasping, though not loud, sound'; and the possibility of a connection with the sense of pricking or tearing like a thorn is apparent. There is general agreement that *rhannus* was about equivalent to the modern botanical genus *Rhamnus*. Dioscorides¹ distinguished three sorts (cp. Fraas, *Syn. Plant. Flor. Class.*); while in modern times Tristram (FFP 264 f.) has enumerated sixteen species of *Rhamnus* as found in Palestine.

Perhaps the most likely identification for קִרְיָה is with *Rhamnus palaestina* (Boiss.), which represents in Syria the *R. oleoides* of Greece and S. Europe.

2. קִרְיָה , *qirya*, very frequent; EV usually 'thorn' or 'thistle,' AV once (Is. 34 13) 'bramble.' It denotes a plant of the thorn or perhaps of the thistle kind; see THORN.

3. בִּרְיָה , which occurs seven times in Q (in six of these as the rendering of בִּרְיָה) and five times in NT, is once (Lk. 6 44) rendered 'bramble bush,' elsewhere Bush (*qirya*, § 1 (1)). N. M.—W. T. T. -D.

BRAN (טַר פִּיתָרָא [BAQ]). The 'burning of bran for incense' (*θυμωσαι τ. π.*; to Mylitta?) is mentioned in Bar. 6 (Ep. Jer.) 41 [42]† as one of the incidents in the unchaste idolatrous worship of the women of Babylon. See INCENSE, § 8.

BRASEN SEA (יָם הַבְּרָשִׁית), 2 K. 25 13; see LAVER; SEA, BRAZEN.

BRASEN SERPENT ($\text{נָחָשׁ הַבְּרָשִׁית}$), 2 K. 18 4. See NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

BRASIER (בִּרְיָה), Jer. 36 22 f. RV. See COAL, § 3.

BRASS, or **BRASEN**, EV's rendering of נְחֹשֶׁת , *nehosheth* (Gen. 4 22 and often), נְחֹשֶׁת , *nehosheth* (Job 6 12 f.), נְחֹשֶׁת , *nehosheth* (Lev. 26 19, etc.), נְחֹשֶׁת , *nehosheth* (Dan. 2 32 etc.), χαλκος (Mt. 10 9, 1 Cor. 13 1, Rev. 18 12), and χαλκίον (Mk. 7 4).

EV invariably renders thus except in Ezra 8 27 AV (see COPPER), in 2 S. 22 15 AV, where נְחֹשֶׁת , *nehosheth*, is rendered 'steel,' and in Jer. 15 12 AV has 'steel,' see IRON, § 2; cp. 2 Tim. 4 14, where χαλκός is 'coppersmith.' In Gen. 4 22 RV⁹⁶ gives 'copper,' and so elsewhere² as a note on 'brass.' In Ezek. 17 5 נְחֹשֶׁת is rightly rendered 'burnished brass' ($\text{ἑξαστράπτων χαλκός}$; Tg. below), as also is χαλκοβαρύς in Rev. 15 21. In Ezra 8 27 נְחֹשֶׁת is qualified by the epithet נִרְצָה (RV 'bright'), which we should probably point נִרְצָה = נִרְצָה , 'glittering' (in Tg. Ezek. 17 for נִרְצָה , 'polished'). נִרְצָה , which follows (1 V 'fine'), arises out of dittography, and should not be rendered (Che.).

That copper is meant is shown by the words, 'out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass' (Dt. 8 9); cp. the chapter in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), headed 'Mines of Brass.' See COPPER and cp. EGYPT, § 36 end.

¹ This the Syriac lexicographers render into Arabic as *ausaf*, which means a 'thorny shrub' (this is the right meaning of our word *bramble*, see Skeat, 52).

² From the *absence of loudness* in the sound is derived the sense of Heb. נְחֹשֶׁת —properly a 'whisper,' and thence 'softness,' 'stillness.' See also DIVINATION, § 4. IV.

³ It should be noticed that the *Auctorium ad Dioscoridem* confirms the identification of נְחֹשֶׁת and בָּרָא by the gloss *Ῥάραροι* *Ἀφροί* ('Africans'—i.e., probably Carthaginians) *Ἀραβί*.

BREAD

BREAD. From the earliest times of which we any record, bread was the principal article of among the Hebrews, a fact which

1. **Preparation.** explains the use of בֵּרֶךְ both for bread for food in general. The pri-

custom of making the ears of wheat and barley palatable by the simple process of roasting (בֵּרֶךְ , 'pan corn'; 1 S. 17 17, etc.) was still common in historic times. For the preparation of bread, however, ears must be crushed or ground so as to admit being kneaded into a paste. In early times the was produced by crushing the ears between two stones (see illustrations of these primitive 'corn-grinders' found in Palestine in Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, a process common in Egypt under the Old Empire later (see Erman's *Egypt*, 190), and still practised the East. The mortar and pestle were a later development. The preparation of flour by pounding the in a mortar (בֵּרֶךְ , Nu. 118) is a familiar scene Egyptian monuments. The flour obtained by these processes must have been of a coarser grain (בֵּרֶךְ) than procured by the use of the handmill (בֵּרֶךְ ; see MT A still finer quality than the ordinary בֵּרֶךְ was named בֵּרֶךְ (see FOOD, § 3 [d]).

In the earliest times bread was entirely unleavened. The requisite quantity of flour or barley-meal, which varied, naturally, according to the size of the household, was placed in a shallow wooden basin (בֵּרֶךְ ; Ex. 7 —earthenware, for obvious reasons, is little used by nomads—well mixed with water and kneaded. Salt was no doubt added when procurable (cp. Lev. 21 3). When the kneading was completed, the dough (בֵּרֶךְ) was ready for the firing. Cakes thus prepared were named בֵּרֶךְ , 'unleavened cakes,' and these still form the usual bread of the Bedouin. In a more advanced stage of society, the bread was made in this way on cases of emergency (Gen. 19 3), or for purposes ritual, as at the Passover. The ordinary bread of the Hebrews was made lighter by fermentation. A small piece of to-day's 'batch' was laid aside, and when the time for the next baking arrived this piece of leaven (בֵּרֶךְ) was broken down into the water in the בֵּרֶךְ , the flour was mixed therewith, and the whole thoroughly kneaded and allowed to stand 'till the whole was leavened.'

The next stage is the process of firing, or rendering the dough more digestible by the application of heat. Three modes of firing are found in the OT, as in the East at the present day.

2. **Firing:** kinds of cakes. The three modes of firing are found in the OT, as in the East at the present day.

(a) The simplest method is that still in use among the Bedouin. A fire of wood, or of wood mixed with camel's dung, is kindled on the sand, or on extemporised hearthstones. When these have been well heated, the embers are raked aside, and the flat pieces of dough laid on the hot stones and covered with the ashes just removed. After a few minutes, the ashes are again raked aside, the cakes turned, and the ashes replaced. In a few minutes more the cakes are ready (see Rob. *BR* 246 f., Doughty, *Arab. Des.* 1 131 etc.). Such 'a cake baked on the coals' was termed בֵּרֶךְ (1 K. 19 6; cp. Gen. 18 6 Hos. 7 8, ἑκατόφας , by the Vg. correctly rendered *panis submeritatus*, 'ash cakes').

(b) A second mode of firing bread is one much in vogue at the present day among Bedouin and fellahin alike. A girdle or thin iron plate (בֵּרֶךְ ; Lev. 25 Ezek. 43, ἑκατόφας), slightly convex in shape, is laid over a small fire-pit, in which a fire has been kindled as before, and on this plate or girdle the cakes are fired. Its Syrian name is *siḡ* (Landberg, *Proc. et Dict. du Peuple Arabe*, 14). Cakes baked in this way

BREAKFAST

seem to have been called by the Hebrews חֲבֵרִים (1 Ch. 9:31).

(c) The most usual mode of firing, however, especially in towns, was no doubt by means of the oven (אִנְיָה). The *tannur*, then as now, was a large earthenware jar in the bottom of which the fire was placed. As represented on Egyptian monuments, the cakes were fired by being applied to the *outside* of the jar (Wilkinson 234; Erman, *Egypt*, 191). The usual method at the present day, however, is to allow the fire to burn down, and, while the embers are still glowing, to apply the cake to the *inside* of the jar. The dough is first pressed into flat round cakes (like a Scotch *kannock*); each of these in its turn is made to revolve by a rapid movement of the hands, till it has expanded to a diameter of about 18 inches, and become as thin as a sheet of thick paper. It is then laid on a cushion, by means of which it is applied to the wall of the *tannur*. These thin wafer-cakes are called in the OT פַּתִּינָה (in Syria, *markûš*). The *tannur* may be larger, and consist of a pit, wider at the bottom and narrowing towards the top, plastered with clay. The ovens used by the bakers of the street in Jerusalem named after them (Jer. 37: 21) were probably of this sort. (For further details see FURNACE, c).

The preparation of the daily supply of bread for the household was essentially the care of the women (Gen. 186 1 S. 28.4 etc.). In the wealthier households this duty would devolve on slaves, male and female (1 S. 8.13). In later times baking became a special trade in the cities (Jos. Ant. xv. 92), and especially in Jerusalem (see above and cp the 'oven tower,' Neh. 3.11 12.3), where the large influx of pilgrims at the great festivals would promote the industry.

It is impossible now to identify the various species of cakes mentioned in the O.E. To those mentioned in the course of this article we add 𐌹𐌺𐌰 the ordinary round cake or *pannek* (I.S. 236), and 𐌹𐌺𐌰𐌹𐌸𐌰 the etymology of which points to its being pricked or perforated, like the modern passover cakes, we have exhausted the varieties that can be identified with any approach to certainty. See further HAKU MU AIS, also FOOD, §§ 1-3.

BREAKFAST (APICTON [Ti. W11]), Lk. 11₃₈ K^W₁₅.
ce MEATS, § 2.

BREASTPLATE, COAT OF MAIL (יָרֵיחַ) [Jer. 46: 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846,

BREASTPLATE, COAT OF MAIL (יִרְיֵן יִרְיֵן)

1 K. 22:34 [s. 59:17], קריון or קריון Jer. 46: 51:3, Syr. **קריון**. We find the *קריון* mentioned as part of the defensive armour of Goliath and David. That it was commonly worn by Israelite kings is evident from 1 K. 22:34 (2 Ch. 18:33). In the description of Goliath's armour in 1 S. 17:5 ('coat-of-mail' EV) the addition of the word קריון to קרעו gives a valuable clue: Goliath's coat of mail was covered with bronze scales.

This meaning is certified by Dt. 149 (Lev. 119), where **קִשְׁקֹשׁ** denotes the scales of a fish. Moreover, it is derived from a root **קָשַׁף**, that signifies rubbing or peeling off. Ar. *kaṣafa* in conj. iv. expresses the peeling off of skin during recovery from disease.

The weight of Goliath's armour, according to 1 S. 17:5, was 5000 shekels, which may be roughly computed as about 200 lbs. The close intercourse that there was between Egypt and Philistia² makes it not improbable

¹ In Job 41:26 [18] the word רֶגֶל (*ar. leg.*) is taken by Q , Vg. , and Targum as רֶגֶל , and modern comm., including Ew., have adopted this view. Some colour is given to this interpretation by 7:13 (Heb.), which describes the scales of Leviathan, which the chief of man of the enemy might be held to resemble; but this is too slight as an argument. The immediate context sug. its weapons of *offence*, and if Q is correct in translating the preceding *ar. leg.* רֶגֶל by *supra* we have a fair presumption that Del. is right in comparing *Ar. direction or situation*, 'pointed dirt' or 'arrow,' with the word רֶגֶל in this passage (so RV). Duhm follows Hoffm. and reads רֶגֶל throughout.

² Meyer, *G.A.*, 229 ff., 238 ff., 239.

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that the heavy coat of mail worn by Goliath resembled the Egyptian cuirass worn by a royal personage, in which yellow, blue, red, and green metallic scales were tastefully arranged in symmetrical rows (Weiss, *Asienkunde*, Alth. 159). Wilkinson has described the Egyptian cuirass as consisting of about 'eleven horizontal rows of metal plates well secured by bronze pins.' At 'the hollow of the throat a narrower range of plates was introduced. The breadth of each plate or scale was little more than an inch, twelve of them sufficing to cover the front of the body, and the sleeves, which were sometimes so short as to extend less than half-way to the elbow, consisted of two rows of similar plates.'

The Assyrian warriors in earlier times wore a heavy coat of mail covering the entire body with the exception of the arms. Occasionally the coat of mail did not reach farther than the knees. In later times the leading warriors were protected by jackets made of leather or of stout material, on which metal plates were sewn or rivetted (or they were provided with iron or bronze studs). Broad girdles were used for tying in the long coats of mail. Upon a bas-relief, from Nimrud, portrayed in Layard's work we see an Assyrian chariot in which the Bowman is mail-clad even around his neck and ears. It is not improbable that Amib wore a heavy coat of mail somewhat resembling the Assyrian (but shorter), as we know that he took every precaution for personal protection.

The statement that he was mortally wounded by an arrow which pierced 'between $\delta\epsilon\psi\tau\tau$ and the coat of mail' has been variously interpreted. $\delta\epsilon\mu\lambda\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omega\tau\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\tau\lambda\alpha$ does not yield any satisfactory sense. The use of $\delta\epsilon\psi\tau\tau$ in Is. 417, point to 'fixes' as a product. Thiemus and other authorities follow further in holding that what is meant here is an attachment or appendage to the coat of mail. The coat of mail protected the breast, whereas the appendage guarded the lower portion of the body, and the arrow penetrated at a point through the interval that separated them (see Richter, *HHTh*). This appears to be the only intelligible explanation, and etymology would confirm the rendering of the word $\delta\epsilon\psi\tau\tau$ by 'attachments' or 'appendages' ($\delta\epsilon\psi\tau\tau$, to the embrace).

Respecting the coats of mail or corslets with which Uzziab is said to have provided his troops (2 Ch. 26¹⁴) we have not definite information, or any sufficient clue to guide us. The corslets (AV 'bagandines') which Jeremiah (46⁴) lends the cavalry of Pharaoh Necho put on may have consisted of some thick woven material covered with metal scales; but here, as in the case of Neh. 4¹⁶ [10], we are left in much uncertainty. For Neh. 4¹⁶ [1] a useful hint may be derived from Herod. 7⁶³, where we learn that the Syrian (or Assyrian) contingent of Xerxes' army wore *ἀμφοῖς ὁπώρητες*, which were probably close-fitting sleeveless jackets of coarse felt. Probably the *tabra* (תַּבְרָא), AV 'halbergeon,' RV 'coat-of-mail,' of Ex 28¹⁷ ver 39²³, both passages from P), was a corslet of this character.

Etymology here does not help us as the word is from the Aramaic root *ḥm* ('to fight') and therefore means simply 'fighting garb'. Targ. Onk. renders it *ḥm*, 'breast-plate.' *ḥm* (Ex. 18:9) is based on another text. *Kiblah* is on the right track when he says (i) his comment (cited by *ib. ad loc.*): 'We are reminded of the *ἀσπίς* of the Greeks (*Is. 25:23*). *ḥm* excelled in its manufacture.'

In the Greek period (300 B.C. and later) the ordinary heavy-armed soldiers wore coats of fine iron chain-mail (*θώραξ ἀντισιδωτός*) a series of links connected into a continuous chain (k.k.h.).

It is significant that **Σ** gives this interpretation in 1 S 17, and we may conclude from 1 Macc. 6.13 that during the entire Greek period this was the kind of cuirass usually worn. What form of breast-plate was pictured before Paul's imagination as a symbol for the righteousness of a Christian warrior (Eph. 6.14, cp 1 S. 50.17 and 1 Macc 5.8)—whether a corset of scale armour (column of Antoninus), or a cuirass of broad metal plates across the chest and long flexible bands

BREASTPLATE

(*laminae*) of steel over the shoulders' (depicted on the column of Trajan)—can only be conjectured. Excellent woodcuts representing both may be found in Rich's *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*. Compare also Warre-Cornish's *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

O. C. W.

BREASTPLATE, Priestly (כִּתְיֹוֹת; Ex. 28:4, ΠΕΡΙ-
CTHΘION [BAL]; elsewhere ΤΟ ΛΟΓΙΟΝ [BAF], ΤΟ
ΛΟΓΕΙΟΝ [L], 'oracle'; but twice [Ex. 25:6 (7) 35:8 (9)]
G¹ has ΠΟΔΗΡΗC where MT has כִּתְיֹוֹת or **BREAST-
PLATE OF JUDGMENT** (כִּתְיֹוֹת כִּיפֻיִּם, Ex. 28:15;
Λ. ΤΩΝ ΚΡΙCΕΩΝ [BAL]; often in G), an object
worn on the ephod of the High Priest. It seems to
have been a square piece attached by its corners to the
shoulder-straps of the ephod (see EPHOD, § 3) and of
like material—probably a species of pocket whose outer
side was adorned with precious stones. The etymology
of the word is uncertain.

Di. rejects the probable derivation from the root *hasuna*, 'to
be beautiful,' and would prefer to connect it with [87, *sinus* or
'fold' in which something is carried; cp Ewald, *Alterth.* 300.
On the stones in the breastplate, see PECTORAL STONES, and
cp URSI and THUMMIM, and Nowack, *II.1* 2119.

O. C. W.

BREECHES, in the proper usage of the word, denotes
the divided garment reaching from the waist to just
below the knees, equivalent to the lat. *feminalia*
and Gr. ΠΕΡΙCΚΕΛΗ, v. distinguished from *braca*
(*bracae*) or ΑΝΑΖΥΡΙΔΕC, which reached to the ankles
—the garment ordinarily denoted by the word 'hosen'
at the time when the AV was made. The earliest
form of the garment seems to have been simply a loin
cloth (cp GIRDLE, 1). Generally, however, the long
mantle worn in the East made a special covering for
the legs unnecessary, and even the warriors who are
depicted upon the monuments with their short tunics
have the leg below the knee wholly bare with the
exception of sandals. Noteworthy, on the other hand,
are the haicings which protect the thighs and knees of the
follower of Ashur-hani-pal (Per. and Chip. *Art in Chald.*
ii. pl. x.); see further STIRTS. Breeches, in fact,
seem to be a distinctly Persian dress (see Herod. 1:71
76), and do not appear to have been known among
the Israelites—at all events not before the exile.¹ Apart
from the characteristic priestly כִּסְיוֹת (see below, 3),
garments of this nature are mentioned only in Dan. 3:21
[EV].

1. כִּסְיוֹת, *sarbil* (Dan. 3:21 27+), RV 'hosen,'² sup-
ported by a consensus of opinion (Theod., Ag., Sym.
Pesh., Hi., Ew., Behrmann, etc.).

In this case the word is derived from Gr. σαράβατα, σαράβαλλα
(Lang. Gra. Abb. 207, Fra. Aram. *Lexicon* 48), probably of Pers.
origin (cp mod. Pers. *shabwār*). In Targ. and Talm., on the
other hand, ס (originally not connected with the above) denotes
a 'mantle'; so Jewish exegetes (Aben-Ezra, etc.) and AV
('coats,' mg. 'mantles') in this passage.

For more than one reason the AV is probably
better. 'Coats' or 'mantles' suits the climax in 27,
which describes the powerlessness of the fire over the
Three, better than RV—their bodies were uninjured;
nor was their hair singed; their mantles (flowing loose
robes, easily inflammable) were unchanged, nor had the
smell of fire passed on them.

2. כִּסְיוֹת, *patil*, in כִּסְיוֹת (or rather כִּסְיוֹת [Ba. Gi.]),
Dan. 3:21, is an exceedingly obscure term for which are
offered such diverse renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'tunics'
(RV), 'turbans' (RV mg.).

¹ Turbans may be safely dismissed as nuphilological and im-
probable (see TURBANS); for the rest cp Syr. قَبْلَا (a) Persian
tunic (cp RV) (b) breeches, also a kind of leggings (cp AV); see
Payne Smith, *Thes.* The Jew. Aram. כִּסְיוֹת occurs in only one
passage independent of Dan. 3:21, and apparently denotes some-

² Much later, in the Roman period, *braca*, *feminalia*, and
fascia all found their way into Judaea (Brill, *Frachten d.*
Juden, 87).

³ Evidently retained in its older sense. The modern 'hosen'
is applied to stockings.

BRICK

thing worn upon the feet; but the text is probably corrupt.
Levy, *NHW* 2, 275 (כִּסְיוֹת), although Kohut (*Leb. Comp.*
275) argues for its authenticity. It is not improb-
able that כִּסְיוֹת is a gloss on כִּסְיוֹת; this is indirectly suggested
by philological evidence and the versions (כִּסְיוֹת reads only three
times), and is directly supported by quotations in the
Latin fathers. For a discussion of כִּסְיוֹת and כִּסְיוֹת, see
Journ. Phil. 20:307 ff. (1904).

3. The priestly linen breeches (כִּסְיוֹת; כִּסְיוֹת
hide), ΠΕΡΙCΚΕΛΗ Ἀνά, *feminalia*, Pesh. translat-
περίCκωμα) were to be worn along with the holy
coat, the linen girdle, and the linen turban by
on the Day of Atonement as he entered the holy
within the curtain (Lev. 16:4 [P]). It is prob-
ly an oversight that they are specially mentioned
Ezek. 44:18 along with the long robe and ephod
rather the *kathemeth* and *me'il*; so Heb.) as part of
'apparel of honour.' Ordinary priests also wore
on sacrificial occasions (Ex. 28:42 39:28 Lev. 6:10 [P]
P), Ezek. 44:18 (the *linen Zadok*).

According to Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 71) the *μαλακτῆρον* (Niese) was
girdle (μαλακτῆρον) of fine twisted linen. It was the under-
of the priestly garments and possibly the most primitive.
the older law of Ex. 29:30 (1E according to Bacon, E) seem
imply that the wearing of the garment was not origi-
compulsory for priest or layman. The change seems to be
to a primitive conception of holiness. Clothes which had
in contact with a holy place or function became taboo
(*hasan*), and therefore useless in ordinary life. The law
avoid this misfortune was to perform holy ceremonies in
(just as the Pelonians made the sacred circuit of the Kaaba
Mecca in a nude condition), or in holy vestments borrowed
the priests (cp 2 K. 10:22). The law of Ex. 29:30 is appar-
ently against the former custom (for which see further W.
RS 2:451 f.). See DRESS, PRIEST.

L. A.—S. A. C.

BRETHREN OF JESUS (Mt. 12:47 Mk. 3:32 Lk. 8:19
See CLOPAS, § 3 ff., JAMES, § 3, SIMON, 4).

BRICK (בִּרְכָּה), derived by Ges. from לבן, 'to
white,' as if bricks were originally made of a white
clay; but this is a forced etymology.

1. Of the Hebrews ΠΑΙΝΘΟC.² The Hebrew word for brick
is not limited to sun-dried bricks. There is no doubt, however, that the Israelites, like in
Eastern nations, used this kind almost exclusively; Gen. 11:3
burning bricks is mentioned as a foreign custom, analogous to the use of asphalt (see BITUMEN
for mortar, and we may safely disregard EX's render-
'brickkiln' in 2 S. 12:31, Nah. 3:14.³ Sun-dried bricks
of a very early period have been found in Palestine, but
burnt bricks seem to date generally from the Roman
period. It will be remembered that the houses of the
mass of the Israelites were made of sun-dried clay (2
HOUSE); it was of the same material that their bricks
were composed.⁴

The true countries of brick-makers and brick-builders were
Egypt⁵ and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, not only all houses, but
also all palaces, many tombs (including several of the small
pyramids), and some temples, were constructed of Nile-mud
bricks.

The representations of brick-making which are to be
found in Egyptian wall-pictures are very instructive.

2. Brick-making. They not only show the process with great
clearness, but also illustrate most vividly the
servitude of the Israelites on Egyptian
ground. The most famous picture, for example, repre-
sents foreigners—chiefly of a Semitic type—at work.

¹ We are reminded of the manner in which the Ar. *ummal*
evolved from the simple *umr*; see GUMMEL, 1.

² Some scholars consider ΠΑΙΝΘΟC, the Greek term for brick,
to have been borrowed by the Greeks from the Phoenicians, who
the form *phinth*. [225] Ass. *phintu*, seems to come from
phintu, 'to throw down flat'; see EUBAN, and cp Del. *phintu*
93 f.

³ See the commentaries of Driver, H. P. Smith and others on
2 S. 12:31, and on the whole passage see DAVIN, § 11:3, n. RV, 1
Jer. 43:9 alters the unintelligible 'brickkiln' of AV into 'furnace'
work.

⁴ Altars, also, were made of earth; cp the obscure Is. 1:11
(see SYRIAC). On the law in Ex. 20:25 (EV) see ALFORD, 1.

⁵ Cp the fact that the Eg. word for brick, *dobet*, *Copie made*,
took root in Asia; cp Arabic *fub* (whence Ethiopic *fub*, Span.
adobe).

BRICK

superintended by Egyptian 'task masters' armed with sticks.

The analogy to the labour of Israel as described in Ex. 1 is so striking that many writers have ventured to regard the picture as referring to the circumstances with which that record deals. The scene, however, represents 'brick-making for the great magazine in Eastern Thebes' (Opst. mod. *Karnak*), and the explanatory legend states that the labourers are 'captives brought by his majesty (Thutmose or Thutmose III.) for work on the temple of Amun'; many (not the majority) of the working men seem to be African captives.

The picture illustrates the whole process of brick-making.

We see the labourers hoeing the ground with the wooden Egyptian hoe (see ADDUCTION, fig. 3), carrying the black earth Nile-mud deposited at the annual inundation in baskets to a clean (sandy) place, moistening it with water taken from small ponds, evidently at some distance from the Nile, and kneading it with their feet. The wooden moulding-frame is filled with material of the right consistency, and emptied on the ground; two or three square heaps of mud, placed in rows side by side, are left to dry.

These Egyptian bricks were usually twice the size of our modern ones. Many of them (from dynasty 18 onwards) were stamped with the name of a king, to show that they belonged to public buildings; sometimes the stamp shows the name of the building, and sometimes in addition to this the name of the officer charged with the construction of the building.¹ Stamps as well as moulds have been preserved to modern times, and bricks with the name of Rameses II., 'the Pharaoh of the oppression' (but see EXPL. § 58 ff.), are shown in our museums. We often find chopped straw or reed mixed with the mud to make it more consistent and to prevent cracking during the drying. According to Ex. 1:13 the pharaoh showed his malice by doubling the work of the Israelites. Apparently we are to understand that, instead of furnishing straw from the royal domains and from the magazines of a fifth part of the other fields, he forced the oppressed strangers to gather the straw from the fields themselves. This, however, they could not well accomplish during their scanty leisure time; besides, the stalks were used (and are still used) as fodder, especially when not quite dry. Nor is it any easier to see how they could get old straw of the previous year (from the refuse heaps of farmyards, etc.) in quantities sufficient for their 'tale of bricks.' For the rest, we frequently find not only foreign captives, but also the Egyptian serfs, referred to in Egyptian texts as making bricks under constraint.

We now turn to the second brick-making country—Mesopotamia. Owing to the scarcity of stone in

4. Babylonian. Babylonia proper, brick was the only building material, stone being reserved for the ornamentation of edifices, and the construction of certain parts, such as the threshold (see BABYLONIA, § 15). Whilst in Egypt rain is so scarce that buildings of sun-dried brick have a certain durability, the climate of Babylonia is less favourable. The Babylonians, accordingly, made their constructions more solid. They built walls of an enormous thickness: for example, the great enclosure of Babylon which Nebuchadnezzar erected with the clay dug from the ditch of the city (cp BABYLON, § 5). Moreover, their unfavourable climate forced the Babylonians, though wood was at least as scarce in their country as in Egypt, to use burnt bricks, especially for the outer layers of their thick walls. This led to a high development of the art of glazing and colouring bricks. We find large walls covered with elaborate paintings, whilst in Egypt such enamelled

¹ Does the phrase, 'his hands were freed from the basket' (Ps. 124:7) RV; 'task-basket', De Witt), refer to these baskets? Cp Del. *ad loc.*; but *קָבִיעַ* is open to grave suspicion (see Che. *Ps. 124:7*).

² The Egyptian method of representing objects in perspective is likely to give the impression that the bricks are placed one above another.

³ It has been inferred from this stamp that the government manufactured bricks for sale, and even that it had a brick-monopoly; but this is very improbable.

BRIER

tiles were used much more rarely and always on a smaller scale. Crude bricks, however, sometimes of enormous size and always without straw, were the common material, especially in the earlier times. Hence we have brick stamps with, for example, the name of such old kings as Sargon of Agade and Narām-sin.

In Nineveh, sun-dried bricks seem to have been the building material in general use. On Ezek. 4:1, which mentions Ezekiel as portraying the siege of Jerusalem on clay-tiles, see Ezek. *SPOT* (Eng.), p. 98 f.

W. M. M.

BRICKKILN (בִּרְכֵּי) 2 S. 12:1. Nah. 3:14 and (RV *Brickwork*) Jer. 18:6. See above, § 1.

BRIDE (כַּדֵּשׁ) Is. 62:1. **Brideroom** (כַּדֵּשׁ) Jer. 7:4. See MARRIAGE.

BRIDGE (ΓΕΦΥΡΑΝ [A]), 2 Macc. 12:13. AV; RV *GI PHYRAN*.

BRIDLE. The various Heb. and Gr. words will be found dealt with in the articles specified below.

1. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (φάλαξ, Is. 29:14) V. 1 V. 2 'muzzle' (cp CAT. 1). Most inappropriate; read מִנְיָה 'a guard' (Is. 11:3) H. Herz, Che.

2. מִנְיָה, *minyah*, Zech. 11:25 AV. RV *bit* (cp CAT. 1).

3. מִנְיָה, *minyah*, 2 K. 19:22 (חֲלָצִים) Is. 37:22 (חֲלָצִים), Prov. 26:3 (חֲלָצִים). RV is no doubt correct. Cp the place-name in 2 S. 8:1, מִנְיָה-אֲמִינִי.

4. מִנְיָה, *minyah*, Is. 30:5 (δ. donkey), Job 30:11 (חֲלָצִים), Ps. 32:1 (חֲלָצִים), Job 41:13 (3) V. 1 (חֲלָצִים). Perhaps 'bit' would be a better rendering.

5. חֲלָצִים, *chalatzim*, RV, AV 'bit'; Rev. 14:20. EV (cp Eur. *Alceste*, 492); cp H. Herz, § 2.

BRIER. Six Hebrew words have to be considered.

1. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (Judg. 5:7), is mentioned along with 'thorns of the wilderness' as the instruments with which Gideon 'taught,' or rather 'threshed' (7:7); cp Moore's comm. *ad loc.*, the men of Succoth. The etymology of the Hebrew word being unknown and its occurrence so rare, it is scarcely worth while to speculate as to the kind of thorn intended.

We may notice that according to Boissier, 362 (quoted by Therson in Low, 424), *berkan* is in modern times an Arabic name for *Phacelia scoparia*, Boiss. The parallelism with 'thorns of the wilderness' in both places is enough to give the absurd idea invented by Michaelis and adopted by Cassini that מִנְיָה meant 'threshing-wins.' The method of torture alluded to is that of *carding* (see Moore).

2. מִנְיָה, *minyah*, occurs eight times in Is. (56:7, 24:25, 9:3 [17], 10:17, 27:4, 32:1),¹ in seven of these along with מִנְיָה, a word of similar meaning. מִנְיָה is a genuine Semitic word, and Cassini (21:3 cp Frankel, 86) pointed out its affinity with Ar. *minyah*, some kind of thorny plant. The Hebrew word seems a general one for thorny plants, of which there are many kinds in Palestine (Tristram enumerates sixteen species of *Rhamnus*, LEP. 293 ff.). The ancient versions give no help towards a nearer determination of the species.

3. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (καρδία [Syn. καρδία] Is. 55:13), a wilderness-plant, probably of the nettle kind, as its name is apparently connected with מִנְיָה 'to burn.'

4. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (καρδία, the 'nettle'; Sym. and V. 2, the 'nettle'; Pesh. renders *gahar*, 'paddy'; 'savory'. Any of these will suit the passage well enough; under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

5. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (καρδία, the 'nettle'; Sym. and V. 2, the 'nettle'; Pesh. renders *gahar*, 'paddy'; 'savory'. Any of these will suit the passage well enough; under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

6. מִנְיָה, *minyah* (καρδία, the 'nettle'; Sym. and V. 2, the 'nettle'; Pesh. renders *gahar*, 'paddy'; 'savory'. Any of these will suit the passage well enough; under the new dispensation this plant was to give place to the myrtle.

According to the testimony of all the ancient versions, the word is almost certainly to be read as the participle (מִנְיָה) of a verb common in Aramaic, 'to gain say falsely' or 'to lie'; and the

1. It merely transliterates; in 27:4 V. 2 renders *καρδία* and Sym. *καρδία* (see F. H. 11, *ad loc.*).

2. In the other three places where מִנְיָה occurs (Jer. 17:1, Ezek. 39:7, Zech. 7:1) it is rendered 'diamond' or 'adamant' (see ADAMANT, § 2).

BRIGANDINE

following word, כְּלִיטָה, is perhaps a mistake for כְּלִיטָה ('despising') or some such word, so that the clause would read 'though they ginsay and condemn thee' (see Co. ad loc.). There is no support anywhere for a word כְּלִיטָה meaning 'briers.'

5 כְּלִיטָה, *silhou* (σουλός, Ezek. 28:24),¹ is connected with Jewish Aram. כְּלִיטָה, Syr. *silhou*, Ar. *sullā*, Mand. כְּלִיטָה (Lew. 159), all of which mean a 'thorn' or 'pricking point.'

6 כְּלִיטָה, *hēlek* (ἐλεῖν, Prov. 15:19 [where EV 'thorns'] Mic. 7:4), is by Wellhausen (*Kt. Proph.* 149) connected with Ar. *hadikā*, an enclosed garden or orchard; he reads in Micah כְּלִיטָה כְּלִיטָה ('ihr Bester ist aus der Dornhecke und ihr Grader aus dem Gestrüpp'), thus producing a good parallelism. On the other hand, Low (147), following Celsius (ii. 35 ff.), explains the word by reference to Ar. *hadikā*, which, according to Lane (i. 71), is *Solanum cordatum*. Tristram (*FFP*, 368) identifies it with *Solanum sanctum*, L. (sometimes called the apple of Sodom: see Bnl. 152). We may at all events gather from Prov. 15:19 that a thorny plant capable of forming a hedge is intended. For Heb. 68 AV [τρίδοσις], see THISTLE [4]. N. M.

BRIGANDINE (כְּלִיטָה), Jer. 46:4, RV 'coats of mail'; see BREASTPLATE (i.).

BRIMSTONE (i.e., *brimston*, 'burning stone'; כְּלִיטָה, *gophrith*; *θεῖον*; *στειναι*).

The passages are Gen. 19:24 Dt. 29:23 [22] Job 18:15 Ps. 116 [7] Is. 30:33 34:9 Ezek. 38:22 Lk. 17:2 Rev. 17:1 14:10 19:20 20:10 21:8. *Gophrith* is apparently connected with כְּלִיטָה 'bitumen' (cp the Aram. and Ar. forms with initial *k*), but surely not of Basma origin, as Lagarde⁴ supposed.

Almost invariably the passages in which brimstone is mentioned relate to divine judgments; there is no direct statement of any use to which sulphur was put by the Hebrews. They cannot have known anything of the industrial uses of that mineral, which have so largely added to the wealth of the regions where it is most easily obtained (e.g., Sicily). The only objects to which it was applied by the ancients, according to Plin. *HN* 35:15, are the making of lamp wicks (*ellichnia*), the fumigation and cleansing of wool, certain medical remedies, and, lastly, religious purifications⁵ (cp *Od.* 22 481 483; after the slaughter of the suitors).

It may be conjectured, however, that sulphur was used in the so-called *Tophet* (i.e., of the Valley of Hinnom (cp Is. 30:33), and one conclusion may safely be drawn from the many descriptions in which brimstone is referred to—that the Israelites were not unacquainted with the volcanic phenomena known as 'solfataras' or those known as 'fire-wells' (as emanations of carburetted hydrogen, when they take fire, are frequently called). These 'fire-wells' occur in many of the districts where mud-volcanoes appear, in Europe, Asia, and N. America.⁶ Reminiscences of phenomena of this kind apparently underlie certain parts of the account of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah in Gen. 19 and the other passages (see above) where the same narrative is directly or indirectly alluded to.

It is probable that the Hebrews, like the Greeks (see *Il.* 14:45 *Od.* 12:47) and the Romans (Plin. *HN* 35:15),⁷ associated the ozonic smell which often so perceptibly accompanies lightning discharges with the presence of sulphur. This may help to explain the passages which describe or allude to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah as having been brought about by a rain of fire and brimstone from heaven (Job 18:15? Gen. 19:24 Ps. 116 Ezek. 38:22 Lk. 17:29).

BROIDERED COAT, RV 'coat of chequer work'

1 On כְּלִיטָה, Ezek. 26 see above, 4.

2 The reading of B in Mic. 7:4 (ὡς σῆς ἐκτρώγων) presupposes a reading כְּלִיטָה (Vollers in *Z. f. d. l. u. l.* 110).

3 Probably from the same root as *θῆω*, *fumus*, and wholly unconnected with *θεός*.

4 *Beitr.* 74:27; *Sem.* 164 f.; *Sym.* 203 f. Cp *Ov. Met.* 14:74 f.

5 Lucida supponit forunda sulfura fonti, Incenduntque cavas fumante lutumine venas.

6 See Sir Archibald Geikie in *Proc. Brit. Ass.* 10:221.

7 Fulmina, fulgura quoque sulphuris odorem habent, ac lux ipsa eorum sulphurea est.

BUKKI

(כְּתִיבָה תִּשְׁבִּי), Ex. 28:4. See EMBROIDERY, TUNIC, § 2.

BROIDERED WORK (כְּתִיבָה), Ezek. 16:10. EMBROIDERY, § 1.

BROOCHES (כְּתִיבָה), Ex. 35:22 RV; AV 'brooches' [see II BOK, 2]. See also BUCKLE, I.

BROOK. The Hebrew word usually thus rendered is נַחַל, *nahal* (נַחַל, cp in NT Ju. 18:1), like the Ar. *nahal*, denotes not only the flowing itself (cp נַחַל, Am. 5:24), but also, like the *nahal*, the dried-up river bed¹ (cp the term נַחַל, 15:18). Hence Job likens his unstable brethren to a brook whose supply of water cannot be counted (Job 6:15).

In Is. 19:6, נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, 'the brooks of Egypt' (so RV), which bears resemblance both to the Eg. *nahal*, 'river', the Ass. *nahal*, 'stream', is applied usually to the Nile.

נַחַל, *nahal*, in Job 1:13, *nahal mayim*, 'water-course' (cp Joel 1:20 (נַחַל, *nahal*), which bears resemblance both to the Eg. *nahal*, 'river', the Ass. *nahal*, 'stream', is applied usually to the Nile. It is otherwise rendered 'river', 'waters', etc., and occurs in various involved meanings, in Job 12:21 (AV 'the mighty'), 40:18 (AV 'pieces'), 41:15 17 (AV 'scales').

נַחַל, *nahal*, rendered 'brook' in 2 S. 17:20, is a word known etymologically history (for Fr. Del.'s identification with Ass. *nahal*, 'a canal', cp Dr. ad loc. and *Z. f. d. l. u. l.* 40:724) word, if not corrupt (We. conjectures some such word) or out of its place, is quite unknown.²

For **Brook of Egypt** (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), Is. 27:12 RV, see I. RIVER OF. For **Brook of the Arabah** (נַחַל אֲרָבָה), RV, see ARABAH, BROOK OF THE.

BROOM (רֹמֶם), 1 K. 19:4 RV^{mg}, AV JUNIPER.

BROTH (בֵּרֶק), Judg. 6:19f. Is. 65:4f. See CROCK § 3; SACRIFICE.

BROWN (חָמֹם), Gen. 30:32 f. AV; see COLOURS.

BUCKET (בִּקְעָה), cp Ar. *dalwa*, Ass. *dilāta*, Is. 40:15 (בִּקְעָה [BNAQI]); in Nu 24:7 (בִּקְעָה [BNAQI]), figuratively of Israel's prosperity. See AGRICULTURE § 5.

BUCKLE. 1. According to some authorities the (βραχιόλια, *armillas*) of Ex. 35:22 was a buckle 'bracelets', RV 'brooches'. See RING.

2. So, too, the מַצְיָה of 2 S. 1:10. See BRACELET (5).

3. *σπόρη* (1 Macc. 10:89 11:53 14:44) was a buckle, bestowed in one instance as an honour distinction on Jonathan by king Alexander Balas, the use is to give to such as are the kindred of the king (1 Macc. 10:89).

Such buckles or brooches formed the fastenings of the garment on the breast or over the shoulder. They were various shapes, the commonest being a flat circular ring with a pin passing through the centre (Rawlinson). The use of buckles (like that of the purple robe) was reserved to mention (see passages cited, and cp Livy, 39:31); see CROWN.

BUCKLER. For בִּקְעָה, *mitgen* (2 S. 22:31 AV), cp *ginnah* (Ps. 35:2), *ginnah* (Ps. 35:2) see SHIELD, רִמָּה, *rimah* (1 Ch. 12:8) see SPEAR (so RV).

BUGEAN (βουγανός [BNAQI], *buganus*), Ex. 1:1 AV. See AGARITE.

BUKKI (בִּקְיָה), § 52; abbreviated from בִּקְיָה בֹקֵי [L]; see BUCKKIAH.

1. Said to have been the fourth in descent from Aaron in line of Eleazar: 1 Ch. 6:51 [5:31 6:36] (cp 5 Bue [B], *weau*).

2. *בִּקְיָה* is accordingly sometimes rendered 'valley': cp, e.g., 2 Ch. 2:13 20:16 33:14 in RV.

3. The *בִּקְיָה* identifies בִּקְיָה with the Jordan. No help can be obtained from the Versions, unless the *δυναμὶς ἀποκαλύπτει* be correct, in which case בִּקְיָה may be a corruption of some such word as בִּקְיָה or בִּקְיָה (elsewhere 100). See also H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*

BUKKIAH

v. 51 בִּקְיָה [BA]; Ezra 7.4 (Bokk[ia] [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8.2, BOCCAN (Bokka [BA]). In 4 Esd. 12 the name appears as Borith (Borith).

2. Danite; one of the chiefs chosen to divide Canaan (Bokk[ia] [BA], 1 Ch. 25.41; Bokk[ia] [BA], 2 Ch. 25.41; Bokk[ia] [BA], 2 Ch. 25.41; Bokk[ia] [BA], 2 Ch. 25.41).

BUKKIAH (בִּקְיָה), perhaps connected with the Syr. verb **בִּקְיָה**, and, if pointed **בִּקְיָה**, signifying 'Yahwe has tested,' §§ 39, 52; one of the sons of Heman, 1 Ch. 25.41; (Bokk[ia] [BA], BOKK[ia] [BA], BOKK[ia] [BA], BOKK[ia] [BA]). See BAKBUKIAH.

BUL (בֹּל), perhaps 'rain-month,' from **בֹּל**; cp in Ph. **בֹּל**, CIS i. no. 31; its identification with the Palm. divine name **בֹּל** (in **בֹּלְבֹל**) is not certain; **בֹּל** [BA], BOYA [L.], 1 K. 6.43. See MONTH, §§ 2, 5.

BULL (בָּקָר), Jer. 52.20; **בָּקָר**, Gen. 32.15[16]; **בָּקָר**, Job 21.10; **בָּקָר**, Ps. 50.13; and **בָּקָר**, Heb. 9.13. See CATTLE, § 2. For the bull in mythological representations, see CALE, GOLDEN; CATTLE, § 14; CHURCH, § 7; and cp SCARS, § 3 a. For the brazen bulls (2 K. 16.7), see SEA, BRAZEN. It is worth adding that bull-fights are often represented on wall-paintings in Egyptian tombs (see P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, pt. i, p. 28, n. 1).

BULLOCK (בָּקָר), Ex. 29.10. See CATTLE, § 2.

BULL, WILD (תָּאוֹ), Is. 51.20, AV; RV ANTELOPE [q.v.].

BULRUSH (אֲנִיָּה), Is. 58.5 (RV 'rush'), and **BULRUSH** (אֲנִיָּה), Ex. 23.18 (RV in the latter 'papyrus'), both words elsewhere **RUSH** (q.v.).

BULWARK. For **חֵיל**, **hēl** (AV occasionally, RV usually 'rampart'), see **FORRESS**, § 5; for **בִּנְיָה**, **pinna**, 2 Ch. 26.15 (RV 'battlements,' mg. 'corner towers'), see **BATTLEMENT** and **FORRESS**, § 5; for **בִּנְיָה**, **pinna** (Eccl. 9.14), and **בִּנְיָה**, **pinna** (Dt. 20.20), see **WAR**.

BUNAH (בִּנְיָה), 'intelligence'; cp in Palm. **בִּנְיָה**, Vog. Syr. Cen., no. 31, a Jerahmeelite (**BANAIA** [B], **BANAIA** [A], **AMINA** [L.], 1 Ch. 2.25).

BUNDLE (צֶרֶד), Gen. 42.35 of money; Ct. 1.13 of myrrh; 1 S. 25.29 of life. See **BAG** (4).

BUNNI (בִּנְיָה), §§ 5, 79; cp **BANI**.

1. A Levite, Neh. 9.4 (**Bovras** [L.], transl. **vias** [RNA]), see **EZRA**, ii. § 13 (2); possibly identical with the signatory to the covenant (see **EZRA**, i. § 7), Neh. 10.15[16] (**Bani** [RNA], **Bokka** [L.], whose name, however, is perhaps due to ditto-graphy of **Bani** [in 4 in 7.13] (c)).

2. Another Levite, one of the overseers of the temple, Neh. 11.15 (RNA om., **Bovra** [L.], -ai [Kamg. sup.]); not mentioned in 1 Ch. 9.14.

BURDEN (מַשָּׂא), *massā*—i.e., 'lifting up'; hence either 'burden' or 'utterance' ['to utter' is 'to lift up the voice']. 'Burden' in EV, when used of a prophetic revelation, should rather be 'oracle' (as RV¹⁹⁰² 2 K. 9.25 etc.). Cp **PROPHECY**. The term *massā* became a subject of popular derision in the time of Jeremiah, owing to its double meaning (see above), so that Jeremiah pronounces a divine prohibition of its use (Jer. 23.33 ff.). It continued, however, to be used in the headings of prophecy. As to the application of *massā*, once only it denotes divine judicial sentence (2 K. 9.25; cp Jer. 23.36); elsewhere there is no such limitation of meaning. In Prov. 30.1 beyond doubt **מַשָּׂא** should be amended to **מַשָּׂא** in 31.1 to **מַשָּׂא** (see **AGUR**, **LEMUEL**).

בִּרְיָה renders variously **ἀλμα** (in the Minor Prophets regularly) **ῥῆμα** (Is. 15.17; 22.1 and 21.1 [QD], **ῥῆμα** [Is. 21.1 also Is. 15.1 [A], 22.1 [A], and 23.1 [MAQMS-L], and **ῥῆμα** [Is. 19.30]).

BURIAL (קִבְרָה), Is. 14.20. See **DEAD**, § 1.

BURNING (שָׂרִיף), 2 Ch. 21.19. See **DEAD**, § 1; **LAW AND JUSTICE**, § 12.

BUSH

BURNING AGUE (שִׁחָה), **ἰκτερος** [AFL.], **ἰκτερ** [P B], Lev. 26.16†; see **DISEASES**, § 6, **MEDICINE**.

BURNT OFFERING (זֶבֶחַ עֹלָה), Lev. 1.3; see **SACRIFICE**.

BURNT OFFERING, ALTAR OF (זֶבֶחַ עֹלָה), Ex. 30.23; see **ALTAR**, § 2 f., **SACRIFICE**.

BUSH represents in AV three different Hebrew words.

1. **שֹׁכֵךְ**, *shōkēk* (*paros*, *rubus*; Ex. 32.4 Dt. 33.16 Mk. 12.26 Lk. 6.44 [EV 'bramble bush'] 20.37 Acts 7.35†)

denotes a rough thorny bush—which is the original sense of our 'bramble'—as is shown by the use of the same word in later Hebrew, in Aramaic, Arabic, and Assyrian, and confirmed by the rendering of the ancient Versions, *Low* (275), following *Forskål* (*Flor. Aq. A.* cxi.), identifies it with *Rubus fruticosus*. Some, on the ground that the bramble is not found on Sinai, assume that a kind of acacia is referred to. These Hebrew and Greek words are used in OF and N¹ respectively only in connection with the theophany to Moses in Horeb (Sinai), except in Lk. 6.44. In OF (Ex. 32.4 Dt. 33.16), and in Acts 7.35, the term refers to the actual bush; in Mk. 12.26 = Lk. 20.37 (see RV) to the section of Exodus containing the narrative (see below, § 2).

2. **שֹׁכֵךְ**, *shōkēk* (*paros*, *rubus*; Ex. 32.4 Dt. 33.16 Mk. 12.26 Lk. 6.44 [EV 'bramble bush'] 20.37 Acts 7.35†) is in Gen. 2.5 probably used in a general sense of any wild-growing shrub; in the other passages the reference may be more specific. *Low* (78), who cites the Syriac and Arabic equivalents—*shōkēk* and *shōkēk*—identifies it with *Artemisia judaica* L., but allows that the Arabic word is used by Syriac lexicographers for various species. See also *Wetzstein*, *Reisner*, 41.

3. **נֶחֱלִים**, *nahālīm* (*pagas*, *foramina*, AV 'bushes,' RV 'pastures,' mg. 'bushes,' Is. 7.19†) is almost certainly connected with the root **נָחַל**, Ar. *nahala* (see *Barth*, *AV* 215), whose proper sense is that of leading cattle to the drinking-place. The noun, therefore, means 'drinking-places'—like Ar. *manhal* or *manrid*. This is better than the more general rendering 'pastures.' 'Clefts' (G. Vg.) rests on a false etymology; and 'bushes' (Saad. etc., AV) is seemingly due to conjecture (*Ges. Thes.*).

The theophany in the bush (Ex. 32.4) is remarkable. Elsewhere the 'angel of Yahwe' is a theophany in human form; but here apparently (note *Ex. 23.3*) the only special appearance is that of fire. The nearest parallel

is Judg. 13.20, where the angel ascends in a flame of fire; but the human form of the appearance is there unmistakable. The story in the form which it assumes in Exodus appears to have resulted from a fusion of two widely current beliefs—that fire indicated the divine presence (see **THEOPHANY**, § 5), and that certain trees were the permanent abodes of deities. It seems probable from the character of the reference in Dt. 3.16 that there was current a different form of the story, according to which the bush was Yahwe's permanent dwelling; for the phraseology (**שָׁכַן**, 'who dwelt in the bush') indicates the same permanency of the divine presence as was subsequently supposed to characterise the temple. *Renaud*, however, would read **שָׁכַן**, 'who dwells in Sinai' (cp *Ex. 23*), and certainly in Exodus the fiery appearance is clearly regarded as, like other theophanies, temporary. *Robertson Smith* (*Rel. Sem.* 193 f.) cites some parallels from non-biblical sources, and argues that 'the original seat of a conception like the burning bush, which must have its physical basis in electrical phenomena, must prob-

1. **שֹׁכֵךְ** occurs also as the proper name of a Rock, 1 S. 14.4 (see *Michal*).

2. Where **שֹׁכֵךְ** (*shōkēk*, *rubus*) has been led astray by the likeness of the word to the verb **שָׂרִיף**; but *Aq.* and *Sym.* have **שָׂרִיף** (in 7.7 *Sym.* *shōkēk* *rubus*).

BUSHEL

ably be sought in the clear dry air of the desert or of lofty mountains. We need not rationalise and suppose a bush of the *meq*, overgrown with the *Loranthus decata*, which has an abundance of fire-red blossoms (so the botanist traveller Kotschy, in Furrer's art. 'Dorn,' *Bl.* 214). Cp further Kauchins, *Stud. zur sem. R.-histor. gesch.* 223; Jacob, *Altarah. Parallelen zum .117 f.*

BUSHEL (μοδιος, *modius*), a measure of capacity; Mt. 5:15 Mk. 4:21 Lk. 11:33† See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

BUTLER (בִּטְלֵר), Gen. 40:1 41:9; cp CUBBEARER, and see MEALS, § 11.

BUTTER (בִּטְרֵר), Gen. 18:8. See MTT.K.

BUZ (בִּז) 1. Second son of Nahor, Gen. 22:21 (Barz [A] 1.1). As Buz is mentioned in connection with Dedan and Tema in Jer. 25:23 (Pwz [B] 2:10), it must have been an Arabian people. Buz and HAZO (q.v.) are connected by Del. (*Pier.* 307; Richer's *III B* 124) with the Bazu and Hazu of the annals of Esarhaddon (Budge, *Hist. of Assyria*, 59-61, *AB.* 2:30 f.), two districts not to be exactly identified, but evidently in close proximity to N. Arabia. Esarhaddon's description of the land of Bazu is not an inviting one; it was a desolate, snake-haunted

CADES

region. Probably Buz should be vocalised Būz (accord with Hazi and the vowels au and u in forms (cp Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Sept.* 110). 2. A Gadite (γαδουλιμα [B], Γαδύς [L], γαδύς [A] 1:1), 1 Ch. 5:14†.

BUZI (בִּזִּי, probably a gentile; see Buz), the prophet EZEKIEL (q.v., § 1), Ez. 1:1 [2] (BU [B] 1:1). ΠΕΦΑΓΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ [q.v.]).

BUZITE (בִּזִּי, ο Βουζι[ε]ιτης [BNC], ο τογ [A]; GREEK adds THE ΔΥΣ[ε]τιδος χωρα, gentile noun from Buz (q.v.), applied to ELIHU, fourth speaker in the poem of Job (Job 32:2), v. also said to have been 'of the family of Ram,' the fact that Ram is the name of a Judahite family which Buz and David are said to have belonged to (49:21), and that an Elihu appears in 1 Ch. 27:1 (one of the brethren of David, Derenbourg (*RA*) conjectures that 'Buzite' should rather be 'Boz' 'Bozite' (q.v.)). To complete this theory Elihu it would seem, to be David's brother. Unfortunately 'Elihu' in 1 Ch. 27:1 is most probably corrupt, even if not, 'brethren' is a vague and uncertain (see ELIUT, 2). Moreover, dramatic propriety suggested the description of Elihu as an Aramæan. RAM (q.v., 2) is probably a fictitious name, like and Barachel.

C

CAB, RV Kab (כַּב; καβου [BAL]), 2 K. 6:25†, a dry measure, one-sixth of a seah (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). So at least Jewish authorities (see Buxtorf, s.v. כַּב); but in this passage כַּב ('cab') is probably a scribe's error for כֶּרֶךְ ('cor'). See DOVE'S DUNG, HUSKS.

CABBON (כַּבֹּן, καβρα [BA], καββω [L]), an unidentified city in the lowland of Judah, mentioned between Eglon and Lahmas (Josh. 15:43). It is possibly the same as the MACUBENA—AV MACUBENAH (מַכּוּבֵנָה; μαχαβηνα [B], -αμνη [A], μαχβανα [L])—mentioned among the Calebite towns enumerated in 1 Ch. 24:9, and may perhaps be represented by the present *el-Kubeibeh*, lying between Kh. 'Ajlān and Kh. el-Lahm, sites that have been proposed for Eglon and Lahmas.

CABINS (כַּבִּיִּם), Jer. 37:16†, AV; RV CELLS (q.v.).

CABUL (כַּבּוּל; καβω [MACOMEA] [B], καβωλ [A], κα. [L]), a town in the territory of Asher (Josh. 19:27), the καβωλ (variants -[v], -βωλ., -βαλ., γαμαλων) mentioned by Josephus (*It.* 43, 44, 45) as a village on the confines of Ptolemais, 40 stadia from Jotapata (modern Jéfât), may safely be identified with the modern *Kābul*, 236 ft. above sea-level, 9 m. SE. from Acco. It is probably the καβωλ (but other codd. read γαβωλων), which Josephus (*B/33*) gives as on the sea coast of Tyre and forming the E. frontier of Lower Galilee. The name was current at the time of the Crusaders as Cabor or Cabour, a fief presented in 1186 to Count Joscelin by King Baldwin IV., and it gave its name to a family (Rey, *Colonies Franques en Syrie*).

In 1 K. 9:11-13 it is told how Solomon, on the completion of his buildings in Jerusalem to which Hiram contributed, gave to the latter 'twenty cities in the land of Galilee,' but Hiram was dissatisfied with them and 'they were called the land of Cabul unto this day' (1 K. 9:12-13, GREEK δῶρον for δῶν; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 53,

καβαλων, described as bordering on Tyre; c. *AF*, καβωλων, 'a piece of land in Galilee').¹ For the statement of Josephus that in Phœnician the name means 'unpleasing' (οὐκ ἀρεσκον) there is no evidence, the true explanation ought not to be far away. It could recover if we should see that the popular wit not so poor as Heller, Ewald, and Thénius supposed (כַּבּוּל = כֶּרֶךְ, 'as nought'). Cheyne (*PSB.* 1, 217) [99] would correct 'land of Cabul' into 'Land Zebulun'; καβω may have been written καβω, and the mark of abbreviation had been lost, some learned scribe may have corrected καβω into καβω. The writer would be like that which explained Beelzebul as 'the of dung,' and 'Izebel as 'what dung' (see BEELZEUL, JEZEBEL); it would be a new popular etymology, Zebulun. The 'twenty cities,' on this hypothesis, were in the lower part of the Gālil, which, in the time of Josephus, and probably also when 1 K. 9:11-13 was edited, extended as far as Καβωλων or Cabul. Of course the writer does not mean to say that the name Zebulun was now given for the first time; he only offers a new justification for the name. For a less probable view (כַּבּוּל corrupted from כֶּרֶךְ; cp כֶּרֶךְ, 'dung'), Klostermann. (Cp also Bottg., *Topogr.-hist. Lex.*, *Josephus*, s.v. 'Chalabon'). By its own evidence (in this day) the story, in its present form, is by no means contemporary with the events with which it deals.

The Chronicler, whose views would not allow him to regard the cession of a part of the Holy Land to the Gentile, sought the story as to make it appear that it was Hiram who 'gave' cities to Solomon' (2 Ch. 9:2). The AV translators have attempted to reconcile this with the story in Kings by rendering 'gave' 'restored' (RV 'had given').

CADDIS, RV GADDIS (γαδδισ [AV], -ει [N], name of JOANNAN (1 Macc. 2:2). See MACCABEES, i. §§ 1-3.

CADES, RV KEDESH (κηδεσ [AN], κεδ. [V], 1 Macc. 11:63). See KEDESH, 3.

¹ A scholiast (Field's *Her.* 1.2) interprets καβωλ by δῶρον.

CADES-BARNE

CADES-BARNE (καδής βαρνή [כַּדֶּשׁ בַּרנֶה]), Judith 5:14 AV; RV KADES-BARNEA.

CADMIEL (καδμιάου [Α]), 1 Esd. 5:26 AV, RV KADMIEL.

CÆSAR (καίσαρ [Ti. WH]) is used in the NT as a title of Augustus (Lk. 21) and Tiberius (Jb. 31). The latter emperor is, moreover, the 'Caesar' of Mt. 22:17 ff. Mk. 12:14 ff. Lk. 20:22 ff. (cp 23:2) and Jn. 19:1 ff. (Claudius Caesar is named in Acts 11:23 (AV, but RV om. Caesar with Ti. WH), and is alluded to in Acts 17:7. The 'Caesar' of Paul (Acts 25:3 ff. 26:12 27:24 28:19) is Nero, whose 'household' is mentioned in Phil. 4:22 (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἰκίας). The reference here is hardly to members of his family, but, as in the case of Stephanas in 1 Cor. 16:15, to the *familia* or household slaves. See further APOCALYPSE, § 43 ff. ISRAEL, §§ 87-115.

CÆSAREA. 1. *Cæsarea Palestine* (καίσαρεια [Ti. WH], -εία [Jos.]; in Talm. כֶּסְרִי, mod. Arab. *Kaṣariyyeh*), the only real port south of Carmel, was built by Herod the Great (on the name, see § 3) in time for it to become the capital of the Roman province of Judaea, and to play the great part in the passage of Christianity westward from Palestine which is described in Acts. The site was that of a Phœnician (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15:4) settlement with a fortification called the Tower of Straton (Στρατωνος Πύργος) - a Hellenic form of a Phœnician proper name, Astirytaton (Pletschmann, *Gesch. der Phön.* 81; Hildesheimer, *Beitr.* 2. *Geogr. Palest.* 4 ff., where the variant reading *ἑρ ὁ πύργος* or *ἑρ*, 'Devil's Tower,' given in Talmud B *Shebi'ith*, vi. 136, and in Talmud B *Megilla* is explained as a Jewish nickname for a town called after a worshipper of Astarte. There was, according to Strabo, a landing-place (πρόσφορον ἔχων). At the end of the second century B.C., the town was under a 'tyrant,' Zoilus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 12:2); but Alexander Jannæus took it for the Jews, along with the other coast towns (*ib.* 13). These were enfranchised by Pompey and made subject to the province of Syria (*ib.* xiv. 14). After the Battle of Actium they were presented to Herod the Great along with Samaria and other places by Augustus (*ib.* xv. 73). Up to this time Herod had confined his building designs to the E. side of the Central Range. Now, however, in alliance with Rome, he came over the watershed, and out of Samaria built himself a capital which he called after his patron, Sebaste. Requiring for this a seaport that should keep him in touch with Rome, he chose Straton's Tower as the nearest suitable site to Sebaste. He laid the lines of a magnificent city, which took him twelve years to build (*ib.* xv. 96; 'ten years,' xvi. 51).

Josephus describes the thorough and lavish architecture. In the usual Greek fashion, there were palaces, temple, theatre, amphitheatre, and many arches and altars. There were also vaults for draining the city - as carefully constructed as the buildings above ground. A breakwater 200 ft. wide was formed in 20 fathoms depth by dropping enormous stones. The south end was enclosed by a mole with the shore, and the mouth of the harbour looked N., the prevailing winds on this coast being from the SW. (*ib.* xv. 96; *Rf.* i. 215-8). Today the remains of the breakwater are 100 yards from shore, and the mouth of the harbour measures 180 yards (*ib.* *Mem.*). Herod called his city, like Sebaste, after Augustus, Καίσαρεια Σεβαστή, and his harbour *Λιμὴν Σεβαστῶν*. When Cæsarea Philippi was built (see below, § 2), Herod's seaport came to be distinguished from it by the names *Καίσαρεια παραλία*, K. ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, and even K. ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστίῃ *Λιμὴν* (on a coin of Nero, De Saulh'y, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte*, 110), and Cæsarea Palestine. The name of Straton survived long (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 11:4, Strab. xv., Epiphanius *De pond. et mens.* 125, Phil. v. 16). The Talmud calls the city after the harbour, *Linnah*. Cæsarea became the virtual capital of all Palestine.

CÆSAREA

'Cæsarea Junæ caput est,' says Tacitus (*Hist.* 2:73).

4. **A Roman city.** It was thoroughly Roman; the Talmud (*ib.* *Megilla*, *bat*) calls it daughter of Edom, the mystic name for Rome. The Procurator lived there; there was an Italian garrison (Acts 10:1; cp CORNELIUS, § 1), and in the temple there were two statues - of Augustus and of Rome. Though there were many Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 870; *Rf.* i. 13-14; m. 91), the inhabitants were mainly Gentile.

Here, then, very fitly, was poured out upon the Gentiles the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts 10:45). There had been a Christian congregation from the earliest possible time. Philip, one of the seven Deacons, took up his residence there (Acts 21:8). About 41 A.D. there came to a Roman centurion CORNELIUS a divine message to send to Joppa for Peter, who was prepared for this by a vision which taught him that God would make clean all that the Jewish law had hitherto prohibited as unclean. Peter came to Cæsarea, made the profound and decisive acknowledgment that God accepts in every nation him 'that feareth him and worketh righteousness,' preached Jesus, saw the descent of the Spirit upon the little Gentile company, and baptized them (Acts 10). This proved the turning-point in the opinion of the church at Jerusalem (chap. 11), and prepared the way for the acceptance of the missionary labours of Paul, to which from this stage onwards the Book of Acts is devoted.

5. **NT references.** Cæsarea is next mentioned as the scene of the awful death of Herod Agrippa I. (12 A.D.), to whose government it had been given over; some of its coins bear his superscription (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 133, 136). After him it passed again to the Roman procurator of Judaea, and became the chief garrison of the troops under him. Paul arrived at Cæsarea on his voyage from Ephesus (Acts 18:22), and there he was tried with a fairness and security that were impossible in Jerusalem (chap. 25). The contrast between the two cities, which is so evident in this story, proves how thoroughly Roman and imperial Cæsarea was. Besides receiving so far a trial, Paul, during his two years of residence in the town, was not threatened by the Jews, as he had been in Jerusalem. From the harbour of Cæsarea Paul sailed on his voyage to Italy (27:1).

The subsequent history of the town is soon told. Contests between its Jewish and Gentile inhabitants led to, and were among the first incidents of, the great revolt of the Jews against Rome, 66 ff. A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 879; *Rf.* i. 13-14; 181 vii. 87). Vespasian made the town his headquarters, and was there proclaimed emperor in 69. He established there a colony, but without the 'Jus Italicum,' under the title *Prima Flavia Augusta Cæsarea*, to which, under Alexander Severus, was added Metropolis Provincia Syria Palestine (Pliny, *IIA* v. 136; and coins in De Saulh'y, *Num. de la T.S.* 112 ff. pl. vii.). This determined the rank of Cæsarea in the subsequent organisation of the Church. Its bishop became the Metropolitan of Syria; Eusebius occupied the office from 313 to 315. Origen had made it his home. 'Procopius was born there.' When the Arabs came it was still the headquarters of the commander of the imperial troops; in 638 it was occupied by 'Ala' Obeid. Like all the coast towns, it lost under Arab domination the supremacy which the Greek masters of Syria, in their necessity for a centre of power on the sea, had bestowed upon it. It became a country town, known only for its agricultural produce (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 474). The advent of a western power with the Crusaders revived it for a little; Baldwin II. took it in 1100, and rebuilt it; the present ruins are mostly of Crusader's masonry. Saladin took it in 1187, Richard I. in 1192; and St. Louis added to its fortifications. It was finally demolished by the Sultan Bibars in 1291, and since his time has lain in ruin. (See further on details Rehd., *Pal.* 670 ff.; Schürer, *Hist.* 484 ff.; G.Asm. *HGA* 13 ff.).

6. **Later history.** 2. *Cæsarea Philippi* (καίσαρεια ἡ φιλιπποῦ, both in NT [Ti. WH] and Jos.), so called after its founder, PHILIP (see HERODIAN FAMILY, Philippi. 6) the tetrarch, son of Herod, to whom the district was granted in 4 B.C., occupied a site which had been of the utmost religious importance. Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, 38, mentions the Σεβαστήριον.

7. **Site of C.** 6) the tetrarch, son of Herod, to whom the district was granted in 4 B.C., occupied a site which had been of the utmost religious importance. Philo, *Legat. ad Cajum*, 38, mentions the Σεβαστήριον.

CAGE

and military importance from remote antiquity. Just under the S. buttress of Hermon, at the head of the Jordan valley, about 1450 ft. above the sea, is a high cliff of limestone (from 100 to 150 ft.). Rolenson, *IBR* 409f. rendered by the writer, infused with iron, that oozes over it from above. A cavern occupies the lower part of the cliff filled with the debris of its upper portion, and from this debris there breaks one of the sources of the Jordan. It is probably the sanctuary known as BAAL-GAM (277) or Baal hermon¹. Close by is a steep hill, crowned with the ruins of a medieval castle, Kal it es Subelch, and at its foot the miserable village of Binnas. Probably here (GASm. *HB* 480), rather than at Tell el-Kadi, the site favoured by most authorities, lay the city of Laish that was afterwards DAN (277).

The place must have been early occupied by the Greeks, both because of its sanctity, and because of its strategic position. Polybius (1613 281) mentions it as the scene of the great battle in which Antiochus the Great won Palestine from the Ptolemies. The Greeks displaced the worship of Baal by that of Pan.

The cave, in which there is still legible an inscription, *Havi* *te* *me* *Nou* *me*, was called *ra* *Hareion* (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 103, *BJ* i. 214 (in 97), a name afterwards extended to the whole hill (Jos. *HB* 717). The village and the country around were designated by a feminine form of the same adjective, *Hannas* or *Horeas* (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 21; *Ant.* xviii. 81, etc.; Philo, v. 1874).

In 20 B.C. Herod, having received the district from Augustus on the death of Zenodorus, the previous lord of these parts (*Ant.* xv. 103 *BJ* i. 214), built a temple to Augustus and set in it the emperor's bust. The first year that it came into his possession, 3-2 B.C., Philip the Tetrarch founded his new town, and called it Caesarea after Augustus (*Ant.* xviii. 21 *BJ* ii. 91); coins in De Saulley, *Vom de la T. S.* 313 ff. pl. xviii. So it came to be known as Philip's Caesarea (*Ant.* xv. 91), or as Caesarea Panias (see the coins). When Philip died the Romans administered the district directly, both before Agrippa I. to whom it was given, and in the interval between him and Agrippa II., who embellished it and changed the official designation to *Nepanias* in honour of Nero (*Ant.* xv. 94). The town's full title was 'Caesarea Sebaste. Sacred and with Rights of Sanctuary under Pantheon' (De Saulley, pl. xviii. 8). Later the name Caesarea was dropped and Panias survived, the Arabs when they came changing it to its present form of Binnas. A shrine of El-Khidr (= Elias = St. George) now occupies the site of the temple to Augustus.

Caesarea Philippi is twice mentioned in the Gospels.

Jesus is said to have come not to the town itself, but to the parts (*τὰ μέρη*, Mt. 16:13) or villages thereof (Mk. 8:27). Probably he avoided it as he avoided other Gentile centres

(e.g. Tiberias) established by the Herods, but in the great saying which he is said to have uttered in this neighbourhood, 'Thou art Peter and on this rock will I build my church,' it is possible to see some reference by contrast to the heathen worship founded upon that cliff of immemorial sanctity above the source of Jordan.

In the Jewish war Vespasian rested his troops in Caesarea (Jos. *BJ* iii. 97), and in celebration of the close of the war Titus and Agrippa II. exhibited shows on a large scale (*ib.* vii. 21). In Christian times Caesarea Philippi was the seat of a bishop; and Eusebius (*HE* 6:35) relates that the woman whom Christ healed of an issue of blood (Lk. 8:43) was a native of the town, where a statue commemorated her cure. Castle and town were the subject of frequent contests by both sides during the Crusades. For further details see Rol. *Tal.* 'Panias'; Schurer, *Hist.* iii. 132; Stanley, *SP* 391; GASm. *HB* 473 ff.

CAGE Cages (or rather wicker-baskets, cp Am. 8:2) for confining birds in are mentioned twice in EV (see FOWLS, § 101): (1) in Jer. 5:27 the houses of the wicked are as full of (the grains of) deceit as a cage (עֵרֶב *erib* = אֶרֶב *ereb*, AV^{ms} 'עֵרֶב', πᾶρες [BNAQ]) is full of birds; and (2) in Eccles. 11:30 the heart of a proud man

¹ Once corruptly BAAL-HAMON (277.)

CAIN

is like a decoy partridge in a cage (or basket, עֵרֶב *erib* [BNA], cp Ar. *kerib* [כֶּרֶב], a fruit-basket), cage (עֵרֶב) for lions also is mentioned in Ezek. 19:6 (see 1:105).

(1) *Qol* *Qol*, rendered 'hold' and 'cage' in Rev. 18: 'hold', denotes rather a prison (so RVm.).

CAIAPHAS (καϊάφας [11], καϊάφας [W], καϊάφας [U] [Dala], Mt. 26: 1, Lk. 22: 66, or perhaps Caiaphas. See ANNA AND CAIAPHAS.

CAIN (קַיִן; [za]kanacim [B], [zanaw] aketi [C], קַיִן: קַיִן [A], [zanaw] aketi [1.], a town in the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15:35), may possibly be the mod. *Yaken*, 3 m. S.W. from Hebron (*PEF* *PA* 314, 371; but see GASm. *HB* 473). Cp AMALIK, § 1.

CAIN (קַיִן: קַיִן [ADEL], 1:17). In Gen. 4 have accounts of two different Cains, linked together by the editor. The proof of this will be briefly indicated below (§§ 2-4); it will be convenient to treat first more ancient and simpler of the two stories.

1. Cain is the name of the hero who in Gen. 4:1-8 is represented as the founder of the city of Enoch¹ (Hannok). The name of Cain

Gen. 1:7 ff. 50 ff. evidently comes from an early, though not a genuine Hebrew, tradition; an old document (50 ff.) gives it as CAINAN (277). Its native meanings are 'smith', 'artificer' (Ar. *kinan*, *Arak*, *kinana*);² for the connection with *kānāh*, 'to produce' (also 'to acquire'), suggested in Gen. 4:1,³ is philologically difficult. The more general sense 'artificer' suits best for Cain the city-builder, and the more special 'smith' for the second part of the compound name Tubal-cain. Both these names are attached to heroes who at the outset of the tradition must have possessed a divine character (see CAIMUS, §§ 5, 10).

2. The central figure of the narrative in Gen. 1:26-7 is also called Cain.

2. The nomad of Gen. 4:2-16. The story has come to us in a somewhat abbreviated form. Its substance is as follows. Once upon a time Cain and his brother Abel sacrificed to Yahwe. Cain, being a husbandman, brought of the fruits of the ground; Abel, as a shepherd, offered the fat parts of some of his first-born lambs (cp Nu. 18:12). Both, as was usual in ancient religion, looked for a visible sign that their gifts were accepted. What the expected sign was the summary to which they resorted, we are not told (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 217), and we may pass over later conjectures. At any rate, we learn that only Abel's sacrifice was accepted (cp Am. 4:1-3). Now Cain, had he been wise, would have demeaned himself humbly towards Abel, for who can say to God, 'Who dost thou?' (Job 9:32). Instead of this, he cherished evil thoughts, as an oracle, perhaps sought by Cain, warned him: 'And Yahwe said to Cain, Why art thou wrath? and why is thy countenance fallen? Surely, if thou dost well, thou shalt be accepted; but if thou dost not well, thy sin must cause thee to fall: from irritating words abstain, and thou shalt be thyself.' And Cain quarrelled with his brother Abel, and when they were in the open country, Cain and Abel assaulted his brother Abel, and slew him. Then follows a fresh oracle, containing a curse upon Cain, who is condemned, not only to banishment (cp Rom. 11:26), but also to a life of restless wandering. The curse, however, is mitigated by the promise of protection against outrage, by means of a 'sign' which will indicate that Cain is under the care of Yahwe.

According to the older commentators, with whom

1 See, however, ed. 623, note 3.

2 De. and Del. support this etymology by the very doubtful

עֵרֶב commonly rendered 'his spear' (so GEM), 2 Sam. 21:16,

where a better reading is עֵרֶב 'his helmet' (Kau. *HB* 1, P. H. P. Smith, after Khe.).

3 For exclaims, עֵרֶב עֵרֶב עֵרֶב עֵרֶב, 'I have wrought, I

produced, a man with the help of Yahwe.' This can hardly

be right; עֵרֶב is too vague, and the variations of the commentators prove their dissatisfaction with the text. On Marti's view

considering that עֵרֶב is one of the words meaning 'to create' (see *Qol* *Qol*, § 30), we may assume that Cain

in the pride of her motherhood, likens herself to her God and says, 'I

have created a man even as Yahwe.' Targ. Onk. reads עֵרֶב

עֵרֶב, 'This is nearer the truth. עֵרֶב probably comes from

עֵרֶב, 'I fell out, and I was confounded with it' (cp Judg. 14:14).

4 The. *Ex. P.*, July 1890; cp Box, *ib.*, June 1891, and Ball

(SBL 17).

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even Delitzsch must be grouped, this is the same Cain as the founder of the first city, and he is also the first-born son of the first man.

This view is critically untenable (see KINSHIP, § 2), mainly on account of the improbability of the course of events which it assumes.

The first man lies here, as we know, driven out of Paradise for disobeying his divine command. According to the traditional view, however, his first-born son Cain is so little impressed by the punishment that he murders his own brother. More than this, he becomes the direct ancestor of another murderer, who apparently goes unpunished, and who is also contrary to the spirit of Gen. 4 a polygamist. Now note another point. The original dwelling of Cain is not, as we are to suppose was that of the first man and his wife after their expulsion from Paradise, in the east of the garden of Eden (see 3.4), but in a cultivated and well-peopled land where Yahweh is worshipped with sacrifices, and holds familiar intercourse with men (even with Cain).

Apparently S. Paley (see 1.16) is right. Nor is there any curse upon the ground which Cain tills; it is his own self, banished from the land, who drives him unwiltingly into the land of wandering, i.e., into the desert. There, however, without any explanation, he gives up his unsettled life, and advances further in civilisation than before. He builds a 'city.' This is no less to be explained by the ingenious remark that even nomads in Arabia have central market-stations (*Ar. karyā*, plur. *kharā*), for 'city' is evidently used as a general term; Cain is as much a city-builder as Nimrod, and only as such, for, upon Budge's theory, as the father of a city-builder) could he hold a place in the Hebrew legend of civilisation. How are these inconsistent statements to be reconciled? Every possible way has been tried and has failed. It was high time to apply the key of analysis; and no one who has once done this will wish to re-imagine past theories (see KINSHIP, § 2).

It may be assumed, then, that the story of Cain and Abel once had an independent existence, and circulated at one of the sanctuaries of Southern Palestine. It is probably not a borrowed

4. Origin of story. Canaanite myth, but an independent Israelitish attempt to explain the strange phenomena of nomad life—the perpetual wandering in the desert and the cruelly excessive development of the custom itself a perfectly legitimate one, according to the Israelites) of vengeance for bloodshed. As Robertson Smith (following Wellhausen) rightly remarks, Cain is the embodiment of 'the old Hebrew conception of the lawless nomad life, where only the blood-fend prevents the wanderer in the desert from falling a victim to the first man who meets him,' and the mark which Yahweh sets on Cain's person for his protection is 'the short or tribal mark' (cp 27.1), without which the ancient form of blood-fend, as the affair of a whole stock, however scattered, and not of near relatives alone, could hardly have been worked' (cp KINSHIP, § 1 f., and CURTIS, § 1). Now we can guess why the nomad of the story is called Cain; Cain is the eponym of the Kenites

5. Source of name. (who are in fact called *Ken*; but cp AMALEK, § 6 f.), whose close alliance with the Israelites and location in the wilderness of Judah are well known. That the Kenites should be so well acquainted with a more civilised mode of life, and yet adhere to their nomadic customs, was a surprise to the Israelites,¹ and the story of Cain and Abel grew up to account for it. Nothing but a curse seemed to explain this inveterate repugnance to city life, and a curse implied guilt; while the unbridled vindictiveness of the nomads (see Gen. 4, § 2 f.) was explicable only by a compassionate command of Yahweh, who after all was the God of the Kenites as well as of the Israelites, so that the distinguishing mark of this tribe was also a sign that its members worshipped Yahweh and were under his protection. Cain, then, represents the nomad tribe best known to the Israelites. He is contrasted with Abel (*i.e.* the 'herdman'; see ABEL [i.]), because the pastoral

¹ Halévy, *RPL* 14.12.
² W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 215 f.; cp Stade, *Z. f. d. L. u. v. d. A.* 14. 293 ff. (1844). Mari (*Lit. Contrab.*, May 22, 1877) finds a prophetic reference to this mark in Gen. 41, pointing 70, and rendering 'I have acquired a man, a bearer of the sign of Yahweh.' S. independently Zeyher (*Z. f. d. L. u. v. d. A.* 18120 ff. (1891)); but the sign is surely not circumcision. See Stade, *op. cit.* 267.

³ Ewald suggested this (*Hist.* 1.271). The theory is most fully worked out by Stade, not, however, without extravagances (see AMALEK, § 7).

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life, when combined with a fixed domicile, seemed to the Israelites the ideal one. That the Kenites themselves would have sanctioned this portrait of their eponym is not probable. They presumably represented him with some of the noble features attributed to a hero of solar origin. We cannot, therefore, say with Wellhausen (*PSRL* 1122) that the story of Cain and Abel is a fragment of Kenite folk-lore.

To the number of the Yahwist circle who worked up the two (not to say three) Cain stories together we may ascribe 4.1-23, and the words 'on the east of Eden' in 4.16. The addition of the latter words converts 23 in the poetical phrase 23.178, 'land of wandering'—derived presumably from the old tradition—into a prosaic proper name, which is boldly identified by Sayer and Boscawen with the land of the Mandae or nomads (see 1.1), the mountain ranges of Kurdistan and Turanistan. The original narrator meant presumably the land between Judah and Edom, where the Kenites lived.

The above contains some of the points of Stade's essay, 'Der Kenitismus' (*Z. f. d. L. u. v. d. A.* 1877 ff. 1. 187-241), which is the most complete critical treatment of the subject. Cp Hausman, 'Israel und Kenan' (*ibid.* 76, pp. 2-23).

CAINAN. or rather, as in 1 Ch. 12 and RV, KENAN (17.1), KAINAN [RAI] p. 1. The son of Enosh (Gen. 5.14). That Kenan is a humanised god has been shown already (see 1.16, § 11). Cain and Kenan are forms of one name (*Ken* and *Kenan*). 27.1 or 27.2 may be added, the name of a god in Hittite inscriptions (*Z. f. d. L. u. v. d. A.* 3186, *Z. f. d. L. u. v. d. A.* 3243).

2. A son of Arphaxad in *AV* 9.1 of Gen. 10.24 (*Kainan* 10.11), and therefore in *RV* 9.1. The name is due to an interpolation, made in order to bring out ten numbers in the genealogy of Gen. 11.1-26. The real tenth from Noah, however, is Lamech, the father of Abraham.

CAINITES, the name generally given to the descendants of Cain mentioned in Gen. 4.1-24. Tradition, as Ewald said long ago, is the commencement and the native soil of all narrative and of all history, and its circle tends continually to expand, as the curiosity of a people awakens to fresh objects, and as foreign traditions are intermixed with those of home growth. Questions about the origins of things are especially prone to crowd into the circle of tradition, and, when the various traditions respecting remote antiquity come to be arranged, it is natural to connect them by a thread of genealogy. There is a real, though but half-conscious, sense among the arrangers that what is being produced is not history but a working substitute for it, and so there is the less scruple in taking considerable liberties with the form of the traditions, many of which indeed, being of diverse origin, are inconsistent. The Hebrew traditions, in particular, were evidently filled with a desire to bring the traditions into harmony with the purest Hebrew spirit. In minor matters they agree with the traditionalists of other nations; in particular they limit the superabundant material for genealogies by the use of round numbers, especially ten.

Much progress has been made in the study of Gen. 4 and 5 since Ewald's time; but that profound critic has

1. Hebrew Tradition. the credit of having already noticed that the story of Cain and Abel is not as early as the genealogy which follows. This conclusion may now be taken as settled; Gen. 4.1-24 and 17.24 are, generally speaking, derived from separate traditional sources.¹ Both sections are indeed Yahwistic; but the tone and character of their contents is radically different.

The true meaning of Gen. 4.17-24 was seen first by Wellhausen. The section contains relics of an Israelitish legend which made no reference to the destruction of the old order of things by a deluge, and traced the

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¹ See Wellh., *ITP*, 12-6, p. 392; C. H. 10.3, who was followed by WRS, *ITP*, art. 'Cain and Abel' (1877), and the *ETC*, art. 'Deluge' 177. So Kyle, *Early Narratives*, 79 [1877].

beginnings of the existing civilisations. The legend is partly based on nature-myths, for the Hebrews were not as unmythological as Renan once supposed. Their myths, however, were to a large extent borrowed when the Hebrews stepped into the inheritance of Canaanite culture, they could not help adopting in part the answers which the Canaanites had given to the question, 'Whence came civilisation?'

The Canaanite culture-legend is unhappily lost, but the fragments of Philo of Byblus (Miller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 3 260 f.), when critically treated, reveal some of the elements of two Phoenician culture-legends, in one of

3 Canaanitish Culture legend.

which the invention of the useful arts and of occupations was ascribed to divine beings, whilst in the other it was ascribed to men (Günther, *Die griech. Kultur u. Mythen*, I 27 ff.; cp PROPERTIUS). Berossus, too, as far as we can judge from fragmentary reports, appears to have accounted for knowledge of the arts by a series of manifestations of a divine being called Oannes, which took place in the days of the first seven antediluvian kings of Babylon (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, I 388 f.). This substantially agrees with the statements of the tablets that the bringers of culture were the great gods, such as Ea, 'the lord of wisdom,' and his more active firstborn son Marduk (Merodach), the creator. A striking confirmation of this is supplied by the mythic story translated by Pinches (see CHATTON, § 16 (1)), where Marduk is said to have made, not only the Tigris and the Euphrates, but also cities and temples.¹ City-building is in fact everywhere one of the characteristic actions of humanised nature-deities (Osiris, Jemshid, etc.), and it would be inevitable that the civilised Canaanites should trace the origin of cities to semi-divine heroes (*ἡρώων γένος ἀνδρῶν*, II, 12 (1)), if not to the creator himself. Still, though the Canaanitish culture-myth is lost, we may be sure of one point, viz., that it was largely influenced by Babylonian myths, the supremacy of Babylonian culture in Palestine at a remote age being amply proved by the Amarna tablets.

When, therefore, we find in Berossus² a list of ten antediluvian kings at the head of the mythic history of Babylonia, it is not unnatural to suppose that the genealogy of the ten patriarchs in Gen. 5, to which the shorter one in Gen. 11 is so closely allied, is derived from it, and to attempt conjectural identifications of the Hebrew and of the Hellenised Babylonian names. This course, which has been adopted by Hommel, the present writer does not think it prudent to take, (1) because we are ignorant of the phases through which the Berossian list has passed, and (2) because of the violent hypotheses to which this course would often drive us.

By taking the Hebrew names, however, one by one, and using Babylonian clues it does not seem hopeless to reach probable results. CAIN, for instance, the name which meets us first, means 'artificer.' Can we avoid regarding this as the translation of a title of the divine demigod, borrowed from Babylonia through the medium of the Canaanites?

Moreover since ENOCH, the son of Lamech, evidently belongs to the same legend, and indeed shares with his father the honour of the foundation of the first city³ (to which his own name is given), we cannot hesitate to regard Enoch too as of divine origin. This view, indeed, is as good as proved if the statements

¹ R¹² 6113; Zimmern in Vinkel's *S. 307* 12. Cp these lines (Oliv. 27, 30, 4).

² Lamech constructed the house, he built the city, he built the city of Nether, he built E-kara the temple, he built the city Enoch, he built E-sanna the temple.

³ *Enoch*, ix, xi, in Lenormant, *Essai de Coutume sur Récit*, 241-251.

⁴ Or did Enoch rather build the city himself? See Budge, who emends *ἡρώων* 'after his sons name,' into *ἡρώων* 'after his own name' (*CP* 7, 130 f.), thus making 'Enoch' the subject of the verbs 'built' and 'called.'

in Gen. 5:22-24 (P) are traditional! We are told Enoch lived 365 years (a solar number) 'that he was with God, and (then) disappeared, for God had taken him.' The number is attested alike by the Hebrew Sam. and the LXX text, and even if we lay but stress on that, the phrases quoted seem unmistakably primitive, and imply that, in the original form of the story, Enoch was a semi-divine hero who at the end of his earthly days was taken to the paradise of Eden. When, too, we consider the clear parallelism between Enoch and Noah, and between Noah and Nimrod (Patriarchism), the hero of the Babylonian Flood story (see DEUGÈ, § 2), it becomes reasonable to identify Enoch with Par-napistim's great visitor in Paradise, who went there to obtain healing for his leprosy, whose name is perhaps most correctly read Gulganes, 'the game,' like Enoch is a divine being — whether regarded him as a hero who becomes a hero, or (more plausibly) as a god who becomes a hero, is a matter of indifference. And like Enoch he is associated with a sun.⁴ As Enoch in the Hebrew tradition is the ancestor of Noah, so (inverting the relation) Par-napistim the Babylonian Noah, is the ancestor of Gulganes. The latter is said to have crossed the 'waters of death' to pay a visit to Par-napistim in Paradise, and we may presume that, in the earlier form of the Hebrew narrative, his counterpart (whose original name was certainly not Noah) received the same reward as Enoch — 'walking with God.' Both Par-napistim and Enoch are also Enoch (as we may infer from the emended text Ezek. 28), and as is expressly stated in the *Book of Enoch*, which has a substitution of gemme, even though, tradition⁵ has been initiated into secret lore and knows both the past and the future. Lastly, Enoch gave his name to the city of Enoch, which at any rate implies lordship (cp 'city of David,' 2 S. 5:7; 'house of Sennacherib,' KB 239; and see 2 S. 12:25); and perhaps in the primitive myth was even represented as a builder. So Enoch, of which the ideographic name is Uruk or Uruk i.e. the dwelling, is incidentally called in the epic 'the city of Gulganes,' Gulganes being at once its king and (according to an old text) a builder.⁶ Why the Hebrew compiler did not adopt Gulganes as well as Uruk from his Babylonian informant,⁷ we cannot tell. The foundation of the

¹ It is plain that there must have been some fairly complete account of Enoch in P's time. Indeed, the references in Ezek. 28:24 (emended text) imply such an account in exilic times. See E. 28, 1, 2.

² The Chaldeans at first estimated the duration of the astronomical revolution of the sun at 365 days, afterwards at 360 days. To this they accommodated their civil year of 360 days by means of an intercalated cycle (Lenormant, *Les Origines*, I 380). Cp YERGEN, § 5.

³ The Egyptian Kings, as sons of Ra, were said (as early as the Pyramid Texts) to ascend to heaven, borne by the mythic griffin called *serf* (see SAKKAW).

⁴ We know from another text that Gulganes was the vice-king of the sun-god (Jeremias, *op. cit.* 3). Hommel makes Gulganes a form of Uruk the fire-god (Gulganes). On the epic Gulganes see DEUGÈ, § 2, and Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, chap. 23, p. 297 ff. (The present article was written before the appearance of Prof. Jastrow's work.)

⁵ On the 'waters of death' in the legend see Maspéro, *op. cit.* Jeremias, 87. The same mythic stream is found in a very mythological section of a psalm (Ps. 138:1-6) where the 'floods of death' (*ḥayyot*) are parallel to the 'floods of Tophet' (*ḥayyot*); see BETHAN, 4, 3, and *op. cit.* 130, 2.

⁶ On both points see EPOCH, § 2. On the latter point, when, in 1854, he admitted that the line legend of Enoch was inevitably based on a traditional basis (*Das Buch Enoch*, p. 38).

⁷ See Jeremias, *op. cit.* 15, and cp the inscription of the sun-god, Himmeh, by Winkler (*CP* 7, 132) and Hommel (*CP* 7, 132), in which occur the words 'the walls of Enoch, the founder of Gulganes.'

⁸ The theory here advocated is that David's Babylonian slave, SALLY, brought several Babylonian myths and legends to Palestine, including that of the hero Gulganes, king of Uruk, i.e. Enoch. He thus opened a fresh period of Babylonian influence on Palestine. Hilprecht's discoveries give increased probability to the identification of Enoch with Uruk, which was already proposed by Sayce in 1877 (*Lib. L. C.* 1, 125).

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should be noticed that *rain* in Tubal-cain is wanting in *U. 10. 3. 1* [AEL. 1]. Probably it was added to explain why the hero was regarded as the father of smiths. Tubal is, in fact, probably a pale form of the god of the solar fire, Gibil or Nusku; but, of course, he is not only a fire god. Like Gibil and like Hephaistos (see Roscher, *Lex.*), he is the heavenly smith (*U. 10. 1* calls him *yaAvee*, a term which in *U. 15. 10* is applied to Hephaistos), and was perhaps once addressed in the words of a famous Babylonian hymn:—

"Gibil, renowned hero in the land, — valiant, son of the Abyss, exalted in the land, — Gibil, thy char' d'ne breaking forth, — when it lightens up the darkness, — assigns to all that bears a name its own destiny : — the copper and tin, it is thou who dost mix (?) them, — gold and silver, it is thou who meltest them, —"

We may well suppose that in the earliest form of the Hebrew legend Tubal was the instructor of men in the art of getting fire. According to Philo of Byblos, fire was discovered by three 'mortal men' called Light, Fire, and Flame, and was produced by rubbing two pieces of wood together. 'This,' remarks Robertson Smith,² 'is the old Arabian way of getting fire, and indeed appears all over the world in early times, and also in later times in connection with ritual. Probably some ritual usage preserved the memory of the primeval fire stock in Phœnicia.' 'There was no such ritual usage among the Israelites, and so the legend of the invention of fire disappeared.

Jabal and Jubal have names descriptive of occupations, and evidently of Palestinian origin. The former is

11. **Jabal, Jubal.** *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יָבָל וְאֶת-יֻבָל* [A]. *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יָבָל וְאֶת-יֻבָל* [I]. *וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יָבָל וְאֶת-יֻבָל* [E]; *Jabal*: Gen. 1.24) is the reputed ancestor of tent-dwelling

Jubal, is the reputed ancestor of tent dwelling shepherds. His name describes him, not as a 'wanderer' (Dilm. very questionable), but as a herdsman (cp. Heb. *ṣṣṣ*, Phoen. *ṣṣṣ*, 'ram'); it is another form of the name *Ami* (*ṣṣṣ*, end). The latter, *Jubal* (*ṣṣṣ*); *ṣṣṣ*[*Ami*]; *Jubal*; Gen. 4:21), is the 'lather' of the guild or class of musicians (cp. *ṣṣṣ*, Ex. 19:13, 'ram's horn'). That the inventor of the *kinor* and the *ugab* should be the younger brother of the first shepherd, is certainly appropriate. One of the thirty-seven 'Ami, or Asiatics, represented in the tomb of Immi-hotep (see *Musie*, § 8, JORRIN, § 10) as describing admission into Egypt, carries a lyre. (We must not quote the parable of David, for *Ami*, 16:14-23 does not recognise him as a shepherd; see *DAVID*, § 10, *not*.) Jubal, however, is less appropriate in this company, partly because of his lofty origin, partly because smiths belong more naturally to agricultural and city life.

The three names Jalah, Juhah, and Tuhah stand outside the genealogy proper, just as Shem, Ham, and

12. Original form of list.

the genealogical thread the editor indicates that a new and broader development is about to begin (Ewald). How is it, then, that the Camite genealogy as it stands contains but six names? The parallel table in chap. 5, which has virtually all these names, adds three to them at the beginning, and one at the end. Now it is remarkable that the three pre-ved names are also given in 1.25 f. It is not improbable (cp. 6) that this passage in a simpler form—omitting 'again,' 'another,' and 'instead of Abel,' etc., and adding 'and Enos begat a son, and called his name Cain'—once stood before 4.17, and that Noah, who is the son of Lamech in 5.28 f., once took the place of Tubal, Jubal, and Tubal. This would make the table begin Adam, Seth, Enos, Cain, and close Lamech, Noah. We might also restore it thus,

Persian means (1) dress of metal, (2) copper or iron. I regard the δ as resulting from a radical π or π_1 and as changing later to ρ and τ (Mr. J. F. Halls).

² *Burnett Lectures*, second series (MS).

² *Burnett Lectures*, second series (MS).

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Enos (= *Adam*), Seth, Kenan . . . Lamech, Japheth, Noah. This would have the advantage of retaining the founder of the pastoral mode of life as the father of founder of agriculture, but seems to involve the exclusion of Jubal and Tubal. We might, more naturally perhaps, suppose that Jubal and Jubal were additions from another cycle of legends, and that earliest genealogy began with Cam and ended with Tubal, both originally divine beings. We should then get a genealogy of seven. In any case we must retain the common view that 1 Es. 5. is a fragment of a Yahwist table which traced the genealogy of the Sethtite side of the first family, and that the Sethtites, according to Yahwist, were good, the Camites bad. There is valid evidence that the genealogist wished to represent any of the Camites as wicked, or that culture was opposed to religion. Cam, the city-builder, was worthy son of Enos, who was the first to use forms of worship (see *Enosis*). For there was no more tripartite religious act, from a primitive point of view, than the building of a city. (For the continuation of this subject see SETHTITES.)

Batmann's *Mythologus*, vol. i. (178), first led the critics of the genealogies into the right track. For recent discussion

13. Literature. Besides Stadel's article already referred to, and Dillmann's *Gen.*, see Leumann, *Z. Origines*, 145; Forcawell, *Leb. Arch. Times*, 151 ff. (May '04); Goldhaber, *Heb. Bib.*, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 91

T. K. C.

CAKE. It is impossible to ascertain precisely the meaning and characteristic feature of certain of the many Heb. words which are rendered 'cake' in L.V. and it must suffice merely to record the terms in question.

(a) *supra*, *id.*, Nos. 3; (RV) etc., see FLAGON (i).

(b) γ 227, *dehshah*, 1 S. 3012 etc., see FRUIT, § 7.

(d) 172, *Kawwān*, Jer. 18 44 19, f see BAKEMEATS, § 2, FRUIT.

(c) לִכְבֵּה, *lekhibbēh*, 2 S. 13:6 w/1 see BAKEMEATS, § 2.

(g) מִשְׁכָּן, *miškan*, Lev. 18, see **HAKEMEATS**, § 3.

(i) מִן הַבַּיִת (*Min ha-Bayit*), Judg. 7:13, see BAKEMEATN, § 2.

(U) *FF7*, *nikik*, 1 Ch. 2329 etc., see BAKEMEATS, § 3, BREAD, § 3.

CALAH (כַּלַּח; χάλαιχ [-], -κ [EL], καλαχ [P]; 12 χάλεκ [I]; *Chaleh*; Ass. Kalnu, Kalah) is named in Gen. 10:11*f.* as one of the cities originally founded by Nimrod in Assyria. Ashūr-nāṣir-paḏ, king of Assyria, ascribed its high standing, at any rate as a capital, to Shalmaneser I. (*KRI* 1:16 ff. 132-135). Layard, Rassau, and G. Smith proved by their excavations of the mounds of Nimrod 20 m. S. of Nineveh (Kuyunjik) that the city lay in the fork between the Tigris on the W. and the Upper Zab on the E. Protected on two sides by these rivers and on the N. by hills, fortified by a long N. wall with at least eight towers, it was a strong city.

The town was an oblong, well supplied with water by a canal led through a covered conduit from the Upper Zib, and richly planted with orchards and gardens. At the S.W. are the remains of a platform, built of sun-dried bricks faced with

CALAMOLALUS

stone, 600 yards from N. to S., by 400 yards wide, and 13 feet above the level of the Tigris, which once washed its western face. On this platform stood palaces built or restored by the kings Shalmaneser I., Ashurnisir-pal, Shalmaneser II., Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. At its NW corner stood the *zikkuratu* or temple-tower, 107½ feet square at the base and still 140 feet high. Next to it was the temple of Nebo, but in the Sargonic period Nimip was the town-god (*AB 4* 133, no. 1, l. 10).

Of municipal history, apart from the history of the country, we know little.

Calah was faithful to Shalmaneser II. during his son's rebellion (*AB 1* 176, ll. 45-50), but revolted from Ashurnipal in 746 B.C. (*AB 1* 172). It was clearly the court residence under the above-mentioned kings; but in the official lists it never stands first (cp. Eponym lists *AB 1* 208 ff.). As a centre of population it evidently was inferior to Assur, and totally eclipsed by Nineveh. When Ashurnipal rebuilt the town and palace, finished the great wall, and endowed Calah with its canal, he populated it with captives.

Like other great cities of Assyria and Babylonia, Calah probably had its archives which, with the literary collections of the kings, formed the nucleus of a library.

Few tablets have hitherto been found at Nimrud, and it is inferred that Sennacherib removed the Calah library to Nineveh. Many astrological and omens tablets in the Kuyunjik collection were executed at Calah for Nabu-zakopkeni, 'principal librarian' (*AB 1* 176, ll. 1-3). For explorations and identification of site cp. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, G. Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*. For further discussions respecting library, see G. Smith, *Chaldean Genesis*,² C. H. W. J.

CALAMOLALUS (καλαμολαλος [N]), or **Calamocalus** (κακαλος [B]), 1 Esd. 5:2, represents the 'Levi' (see LXXIII HANNU' of Ezr. 2:33). Neh. 7:37. ² has ἀγγελοφύλαξις.

CAL (כַּל) occurs in Cant. 4:14 Ezek. 27:10, and 'sweet calamus' in Ex. 30:23 Is. 43:24 (RV^{ms}; but EV 'sweet cane' in Is.), for the usual *RE D* (q.v., 1 f).

CALCOL (כַּלְכָּל; on the name see MAHOL; χαλχαλ [A]), a son of Zerub. b. JUDAH, 1 Ch. 26 (χαλχαλ [B], χαλχαλ [L]) clearly the same as the son of Mahol of 1 Ch. 4:31 [51], AV CHALCOL (χαλκαλ [B], χαλκαλ [L]). See MAHOL.

CALDRON. AV rendering of the following words:—כַּלְדָּן 1 S. 2:14 Mi. 3:3, so RV; כִּי־יִרְדֹּם 2 Ch. 35:14, so RV — for all of which see COOKING, § 5; and אֲנָשִׁים Job. 41:25 [12]. RV RUSHES (q.v., 2).

CALEB (כִּלְבִּי, § 66; on the meaning see below; χαλεβ [BAL]; gent. כִּלְבִּי, 'Calebite,' EV 'of the house of Caleb,' 1 S. 25:1 Kt. [ΚΥΝΙΚΟΣ (BAL)], see NABAL; Kt. reads כִּלְבִּי; cp. the similar variant in Judg. 1:15 ² BAL. χαλεβ κατα την καρδιαν αγνης).

No. 17166 40:164, n. 1, (86), finds the sense 'raging with canine madness,' objecting to Robertson Smith's identification with כִּלְבִּי, 'dog' (see *J. Ph.* 989; *Kin.* 203, 206).

1. Name. Dog-totems, nevertheless, were not impossible in the ancient Semitic world (see DOK, § 4), and a connection with כִּלְבִּי was early surmised (see NABAL, n.). We find the name Kalbā in Babylonian contract-tablets as late as the times of Nebuchadnezzar II. and Cambyyses (*AB 4* 109 20 f.). Hommel (*AHT* 115) makes *kalbu* or *kalabu* mean 'priest'; while Sayce (*Early Hist. Heb.* 206) compares *kalbu* as used in *Am. Tab.* (e.g., 54, 18) for 'officer, messenger' (but this is improbable). The name seems to be primarily tribal.

Caleb was a Kenizite clan which at, or shortly before, the Israelite invasion of Western Palestine established itself in Hebron and the region south of it, and in the course of time

2. Early History. coalesced with its northern neighbour, the tribe of Judah (naturally, not without admixture of blood; cp. Maaseh, Caleb's concubine, 1 Ch. 24:8). The line KENAZ, to whom Caleb and OPHNI belong (Nu. 32:12 Judg. 1:13 f.), were of Edomite extraction, and the Calebites were nearly related to the nomadic Jerahmeelites in the south-eastern quarter of the Negeb (1 Ch. 2, etc.); see JERAHMEEL. (On the Kenites, see below, § 4.)

How Caleb came to be settled in what was regarded

CALEB-EPHRATAH

as the territory of Judah, is variously described (Josh. 15:13, cp. 116 f. 12, etc.). According to Josh. 15:1 f. (cp. Judg. 1:10 f.), Caleb invaded from the N., in company with Judah, the region which he subsequently occupied (see ASAK); but in the story of the spies, in the oldest version of which Caleb alone maintains the possibility of a successful invasion of Canaan from the S. and receives Hebron as the reward of his faith¹ (see NUMBERS), we seem to have a reminiscence of the fact that Caleb made his way into the land from that quarter. In David's time Caleb was still distinct from Judah (1 S. 30:14 γαλαδ [B], χαλχ [L]); for the conjecture that David was a Calebite prince, see PAVIN, § 4, n.).

On the other hand, in the list of the spies (Nu. 13:6 f.), and in the commission for the division of the land

3. Pre-exilic. (Nu. 31:10 f.), Caleb the JEPHTUNITE appears as the representative of Judah, a chief (*emir*) of that tribe;² and in the post-exilic genealogical systems, Caleb and Jehuamel, 'sons of JHIZON' (q.v., n. 1 f.), are great-grandsons of the patriarch Judah (1 Ch. 2:4 f. JEPHTUNITE 1 Ch. 1:1, CALEMIT [L], 12 f., 42 [χαλχαλ, A] f.), whilst Kenaz becomes a son of Caleb (1:13).

These representations reflect the fact that, in uniting with Judah, Caleb became the leading branch of that exceedingly mixed tribe. The Chronicler indeed hardly knows any other Judahite stocks than these Hezronites.

The seats of the Calebites in pre-exilic times are to be learned most fully from 1 Ch. 2:42 f., where we find set down as sons and grandsons (branches) of Caleb the well-known cities and towns, Zaph, Mareshah (so read for MISHA), Hebron, Lappath, Jokbeah (so for JOKBEAM), Maon, Beth-zur; for Maon and Carmel cp. also 1 S. 25:2 f. The clan had possessions also in the Negeb (1 S. 30:14).

After the fall of their old territory was chiefly in the possession of the Edomites, and the Calebites were pushed northwards into the old seats

4. Post-exilic. of Judah. This situation is reflected in another stratum of the composite genealogy (1 Ch. 2:18-24, 50-55, cp. 10), where Caleb takes Ephraim (the region about Bethlehem) as a second wife (observe the significant name of the former wife AZUBAH [q.v.]; cp. also JEROTAH). Through his son Hur the clan falls into three divisions: Shobai, Salmai, and Hareph, the fathers of Kijath-parim, Bethlehem, and Bethgader. The further notices of the subdivision of these clans are fragmentary and complex (see BETHGADER, JAMUZ, SHOBAL). It is at all events noteworthy that the passage concludes with the end of a list of Kenites, and a connection between these and the Calebites becomes plausible if CHUTTER and RECHAB in 1 Ch. 4:11 f. are indeed errors for Calel and Rechab (cp. Meyer, *Entsch.* 147).³

It is not improbable that the names Azbuk, Colhozeh, Rephaiah b. Hur (temple-repairers, etc., temp. Nehemiah) are of Calebite origin (*ib.* 147, 167).

See further KENAZ; also Kienien, *Bibl. Ist.* 1:135 ff., 175 ff., Gratz, *Die Kehniten oder Kalebiten*, *MGGW* 25:461-492, and especially We. *De Gent.* 1: CH 337 f.

CALEB-EPHRATAH, RV Caleb Ephrathah (כִּלְבִּי עִפְרַתִּי), is mentioned in 1 Ch. 2:4 f. as the place where Hebron died. Wellhausen and Kittel, after ² BM (καλ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν εφρων [εφρων, A; -ν, L.] ὁ καλεῖται ἐν εφραθὰ [L. εἰς ὁδὸν χαλχ εἰς εφραθὰ]), read: 'after the death of Hebron, Caleb came into Ephraim the wife of Hebron his father' (⁴ We. *De Gent.* 1:1). Jostermann (*Gesch.* 112) thinks it more natural to read STEGEN (for Caleb).

¹ In P Joshua is named along with Caleb.

² The name Jephthunich as that of Caleb's father is not earlier than 142; on Josh. 14:6, 11 (JE and DE) see JOSTM 1, 6 n.

³ Note also that כִּלְבִּי, the Targ. rendering of Kenites, is possibly derived from SALMA. Cp. Neudecker, *op. cit.* 422, 424.

⁴ *I.e.*, כִּלְבִּי for כִּלְבִּי; אֵבִי, (4), thus disappears.

CALENDAR

¹Even after the Exile the Hebrew, like the Arab genealogists, seem to have used the marriage of a son with his father's wife as one device for throwing the relations of clans and townships into genealogical form. (WRS *Ann.* 90, and see We. *Prod.* 217 f. ET 217.)

CALENDAR. See DAY, WEEK, MONTH, YEAR; cp also CHRONOLOGY, § 1 f.

CALF (כֶּלֶב, Ex. 32, etc.; מֹדֶסֶס, Rev. 47). See CATTLE, § 2 a-c.

CALF, GOLDEN. Portable images of a bull overlaid with gold occupied, down to the time of the prophets, a prominent position in the equipment of the Israelitish sanctuaries. We hear of them in the great sanctuaries of the northern kingdom; in Dan¹ and Bethel, where they are said to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 K. 12:28 ff. 2 K. 10:29 Hos. 10:5); in Samaria, the capital of the kingdom (Hos. 8:5 f.); and perhaps also in Gilgal (Am. 5:4 f. Hos. 4:15 9:15 12:11 [12]). On the other hand, there were none in the temple of Jerusalem (which had the brazen serpent; see NECHESITAN), and, strange to say, we do not find any allusion to such images as existing in the other sanctuaries of Judah—either in 1 K. 14:21-24, where such reference would have been apposite, or in Amos or Hosea. The list named in particular, who pursued the calf-worship of the northern kingdom with such bitter invectives (8:5 f. 10:5), would hardly have been silent on the subject had the same worship prevailed in Jerusalem also. Though Judah appears to have participated, more or less, in the cultus at Bethel, the worship of such images seems to have been confined chiefly to the northern kingdom.

The bulls belonged to the class of images called כֶּלֶב ('molten images'; see *Idol.*, § 1 c), which might be either solid or merely covered with a coating of metal. To the latter class the golden bull of Jeroboam (Hos. 13:2) probably belonged (see *Idol.*, § 4 f.). Because of the value of the metal it is not probable that the images were of great size. Hence we can understand the choice of the word כֶּלֶב, 'calf': not the youth but the small size of the animal represented is the point to be conveyed—not perhaps without an implication of contempt.

As for their origin, these images were originally foreign to the Yahwé religion. To the nomads of the wilderness, who did not breed cattle, the idea of choosing the bull as an image of divinity could hardly have occurred. On this ground alone the narrative of the golden calf made by Aaron in the wilderness (Ex. 32 JE) can prove nothing for the origin of this form of worship in Mosaic times. Apart from the impossibility of making such an image in the wilderness, the narrative seems rather to be intended as a scathing criticism on the absurdity and sinfulness of bull-worship as viewed from the prophetic standpoint. According to the Deuteronomist, Jeroboam was the originator of bull-worship; but it is hardly likely that he would have introduced an entirely strange image into the sanctuaries of his kingdom. Probably the older Decalogue (Ex. 31:17; cp 20:21), in speaking of 'molten images' as distinguished from plain wooden images, referred to images of this description, which also are intended perhaps by the images of Micah (*Idol.* 18).

It has often been held (e.g. by Renan and Maspero, and doubtfully by Koenig) that bull-worship may have been an imitation of the worship of Apis at Memphis or of Mendes at Heliopolis; but the Egyptians worshipped only living animals, and in any case the adoption from Egypt is unlikely. The nomad inhabitants of Goshen took over from the Egyptians hardly anything of their culture and religion. On the other

¹ The text of 1 K. 12:20 is obviously corrupt, or at least imperfect. It adds, 'and before the other, 13 Bethel.' Klo. His restored text, however, only accentuates, if possible, the ancient fame of the sanctuary. See also Farrar, *loc.* § 2, end.

CALNO

hand, the religion of Israel shows the strongest evidence of Canaanite influence. Among the Canaanite bull was the symbol of Baal; the cow, the symbol of Astarte; and these symbols were taken over from the Phoenicians by the Greeks. Thus the probability that the Israelites derived the practice from the Canaanites. They changed the significance of the symbol, seeing in them a representation of Yahwé and conquering might and strength (Nu. 23:22 24:8). This in the time of Jeroboam such worship was regarded allowable, the so-called older decalogue certainly forbids all idolatrous worship of Yahwé. Hosea rails the worship of the bull (8:5 10:5). The Deuteronomist, too, in the Book of Kings regards the calf-worship of Jeroboam as an apostasy to idolatry. He emphatically describes bull-worship as 'the sin of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin' (1 K. 11:16 15:26 1 2 K. 10:29 etc.). To the Apis-worship of Egypt have but one reference—in Jer. 46:15, where we should probably read 'Why hath Apis fled? (why) hath the stealer not stood firm?' See ARIS.

See Kon. *Hauptprobleme*, 57; Baethg. *Beitr.* 198 Robertson, *Early Rel. of Isr.* 215-220; Farrar, 'Was there a Golden Calf at Dan,' *Expos.* 1893/4, pp. 254-266 and cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 289 f.; Jensen, *Kosmos* 88 f.; C. W. Goodwin, *TSBA* 2:252.

CALITAS (καλαίτης [B]). 1 Esd. 9:23 = Ezr. 10:23, and 1 Esd. 9:43 = Neh. 8:7 KALITA.

CALKER (Ezek. 27:9 27:11; כַּלְקָרִי). See SHIP.

CALLISTHENES (καλλισθένης [IV]), a follower of Nicanor [I], who, according to 2 Macc., was burnt for firing the temple gates (2 Macc. 8:33).

CALNEH (כַּלְנֶה). 1. (χαλάννη [AD³¹], γαλάννη [E]). A city included in the earlier kingdom of Nimrod (Gen. 10:10 [J]). See NIMROD, § 1, SHINAR. Rawlinson (*Anc. Monarchies*, 118) identifies it with Nippur, supposing that the Talmudic statement, 'Calneh means Nippur' (*Jerusa.* 104), represents a genuine tradition. The context, however, shows that it is a pure guess; כַּלְנֶה is connected with כַּלְנֶה, a Greek loan-word (καλνή) meaning 'bride,' and כַּלְנֶה with כַּלְנֶה, the old Hebrew for 'bride' (see Levy). Pressel (*PR* 1:2) claims a consensus of critics for identifying Calneh with Gesehon NE. of Babylon, on the left bank of the Tigris (see Targ. Jer., Ephr. Syr., Euseb., Jer.), which Pliny (6:30) places in the province of Chalonitis. This conjecture, too, may be dismissed.

The inscriptions alone should be consulted; and, since none of the ordinary names of the Babylonian cities resembles Calneh (or Calno), we are justified in examining the non-Semitic (ideographic) names. Among these we find Kul-nun ('dwelling of offspring'), which, in Assyrian times, was pronounced Zar-la-ba or (in an inscription of Hammur-rabi) Za-ri-lab. The situation of Zarlaba is uncertain (see Del. *Par.* 2261); but the fact that Sargon mentions Zarlaba at the end of a list of Babylonian cities which apparently proceeds from south to north (*AB* 2:52 f.) suggests to Hammett that it was not far from Babylon (*Die semit. Völker*, 12:4 f.). To Fried. Del. in 1876 (*Chald. Gen.* 203) this identification appeared certain. It is, indeed, not improbable, especially if we may point כַּלְנֶה (cp C as above, and כַּלְנֶה); but we should like some fuller evidence that Kul-nun was really remembered as the old name of Zarlaba.

2. (καλὸν πάντες, as if כַּלְנֶה), a N. Syrian city, conquered by the Assyrians (Am. 6:2, on which see ARIS, § 6 [A]). See CALNO.

CALNO (כַּלְנֶה, χαλάννη [AD³¹], γαλάννη [E]). Is. 10:41, the city called CALNEH [2] in Am. 6:2 (on which see

¹ Cp Targ. Is. 'the heifer Baal' (τ. θιάλα τῇ δαμάλει [B], τῷ μωσῶν [N]).

CALPHI

AMOS, § 6 [6]) and CANNER [צנר]—(rather Calneh) in Ezek. 27:23.

It confounds it with CALNEH [1], and connects it with the building of the 'tower', which, since Babylon is mentioned just before, can only mean the tower of Babel (see BABEL); it is not improbable that it identifies Calneh with Borsippa, according to the Talmudic tradition that the tower of Babel was at Borsippa. This is, of course, worthless. The Hebrew text was corrupt; צנר was misread צנר, 'fort'; צנר became צנר, 'Arabia'.

Doubtless Calno is Kullani, a place near Aipad, conquered in 738 by Tiglath-pileser III. (Tiele, *Wi.*, Fried. Del., *Ch.*, Kittel).

T. K. C.

CALPHI, RV CHALPHI (a name formed from the root צלף, whereby a child is designated as a *substitute* for one lost; cp ΔΑΦΑΙΟC, and see NAMES, § 621, father of Judas [3], 1 Macc. 11:7 (ο του χαλφει [AV], ο του χαφ [N], ο χαφευ [Jos. *Ant.* xii. 57]; in the Syr. צלפ, צלפ and צלפ). Cp ALPIUS, CLOPAS, § 1.

CALVARY (κρανιον [Ti. WH], *Calvaria*), i.e. 23 334 AV, the Vg. rendering (Lat. *calvaria* = skull) of κρανιον (RV 'The skull'). The passages preserve the Semitic form GOLGOTHA (G. 1. 1).

CAMEL (צמל, קמחלוC; Gen. 12:16 24:10 4 etc., Ex. 9:3 Judg. 6:5 1 K. 10:2 1 Ch. 27:30 Ezra 2:67 Tob. 9:2, and elsewhere, including six pro-

phetic passages; Mt. 34 Mk. 16 etc.; see also DROMEDARY). The Hebrew name¹ is common to all the Semitic languages, which proves that the animal was known before the parent stock divided—one of the facts from which Hommel and others have inferred that the original home of the Semitic race was in Central Asia.² The name was borrowed by the Egyptians; it passed also into Greek and Latin, and most modern languages. The origin of the word is uncertain; von Kremer (*Sem. Cultur-ethnogen.* 4) connects it with Ar. *jamaḥa*, 'to heap,' as meaning the 'humped animal'; whilst Lagarde (*U. chers.* 49) follows Bochart in his etymology from צמל, 'to require,' the name thus indicating the revengeful temper often shown by the animal.

In the frequent mention of the camel in the historical books of the OT there can be little doubt that *Camelus dromedarius* is meant (see below, § 6), though an Israelite ambassador may conceivably have seen a two-humped camel at Nineveh or Babylon.³ We naturally expect to hear of its use by the Arabian⁴ and other nomad tribes; and accordingly the Ishmaelites (Gen. 37:25 [1]), the Midianites (Judg. 6:3), and the Amalekites (1 S. 15:3 27:1) all turn up before us as possessors of camels. The mention of them in connection with Job (Job 1:3), and with the Queen of Sheba (1 K. 10:2), also needs no comment. David's camels (1 Ch.

¹ צמל, *kīrāh*, like the Ar. *bakr* (Lane, 1246) and Ass. *bakru* (Del., *Ass. Dict.*) denotes the 'young camel,' 1 S. 10:6 Jer. 22:3 (RV 10:6). EV renders less aptly DROMEDARY (27:3). The word צמל, *ahāstērānū* (Esth. 8:10 14, AV 'camels,' RV 'swift steeds'), is rather an adj. qualifying 'swift steeds'; so RV 'swift steeds that were used in the king's service' (cp Pers. *kishatā*, realm; BDB *Lex.*). The reading, however, is disputed. See Hulse, § 2.

² See this and other views summarized in Wright's *Comp. Gram. Sem. Lang.* 2 ff.

³ See the bas-reliefs on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., and this king's monolith inscrip., obv. 28 (KR 1150/2), 'dromedaries (camels) with two humps'; cp Del., *Pers. Ins.* 10.

⁴ For an account of the numerous references to the camel in Arabian literature, and of the many names of the camel in Arabic, see Hommel, *Singerthier*, 130 ff.

⁵ Both they and their cattle were numberless, says the narrator. So too the Reubenites carry away 50,000 camels from the Hagrites (G. Ch. 521). Precisely so Tiglath-pileser II. states that he had taken 30,000 camels as prey from the Arabs (6 p. Hommel, *B. R.* 1 663), and Assur-bani-pal says that he took so many camels from the Kedarites that camels were sold in Assyria for from 14 (silver) shekels to half a shekel (AB 2225). On the notice in Judg. 6:21 see CRESCENTS.

CAMEL

27:3) may have been kept for purposes of trade; they were put under the charge of an Ishmaelite, who from his calling bore the name of Othel. Other kings may have followed David's example; Hezekiah's camels were carried away by Sennacherib (Is. 37:36). That Syrians should have used them (2 K. 8:9) is natural; but in the hilly region of Palestine the camel cannot have been a common quadruped. It is true this animal appears again and again in the patriarchal story, and there is no difficulty in supposing that Jacob acquired camels in Mesopotamia. There is, however, great difficulty in the statement (Gen. 12:16) that camels formed part of a present given to Abraham by the pharaoh (see below, § 3 f.).

The camel's saddle is mentioned only once, Gen. 31:34 (צמל צמל, *ṣāḥmāra*, EV 'the camel's furniture'), and derives its name from its round basket-shaped form. See LITTER, SADDLE.

The flesh of camels was unclean food to the Israelites (Dt. 17:1 Lev. 11:4). By the Arabs, on the other hand, camels were both eaten and sacrificed (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 218).

S. M. A. L. S.

[The assertion that the ancient Egyptians knew the camel is unfounded. The picture of a camel on one of the (Ethiopian) pyramids at Meiræ (Lepsius, *Denkm.* 3:25) and on Greek terra-cotta figures—e.g., of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Monum.* 2:14)—and the references in Greek papyri, prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier—e.g., in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *1. c.* u. *Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Papi. Anast. i. 235 is groundless. The passage contains an evaluation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—

3. Not known in Egypt. The picture of a camel on one of the (Ethiopian) pyramids at Meiræ (Lepsius, *Denkm.* 3:25) and on Greek terra-cotta figures—e.g., of a travelling Arab (not, as has been supposed, an Egyptian) in Mariette (*Monum.* 2:14)—and the references in Greek papyri, prove nothing more than that the animal was known in Egypt in Roman times. It is surprising that it never appears earlier—e.g., in representations of battles with the nomadic Semites who rode on camels. The Egyptian artists evidently disliked to represent the animal not because of its ungainly appearance, for they have rather a fancy for delineating strange creatures, but out of religious antipathy (WMM *1. c.* u. *Eur.* 142). The statement that the camel is mentioned in Papi. Anast. i. 235 is groundless. The passage contains an evaluation of the Asiatic princes, awe-struck at the bravery of an Egyptian soldier—

'a-ba-ta ka-ma 'd-ṣa-lā-ma-sha-ra n'-nu, which seems to mean, 'Thou art lost (צמל צמל) like God (צמל צמל) a hero (צמל) indeed (Ar. *nd'ām*). Even if this explanation³ be rejected, the idea of Chabaz (*Forage*, 220) that the Asiatics are here calling for 'camels' meat' is most ridiculous. The other passages appealed to refer not to the camel (the pretended *kamaly*) but to a large species of monkey (*kap*, *kr*), which is said to come from Ethiopia (where there were no camels in 1300 B.C.; see above), and is described as docile—learning an amusing kind of dance, and carrying its master's walking-stick. See the passages collected by WMM (*1. c.* u. *Eur.* 370), and the judicious remarks of Wiedemann, *SB. I* 13 (2). Even the Egyptian name of the camel צמל (plural צמל) is foreign (not from *gamel* [Lagarde, *U. chers.* 49] but from an original **ga* *ṣab*), and does not seem very old. W. M. M.]

[The difficulty of the narrative in Gen. 12:16 is very great so long as it is assumed that it correctly represents the Hebrew tradition. Supposing, however, that the mention of the pharaoh were due to a misunderstanding, and that the early Hebrew tradition knew only of a visit of Abraham

4. OT ref. to Egypt. even, that the mention of the pharaoh were due to a misunderstanding, and that the early Hebrew tradition knew only of a visit of Abraham

1 Roman period? Even in Persian times orthodox Ethiopians were apparently deterred from using the animal by fear of contracting ceremonial defilement. The more southern tribes had no camels; see, e.g., Mariette, *Mon. de l'Égypte* 14, 87. The animal can hardly live in the regions S. of Meiræ.

² E.g., in Grenfell, *Greek Papyri* (245 etc.), camels appear frequently in the Fayum, about 100 A.D. It is, however, significant that they sometimes bear 'Arabia' as brand-marks (1. c. 50 c.). The camels on the roads to the Red Sea (Petrie, *Koptoi*, 27, 21; Strabo, etc.) were driven by the desert-tribes.

³ Partly after Erman, *Z. A.* 77, 36.

⁴ Add the passage on *krāpas* from the St. Petersburg tale and De Morgan, *Cat. Monum.* i. 644 (*krāpas* from the Sūdān).

CAMEL

to the land of Musri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [3]), the difficulty arising from the mention of camels in Gen. 12:16 would disappear. The difficulty of Ex. 9:3 (J), where a murrain is predicted on pharaoh's cattle including 'the camels,' cannot, however, be removed by such an expedient. Here it appears simplest to suppose that the narrator gave a list of those kinds of animals which, from a Palestinian point of view, would be liable to the murrain.

Two proverbial expressions about the camel occur in the Gospels (the one in Mt. 19:24 Mk. 10:25 Lk. 18:25, the other in Mt. 23:24). The reading *καμήλος* (a rope?) for *καμήλος* has been suggested for the former. It is as old as Cyril of Alexandria and is evidently the conjecture of a non-Semitic scribe (see Nestle, *Exp. T.* 9:174). *καμήλος* is correct. Analogous proverbs can be quoted—e.g., 'In Media a camel can dance on a bushel' (*Jeham.* 4:5 a)—i.e., all things are possible.

As has been indicated above there are two species of camel. One, the *Camelus dromedarius*, is found in SE. Asia ranging from Afghanistan and Bokhara through NW. India, Persia, Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and in N. Africa; this species reaches its most southern point in Somaliland. The second, or Bactrian, camel, *C. bactrianus*, lives in the high plateaus of central Asia. Both species are said to exist wild, but it is generally thought that the herds found in a state of nature are descended from domesticated animals and are not truly feral. This view is supported by the recent observations of Sven Bedin. They have been introduced into many parts of both the Old and the New World, and where the climate has proved suitable have been very useful as beasts of burden.

Numerous breeds of the *C. dromedarius* are found in the East, and show as great diversities in character and use as do the various breeds of horse. The breeds, many of which are distinguished by a complex system of branding, may be roughly divided into two classes: the riding, called in Egypt and Arabia *Haghi* and in Indian *Savari*, and the baggage animal, called respectively the *Camel* and *Unt*. The word dromedary is often restricted to the former animal, which often maintains a pace of 8-10 miles an hour for a long period, whereas the baggage camel rarely exceeds 3 miles an hour. Riding a camel for any length of time usually induces sickness, the movement of the two legs of each side together producing a most unpleasant swaying motion. Enormous herds, such as we read of in the OT, are still kept by the natives both of the Sudan and of NW. India, and breeding stables exist in many parts of the East. Camels produce but one young at a time and the period of gestation is twelve months; the young are suckled for a year or longer. The average length of life seems to be considerable—from forty to fifty years—and if well treated the camel will continue to work hard until well over thirty.

The power which it undoubtedly possesses of doing without food is to some extent dependent on the hump; when the animal is underfed or overworked this structure begins to disappear and the condition of the hump is thus an unfailing sign of the state of its health. Similarly the power of doing without water is due to a structural peculiarity of the two first compartments—the *rumen* and *reticulum*—of the complex stomach of the camel. Each of these chambers has its wall pitted into a series of crypts or cells which are each guarded by a special sphincter muscle, and in these crypts a certain amount of water is stored—perhaps two gallons at most. The fluid can be let out from time to time to mix with the more solid food. Camels ruminate, and their masticated food passes straight into the third division of the stomach. In spite of this provision for storing water, no opportunity should be lost of watering camels, as it is most inadvisable to trust to this reserve, and they are apt to overdrink themselves if kept without water for too long a time. The stories about travellers saving their lives by opening the stomachs of camels when dying of thirst are probably imaginary; the camel exhausts its own supply of water, and even if a little be left it is quite undrinkable. Their flesh is eaten at times by natives, who consider the hump a delicacy. Their dung is used for fuel in the desert.

From the earliest times the hair of the camel has been woven into fabrics. The hair from the hump and back is torn or shorn and woven into a tough, harsh cloth; but a finer, softer material is also prepared from the under-wool. The milk is consumed by the natives, who both drink it and convert it into butter and cheese.

Although the camel has been domesticated from a very early date, and although, without its aid, vast regions of the world would prove untraversable, and consequently it has always been the servant of man, there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the real character of the animal. Perhaps the latest writer, Major Leonard, may be quoted as one who has had sixteen years' practical observation and experience of camels in India, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the Sudan; he says, 'To sum

¹ The Camel, its Uses and Management (94).

CAMP

up the average specimen of a camel. He can abstain from any water—the latter more especially—longer than any animal. He is stupid and patient to excess, submissively tenacious to a degree, docile and obstinate to a certain extent, vindictive and passionate when roused, not easily excited, usually alarmed, though at times liable to a panic or stampede—in an animal in fact whose characteristics are every way peculiar as his structural peculiarities. Another admirable epitome of the character of the camel as a baggage animal given in Rudyard Kipling's 'Omit.'

§ 1 f. 5 N. M.—A. E. S.; § 3 W. M. M.; § 4 f. T.

CAMON (כָּמוֹן; פֶּאֶרְמֹוֹן [3], -מָוֹן [A].

כָּמוֹן [1]), an unknown locality in Gilead; the place of JAIR (q.v. 1) (Judg. 10:5). It was doubtless of the HAVVORH-JAIR (q.v.). Reland (674) rightly combines it with the *Καμὸν* which, in 217 Antiochus III, the Great captured along with Pella, Gefran (Polyb. v. 70:12). To the W. of the place identified by Buhl with the ancient Gefran or Efron (q.v. i. 2) in N. Gilead, and 1 m. S. of the high road from Irbid (Arbela) to the Jordan, lies a village with name, *Kameim*, 'little summit,' is doubtless a corruption of the ancient Kamōn.

Eus. and Jer. (25:22-26 110:20) identify Camon with a place in the 'great plain' called *καμμόρα*, *Camora*, situated 6 R. N. of Legio, on the way to Ptolemais. This *καμμόρα*, however, which is evidently Tell Kaimin (see JORNEAN), is clearly on the wrong side of the Jordan.

CAMP (מַחֲנֶה; ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ [BADEFI], G. 32:13 Ex. 14:19 11:13 13:11). A camp is so called from the *camping* of the tents over their own

1. **Military.** the *camping* of the tents over their own pants (צָנָה; cp. מִלְחָמָה).² The term (מַחֲנֶה) is applied primarily to an assemblage of tents, nomads (Gen. 32:1[24], EV 'company'; Nu. 13:16 EV 'camps'). Of the early Israelitic nomad camp we have no contemporary records; Doughty (1. 12: 1221 2305) observes that some Bedouin tribes pitch dispersedly and without order; others in a circle, to protect the cattle. The latter style is that of the *מַחֲנֶה* (*duwair*), of which we hear in Gen. 25:16 Nu. 31:10 1 Chr. 6:39 [54] Ezek. 25:4 (AV 'castle,' but in Ezek. 'palaces' RV 'encampment').

The military camps of a later age are referred to elsewhere (see WAR). Suffice it to remark here (1) that the encampments of the Hebrews were probably nomadic rather than square: this was a legacy from their nomadic state (see above); the barricade which surrounded the camp was called *מַחֲנֶה* (1 S. 17:20 26:5, AV 'trench,' RV 'place of the wagons,' mg. 'barricade'; in 17:20 G¹ and in 26:5 Aq. and Sym. or Theod. *στρογγύλας* Tg. *מַחֲנֶה*—i.e., *χαλκικαία*—i.e., a 'round' line of defence, cp. *מַחֲנֶה* 'round').⁴ Also (2) that their camps have left no impress on names of places, as the Roman *castra* has on English place-names. MAHANAH DAV [q.v.] owes its name to a misunderstanding. We do find, however, the strange archaizing phrases, 'the camp of Yahweh' (2 Ch. 31:2) and 'the camp of the Levites' (1 Ch. 9:13; cp. Nu. 2:17 P), in connection with the description of the temple services. Is. 29:1 has been thought to describe Jerusalem as the camp—i.e., dwelling—of David (so BDB); but this is far from certain; the prophecy of Yahweh's encampment against Jerusalem is thereby obscured.

This leads us to speak of the camp in the wilderness, as conceived by P (Nu. 1-11). Of course, it must be historically true that there was a sacred

2. **In the wilderness (P).** tent in which the ark or chest containing the sacred objects of the Israelitic nomads was placed when the Israelites halted in their wanderings (see ARK, 4). This tent, glorified into the so-called Tabernacle (see TABERNACLE), forms the

¹ מַחֲנֶה 2 K. 6:8 ('shall be) my camp' is corrupt; Th. Klo. Grätz, Benz. after Pesh. read מַחֲנֶה, 'ye shall be hid.'

² On 'מַחֲנֶה' in Jer. 37:16 see CHILLY.

³ AVwg. 'midst of his carriages.'

⁴ In 17:20 has *παρεμβολή*, 26:5 *ΒΑΛ. λαμπήνη* and Aq. also *καμπή*.

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The positions of the various tribes are given in Nu. 2, on each side of the tabernacle, but separated from it by the Levites, three tribes encamp – a leading tribe flanked by two other tribes, with their ensigns (770). Thus on the E. is Judah flanked by Issachar and Zebulun; on the S. Reuben flanked by Simeon and Gad; on the W. Ephraim flanked by Manasseh and Benjamin; and on the N. Dan flanked by Asher and Naphtali. It has generally been held that the four leading tribes were distinguished by the possession of large standards (77), whereas the other tribes had only smaller ensigns (770); but this rests perhaps on a misinterpretation of 77, which, as the contexts and, in part the versions show, means a company; see the discussions in *JOR* 11 (193) 210–11, and in *Exodus*.

The Eastward is manifestly regarded as the superior position; the relative importance of the remaining three positions is less obvious; but it may be observed that the E. and S. sides are occupied by the children of Leah (exclusive of Levi) together with Gad; the W. by the children of Rachel, and the N. by the children of the handmaids (exclusive of Gad).

T. K. C., § 1; G. B. G., § 2.

CAMPHERE (רֶסֶד; κύπρος [B&A]); Cant. 114 [om. B]. 113; the earlier spelling of 'camphor,' should be ΠΕΣΣΑ (as in RV) — *i. e.*, *Pawsonia alba*, Lamk., a plant described by Tristram (*NHB* 339 *f.*) as still growing on the shores of the Dead Sea at Engedi (Cant. 114). According to Boissier (*Fl. Orient.* 2744), it is frequently cultivated in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and Persia; and it is probably indigenous to N. Africa, Arabia, Persia, and W. India (Bentham and Hooker, *Gen. Pl.* 1782). The 'cluster' of Cant. 114 is that of the flowers.

N. M.—W. T. T. 19.

Tradition and present opinion are divided between 1 Leitz, which elsewhere means a cluster of grapes—possibly of dates in Cant. 77/ [34]. See Budde.

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the modern Kefr Kennā, a hamlet almost 3½ m. NE. of Nazareth, with a fine spring, and Khirbet Kana or Kana't el-Gelil, on a promontory of Gelil Kana over the plain of Baitan, about 8 m. N. of Nazareth, with ruins, tombs, cisterns, and a pool.

The name Kanat el-Gheil is not above suspicion; it may be the creation of an early ecclesiastical tradition, just as Robinson himself points out that an attempt has been made by the native Christians in the present century to transfer it to Ketr Kemna. On the other hand, Josephus resided for a time in a village of Galilee, called Cana (*174*, 16); if this be the same as his residence in the plain of Asochis (*id.* 41), he means Kanat el-Gheil.

G. A. S.

ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΩ). Coins from Laodicea of the time of

As a geographical term Canaan shares the infiniteness that characterises much of the OT, and is used of all ancient, geographical names.

¹ This section is by the author of the article *PUDICIA*.

the identification of Canaan with Phœnicia, which is also in accord with the usage of the term *Kana'ani* in the Amarna Tablets (§ 10 below), the term Canaanite comes to be associated with the mercantile activity of Phœnicia, and in consequence appears occasionally—as, e.g., in Hos. 12:8 15:21²—in the general sense of merchant. According to Lagr. and many moderns, it has this sense likewise in Zech. 11:1; Wellhausen and Nowack would add, emending in accordance with Qv, Zech. 11:7 n.

The indefiniteness and the shifting character of both the geographical and the ethnical terms point to political changes in which were involved the people to whom the term Canaanites was originally applied;

3. Geographical inference.

indeed, the indefiniteness is the direct outcome of these changes. Analogy warrants us in assuming as the starting-point a more limited district, and that with the extension of Canaanitish conquest or settlement the term became correspondingly enlarged, though it is not necessary to assume that the correspondence between actual settlement or possession and the geographical application of the term Canaan must have been complete. The predominance of Canaanites in important sections of the W. Jordan lands would have sufficed for imposing their name on the whole district.

The Egyptian inscriptions come to our aid in enabling us to determine where to seek for the origin of the term.

4. Egyptian evidence.

In the accounts of their Asiatic campaigns, which begin about 1800 B.C., the rulers of the Nile restrict the name *Ka-n'-n* to the low strip of coast that forms the eastern limit of the Mediterranean; and, since it is only the northern section of this coast that affords a sufficiency of suitable harbours for extensive settlements, it is more particularly to the Phœnician coast-land that the name is applied. From the Phœnician coast it naturally came to be extended by the Egyptians to the entire coast down to the Egyptian frontier, the absence of any decided break in the continuity of the coast leading to the extension of the nomenclature, as it led in later times to the shifting character of the southern boundary of Phœnicia proper. The name of Philistia for the southern part of the coast does not occur in the

5. History of Name.

Egyptian inscriptions. It was from the coast, therefore, that the name was extended to include the high lands adjacent to it; and it is interesting to note that, whilst the geographical term never lost its restricted application to the coast strip, the ethnographical term *Ka-n'-ne-nu*—i.e., Canaanites—embraces for the Egyptians, according to Müller (*J. S. u. Eur.* 206 f.), the population of all of Western Syria, precisely as in biblical sources. The combination of the Egyptian with the OT notices seems to justify the conclusion that the coast population sent into the interior offshoots which made permanent settlements there. In this way both Canaan and the Canaanites acquired the wide significance that has been noted, whilst the subsequent tendency towards restricting the name to the sea-coast is an unconscious return to the earlier and more exact nomenclature.

The etymology of the term Canaan bears out these historical and geographical conclusions. In the Egyptian inscriptions (cp. also above, § 11: the word appears with the article—'The Canaan'—which points to its being a descriptive term; and, even though we agree with Moore (*P. IOS.* 1800, pp. lxxv-lxx) that the testimony is incomplete, the use of the stem *gn* in Hebrew in the sense of 'to be humbled' suggests the possibility that this stem may, in some other Semitic dialect, have been used to convey the idea of 'low,' even though that may not have been the original sense of the stem. If we keep in view the prefixing of the article to the term, and its original application to a strip of land between the sea and the mountains, no more appropriate designation than 'the

lowland' can well be imagined; and this exp. of Canaan, though not unanimously accepted, is at least provisionally tenable.¹ Certainly it seems to be an ancient one; for when it is said that the Canaanite is the one who dwells by the sea and along the side of Jordan (Nu. 13:29) i.e., in the two 'lowland' of Palestine—the very artificiality of the indicated suggests that it was the etymology of the word led the writer to such a view in contradiction to some other passages where Canaanites are spoken of as occupying mountainous districts also.

By the side of the term Canaan, however, there is the OT another which is used, especially by the LXX, to cover precisely the same population, namely, 'the land of the Amorites' (Gen. 15:2). The merit of Steinthal (*Z. f. Psychologie*, 12:207) and of E. Meyer (*Z. f. Phil.* [81]) to have definitely demonstrated this important point. See AMORITES. At the same time, it is borne in mind that when the coast-land is specifically referred to, the term Canaan for the coast or Canaan for the northern and Philistia for the southern. Whether the Yahwist (J) is equally consistent, as Meyer claims, in using 'Canaanite' for the pre-Israelitish population of the W. Jordan land open to question. The theory cannot be carried through without a certain amount of arbitrariness in the distinction of the verses belonging to J and E respectively. McChesney's note, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 14:6-8.

7. Amorites in OT.

Moreover, the cuneiform documents and Egyptian inscriptions furnish an explanation for the difference in nomenclature that places the two terms on a somewhat different light. From the Egyptian side it is clear that the term 'Amorite' was limited to the mountain district lying to the east of the Phœnician coast-land but extending across Jordan to the Orontes (WMM, *J. S. u. Eur.* 217). The southern and the eastern boundaries are not sharply defined. The former is placed by Müller, on the basis of Egyptian inscriptions, at the entrance of the plain of the so-called *Be'el*—between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanus, and, whilst the Orontes might seem to furnish a natural eastern boundary, it would appear that the early Egyptian conquerors extended the limit still further to the east. At the time of Thothmes I. the Hittites had not yet made their appearance. Later, in the days of Ramesses III., when the Hittites for the most serious menace to Egyptian supremacy in Western Asia, the Orontes becomes a more definite boundary of the 'Amorite' district, while as the Hittites encroach upon the territory of the Amorites the term Hittite begins to displace 'Amorite' for the northern mountain district of Palestine. This process is completed about 1000 B.C. At the same time, however, the term 'Amorite' has already been extended to the southern range of Palestine—not by the Egyptians, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is in cuneiform documents of (about) the twelfth century that we first come across the term 'land of A-mur-ri' (as the sign must be read, instead of A-har-ri, as was formerly supposed). Nebuchadnezzar I., king of Babylon, whose date is fixed at circa 1127, calls himself the conqueror of the 'land of Amor'; and Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, whose reign coincides in part with that of Nebuchadnezzar, names the great sea of the Amorite land as the western boundary to his conquests.

8. In Egyptian.

Long ere this, however, as the use of the Babylonian language in the Amarna tablets (circa 1400 B.C.) shows, the term 'Amorite' had already been extended to the southern range of Palestine—not by the Egyptians, but by the Babylonians and Assyrians. It is in cuneiform documents of (about) the twelfth century that we first come across the term 'land of A-mur-ri' (as the sign must be read, instead of A-har-ri, as was formerly supposed). Nebuchadnezzar I., king of Babylon, whose date is fixed at circa 1127, calls himself the conqueror of the 'land of Amor'; and Tiglath-pileser I. of Assyria, whose reign coincides in part with that of Nebuchadnezzar, names the great sea of the Amorite land as the western boundary to his conquests.

9. In early Assyrian.

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¹ [So G. A. Smith, *Hitt. Mon.* 1:176, whilst BDB and Buhl (*Pal. l.*) decline a decision. Moore and E. Meyer (*G. l.* 170) reject the derivation from *gn*, 'humilis esse,' which is the property of the uncritical Augustine (*Ennar.* in Ps. 104:7). Augustine says (*l. xviii. l. p. ad Rom.*) that the peasants near Hippo, when asked as to their origin, answered in Punic, *Canaaniti*, i.e. *Channadec* 1330.]

CANAAN, CANAANITE

Babylonia had come into close contact with the Phoenician coast and the interior. As a matter of fact, one of the earliest rulers in Southern Babylonia of whom we have any record, Sargon I., whose date is fixed at 3800 B.C., is declared, in a tablet presenting a curious mixture of 'omens' and historical tradition, to have penetrated beyond the western sea (*i.e.*, the Mediterranean), and there are indications that he actually set foot on the island of Cyprus (see Max Olmefalsch-Richter, *Kipros*, 83). Sargon speaks only in a general way of having proceeded to the 'west' land; but the ideographic designation in the text in question—**MAR.TU**—is the same as that which the later Assyrian rulers employ for the territory which includes Canaan in the proper sense. The same compound ideogram is the ordinary term for 'west' in the legal literature of Babylonia; and the suggestion that it is also to be read **Amurru**—**MAR** being a playful acrologism of **Amur** and **TU**, indicating perhaps direction—is plausible. In any case there appears to be some close connection between **MAR.TU** and the name **Amurru**.¹ The text in which Sargon's western conquests are spoken of is probably of a very much later date than Sargon himself; but the value of the tradition, and at all events of the geographical nomenclature, is unimpaired by this fact. The Amarna tablets, which constitute the remains of Egyptian archives of the fifteenth century B.C., confirm the great antiquity of the term **Amurru**. In the letters to their royal master written by officers under Egyptian suzerainty, the term is of not infrequent occurrence, and an examination of the passages proves that it is applied, just like the corresponding term in the Egyptian inscriptions, to the mountainous district lying immediately to the east of the coast-land of 'Canaan' in the Egyptian sense—*i.e.*, of Northern Palestine. The eastern limits are again not sharply defined. In the period to which the Amarna tablets belong, the Hittites are beginning to extend their settlements beyond the Orontes; but between 'Hatti' and 'Amur' land there was a district known as **Nahāsi**, which reached to Damascus. This may, roughly, be regarded as the eastern frontier of the 'Amurru' district. The agreement between the Egyptian and the Amarna nomenclature extends to the term 'Canaan,' which, under the form **Knāhhi**, is found in the Amarna tablets to the northern 'lowland' or sea-coast. It was quite natural that, from being applied to the interior district of Northern Palestine, the term 'Amurru' should come to be employed for the interior of Southern Palestine as well, just as the Egyptians extended the application of 'Canaan' to the entire Palestinian coast. When the Assyrian conquerors in the ninth century begin to threaten the Hebrew kingdoms, they include the dominion of the latter under the land of 'Amurru.' The term 'land of Israel' occurs only once in Assyrian inscriptions, and even this passage is not beyond dispute. Again, since the 'Amurru' district in the proper sense was the first territory that the earliest Babylonian and Assyrian conquerors set foot in after crossing the Orontes, it also happens that the term becomes for them the most general designation for the 'West.' On the other hand, it must be noted that this development in the use of 'Amurru' is directly due to Babylonian influence, and forms part of the heritage bequeathed to later times by the period of early Babylonian control over the land lying to the west of the Orontes.

10. In Amarna tablets.

The comparatively late period when Assyria, usurping the place formerly held by Babylonia, begins her conquests, the 'Amurite' power in Northern Palestine was seriously threatened by the Hittites (p. 75). In extending their settlements beyond the Orontes they encroached upon 'Amurite' territory. The distinct traces of this westward movement of the Hittites are to be found in the Amarna tablets already mentioned. Indeed, the movement forms the key to the political situation of Palestine in the fifteenth century B.C. The Assyrian conquerors accordingly, when proceeding to the West invariably began their campaigns by a passage of arms with the Hittites. This, taken together with the waning strength of the 'Amurites,' led to another change in the geographical nomenclature—the extension of the term **Hatti** or **Hittite** to Northern Palestine as far as the Mediterranean, so as to include, therefore, Phoenicia proper. For Southern Palestine the older designation 'Amurru' held its own, and the differentiation thus resulting between 'Hatti' and 'Amurru' assumed a practical significance which was quite independent of the original application of the two terms.

It will have become evident from this sketch of the early fortunes of Palestine that care must be exercised in drawing conclusions from geographical nomenclature. The Hittite power does not extend to the sea-coast because of the extension of the geographical term, and so the ethnographical application of Amurite cannot be determined from the geographical usage.

That 'Amur' originally designated a particular tribe, or possibly a group of tribes, settled chiefly in the Anti-libanus district, is one of the few facts to be deduced from the early Egyptian monuments. These Amorites of Northern Palestine are frequently represented by the Egyptians as a blond people with a cast of countenance that marks them off from what are generally considered to be Semitic traits (see Petrie, *Racial Types from the Egyptian Monuments*). It would be hazardous, in the face of our imperfect knowledge, to enter upon further speculations as to their origin. There are good reasons for believing that already at a very early period the population of Palestine presented a mixture of races, and that through intermarriage the dividing lines between these races became fainter in the course of time, until all sharp distinctions were obliterated. Hence the promiscuous grouping—so characteristic in the Hexateuch—of Amorites with Perizzites, Hivites, Hittites, etc., of northern and southern Palestinians, without any regard to ethnic distinctions. The problem of differentiating between these various groups whom the Hebrews encountered upon settling in Palestine is at present incapable of solution. Future discoveries will probably emphasise still more strongly the heterogeneous character of the tribes. Their unorganised condition made them a comparatively easy prey to conquerors and yet difficult to exterminate. The early Babylonian and Egyptian conquerors were content with a general recognition of their supremacy on the part of the inhabitants. Native Palestinians were retained in control, and all that was demanded was a payment of tribute from time to time. When, however, the Hebrews permanently settled in Southern Palestine, about 1200 B.C., the early inhabitants lost much of their political prestige. In the course of time, also, many of the groups were reduced to a state of subjection, varying in degree, but in all cases, except in the case of the inhabitants of the coast, sufficiently complete to prevent any renewal of former conditions. With the successful establishment of the *Kingdom of Israel* in the lands to the west of the Jordan, the history of the pre-Israelitish inhabitants comes to an end in Southern Palestine, except so far as the influence of these Canaanite groups upon the religious life of the Israelites is involved. The Hittites in the north, of course, survive; but the other groups, including the Amorites, gradually disappear,

13 Ethnographical distinctions.

14 Amorites.

15. Heterogeneous population.

16. Their absorption.

11. In later Assyrian.

12. Land of Hittites.

¹ For a discussion of the subject and a somewhat different view, see Schrader, 'Das land Amurru,' *SBAB* Dec. 20, 1894. Cf. also W. G. F. 155, 31-34. An analogy for this indicating 'westward' by a reference to a land lying to the west is to be found in the OT designation of *Megeb* for 'south.'

CANALS

either sinking into a position of utter insignificance or amalgamating with the Hebrew tribes (see GOVERNMENT, § 15 f.; ISRAEL, § 3). The frequent injunctions in the Hexateuch warning the people against intermarriage with these conquered groups are clear indications that such intermarriages must have been common.

A new element in the ethnographical environment of Palestine that appears simultaneously with, or shortly before, the invasion of the Hebrews is represented by the Philistines, who, coming (it would appear) from some island or coast-land to the west of Palestine, succeeded as a sturdy seafaring nation in making settlements along the inhospitable southern coast of Palestine. Their non-Semitic character has been quite definitely ascertained; but, once in Palestine, they appear to have exchanged their own language for one of the Semitic dialects spoken in the land to which they came. It is rather curious that these Philistines, who generally lived in hostile relations with the Hebrews, and at various times threatened the existence of the Hebrew settlements, were eventually the people to give their name to a district which they never possessed in its entirety. In the latest Assyrian inscriptions, however, *Philistu* still appears in its restricted application to the southern coast-land, and it is not until the days of the Roman conquest that the equation 'Palestine = Philistia + Canaan' becomes established.

On the basis of the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions and of the OT, the history of Canaan may be divided into three periods: (a) the pre-Israelitish period, from about 3800 B.C. to the definite constitution of the Israelitish confederacy; (b) the Israelitish supremacy from circa 1100 B.C. to circa 740; (c) decline of this supremacy, ending with the absorption of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia 587 B.C. After the return of the Hebrews from the so-called Babylonian exile, the history of the north and south becomes involved in the various attempts to found a universal empire, undertaken in succession by Persia, Macedonia, and Rome.

The characteristic note in the history of Canaan down to the period of Persian supremacy is the impossibility of any permanent political union among the inhabitants. Even the Hebrews, united by a common tradition and by religion, yield to the inevitable tendency towards political division instead of union. This tendency stands in close relationship to the geographical conditions (see G.A.Sm. *Hist. Geogr.*). The land is split up into coast-land, highland, and valleys; in consequence of which, it presents climatic extremes sufficient to bring about equally sharp contrasts in social conditions. The resulting heterogeneous disposition of the population appears to have rendered united action (except in extreme necessity) impossible even among those sections most closely united by blood and traditions. [For further details regarding these three periods of Canaanitish history see the articles ISRAEL, § 6, HITTITES, PHILISTINES, etc.]

CANALS (כְּנָעִים), Ex. 7:19 Nah. 3:8 RVmg. See EGYPT, § 6. The Hebrew word denotes the *arms* or *canals* of the Nile (כְּנָעִים). On artificial water-courses in Palestine see CONDUITS.

CANANÆAN (ὁ ΚΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΣ [Ti. WH]), *cananæus* [Vg.], *כְּנָעִי* [Pesh.], the designation applied to Simon the apostle (Mt. 10:4 Mk. 3:18 RV; mg. 'Zealot'). The word does not mean an inhabitant of Canaan (so AV CANANITE, based upon TR *κανανιτης*), which in Gr. is usually expressed by *χαναναίος* (χ 21); nor has it anything to do with Cana. It is a transliteration of כְּנָעִי, the pl. of כְּנָעִי (cp Bib. Heb. כְּנָעִי), which in Lk. 6:15 Acts 1:13 is represented by the Gr. equivalent *ζηλωτής*, ZEALOT (q.v.).

CANDLESTICK

CANDACE (ΚΑΝΔΑΚΗ [Ti. WH]), queen of Ethiopians (Ἀθιοπῶν), is incidentally mentioned in Acts 8:27. For the kingdom of Ethiopia which continued to maintain its independence against the Roman empire see ETHIOPIA. Its queen was often called Candace, this seems, indeed, to have been regarded as an official title, somewhat like 'Pharaoh' (or rather 'Phobmy' in Egypt). The name occurs in hieroglyphics on a ruined pyramid near ancient Meroë: see Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, v. pl. 47 (pyram. 20 of Begeraunh). There the queen is called *Ammentaryt* and *Khetke*. It is difficult to say which of the two or three queens called Candace was buried in that tomb.

1. Strabo (820; see also Dio Cass. 53:2; 54:5) speaks of one-eyed virago Candace (της βασιλίσσης . . . Κανδακῆς, ἡ ἥσας ἔφευγε τὸν Αἰθίοπων, ἀνδρική τις γυνὴ πεπηρωμένη τὸν ὄφθαλμόν) who in 22 B.C. attacked Egypt, overpowered three cohorts of Roman soldiers stationed at the first cataract, and devastated the Thebaid, but was easily defeated by the legate Petronius, and pursued to her northern capital, Napata, which was destroyed. 2. Pliny (6:35) seems to refer the reign of Candace ('regare fermam Candacem') to the time when Nero's explorers passed through Nubia; his assertion that the name had become somewhat common among the queens of Meroë ('modis uenit, jam omnis ad reginas transit') usually pushed much too far against the monumental evidence.

The Ethiopian officer of Acts 8 cannot well have had any connection with the Candace of Strabo; but his mistress may not improbably have been the contemporary of Nero.

Nero's explorers reported the southern capital as in ruins, consequence of internal wars between the Ethiopians; most likely, the royal residence had already been shifted S. to Wad-es-Sofra and Soba, where ruined palaces and temples of the Late style have been found, but the kingdom appears still to have taken its name from the capital Meroë where the kings were, at least, buried.

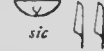
For the condition of the Meroitic kingdom at that time and the part played by the queens (or rather kings' mothers), see ETHIOPIA.

CANDLE (ῥ; ἄγνυος). Job 18:6 Mt. 5:15 etc.; cp below, and see LAMP.

CANDLESTICK, the EV rendering of (1) מְנֹרָה Ex. 25:31 etc. (ἄγνυς), the well-known candlestick of the temple, and (2) Aram. *nebrastā* נְבִרְסְתָּא (deriv. uncert.). Dan. 5:5 (ΛΑΜΠΑΔ [Theod.], φῶς [G.]), to the former of which the present article will confine itself, leaving to the articles LAMP and TYPHON further remarks upon the use of lights in temples or shrines, and of lights (and 'candlesticks' or rather 'lampstands') for secular purposes.

There is no critical evidence to support the supposition that the temple candlestick described by Pin Ex. 25:31 ff.

1. Not pre-exilic. 37:17 ff. existed before the Exile. On the contrary, an old passage 1 S. 31:11 (written, perhaps, at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. [Bu.], *SBOT*; cp SAMUEL, i. § 3 (a)) speaks only of a 'lamp' (ῥ) which seems to have burnt from night-fall until the approach of dawn. Solomon, it is true, is said to have had ten golden *menoroth* in his temple, five on either side (1 K. 7:49 ff. 1, 2) but they are not mentioned in 2 K. 25:14-17 (in the Jer. 52:19 their introduction is due to a glossator), nor do we find any trace of them in the temple described by Ezekiel (Ezek. 40:6 ff.), or in the restoration of temple-treasures by Cyrus (Ezra 1:6 ff.).³ These facts, as well as internal evidence, support Stade's conclusion that the passage in 1 K. is an interpolation (ZATW³ 3:162 ff. [83]. *OT* 1:230; cp Now. *HT* 2:40 n. 2, and Benz. *ad loc.*). The

1  sic  (ε); read  for the disfigured 6th sign.

2 Apart from the instruments used in tending this candlestick and the lamps themselves, mention is made only of the 'flowers' (ῥ, ε in Ki. *λαμπαδῆς* [in Zech. 4:2 = 55, 'bowl'], in 2 Ch. 4:1 *λαβίδες* [i.e., 'stones', 'tongues']).

3 Unmentioned also in 2 Macc. 2:5 and the Apoc. of Baruch 6:7 ff.

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ten candlesticks of the temple of Solomon have probably been evolved from the imagination of a later scribe, who seems to have adopted the number ten to agree with the ten 'bases' (7522); cp 1 K. 7:49. Obviously it is no real objection to our view of the critical value of 1 K. 7:49 that the Chronicler mentions candlesticks of gold and silver among David's gifts to Solomon in 1 Ch. 28:15. That this verse in its present form has suffered amplification appears from a comparison with 6.

Tradition held that these ten candlesticks (Jos. augments the number to 10,000; 1. *Ant.* viii. 37) either were already present along with the Mosaic candelabrum, or were exact copies of it (cp 2 Ch. 17, 25:22). Naturally Solomon's great wealth was considered a sufficient explanation of the otherwise curious fact that, whereas he employed ten candlesticks, the Mosaic tabernacle and the second temple were content with one. *Pamudbar Rabbah*, 15, adds that the candlestick was one of the five things taken away and preserved at the destruction of Solomon's temple.

The candlestick of gold, called also the 'pure candlestick' (Lev. 24:4), is described at length by 1 in Ex.

2. Description. 25:31 ff. (= 37:17 ff.) It was placed outside the veil, in front of the table of shewbread (see the Vg. addition to Nu. 8:2). The *menorah* comprised the 77 (AV shaft), 77 (branch, *καλαμίσκος*), 77 (AV bowl, RV cup, *κρατήρ*, *zyphus*), 77 (knop, *σφαίρωτήρ*; Targ. Pesh. 'apple'), 2 and 77 (flowers, *κρίνον* [similarly Targ. Pesh. Vg. 'lily']), perhaps collectively 'ornamentation.' The workmanship was 77 (beaten-work) or *ronpessé* (so 8 *τοπετός*; but *στέρεός* in Nu. 8:4 Ex. 37:14 ff.); Jos., on the other hand, has *κεχαιρωμένος*, 'cast'. From an upright shaft three arms projected on either side. Each branch comprised three cups described as 77, 'shaped like [or ornamented with] almonds' (*ἐκτετυγμένον καρίσκον* — see *Atmnd*), together with *kistur* and *perah*. Under each pair of branches was a *kistur* (Ex. 25:35), and four sets of *kistur* and *perah* were to be found 'in the candlestick' (77, i.e., on the shaft, v. 34). These four may have included the three of v. 35, in which case the fourth was between the base and the lowest pair, or near the summit. Possibly, however, the four sets came between the topmost pair of branches and the summit (cp the illustration in *Rehnd De Spolius Templi*, facing p. 35). The centre shaft in Zechariah's vision was surmounted by a bowl (4:2 *Σ2* *καυράδιον*).

From Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 67) we learn that the candelabrum was hollow, and comprised *σφαίρα*, *κίρα* with *πόσκει* and *κρατήριον*, seventy ornaments in all.³ It ended in seven heads 'καταλαλαί', and was situated obliquely (*ἀνὰ ὄψιν*) before the table of shewbread, and thus looked E. and S. S's version of Ex. 37:17 ff. (differing widely from the present MT) supplies the interesting statement that from the branches (*καλαμίσκος*) there grew three sprouts (*θαλασσοί*) on either side 'ἐξισομενοί ἀλλήλοις'. Rabbinical tradition (cp Talm. *Menaḥ. b.* 28A, *Alar-*

1 77 (Ex. 25:31 37:17 Nu. 8:4) is difficult. RV renders 'base'; so Pesh. (77 [i.e., *βάσις*], 77); but AV finds support in 8 Vg. (*caulode*, *hastile*, *stipes*), and in Ex. 37:17 *correctis* (used also of the 77 'staves' for carrying the ark). 77 when used of inanimate objects denotes the 'stalk' (cp Ex. 40:22 24 Lev. 1:11 Nu. 32:35 2 K. 10:14). The specific mention of the 'base' of the candlestick accordingly seems uncertain, unless perhaps we should read 77, 'stand', 'base' (cp 2 Ch. 6:13), instead of 77. On the other hand, the candlestick may have had originally no base (cp above, § 4).

2 Perhaps a pear-shaped ornament: cp Syr. 77 and see *RDB*, 515.

3 It is difficult to see how he obtains this number. Six branches each with 3 sets of *gobit*, *kistur*, and *perah* (32 ff.), including the shaft with 4 similar sets (v. 34) and the 1 *kistur* (v. 35), amount to 63 (34+12+1). Perhaps to this we must add the figure at the summit of the central shaft (possibly ornamented in a different manner). The artist in a Hebrew MS. of the first half of the thirteenth century (*Brit. Mus.*, Harley, 5710, fol. 136A), following a different interpretation of 1x. 25:33, assigns only one *perah* and *kistur* to each branch, including the shaft. Each of the seven branches has 3 *gobit* in, and at the extremity a lamp (77). Below the *kistur* joining the lowest pair of branches the artist has drawn (reckoning downwards) a *perah*, a *kistur*, and a *gobit*.

CANDLESTICK

Israel, Rashi, etc., on 1x. 2x.) maintained that the candelabrum stood three ell in height and measured two ell between the outer lights; and that it stood upon a tripod (M. *Menah. b.* 28A; cp *Comius*, *Epist. fac.* vi. 22 ff.). The seven lamps were provided with pure olive oil (Ex. 27:20 f.), and for the general service were supplied 'bongs' (77), 'small dishes' (77), and various 'oil vessels' (77).

77. The lamps were to be tended daily (Ex. 30:7 f.); but tradition varied as to how many were kept lit at one time.⁴ The light was never allowed to be extinguished, and tradition relates that the approaching fall of the temple was prognosticated by the sudden occurrence of this mishap (Talm. *Yoma*, 37 ff.; cp the lament in 4 *Esd.* 10:22 (written after the fall of Jerusalem), *lumen candelabri nostri extinguitur*).

It was forbidden to reproduce the candlesticks exactly (cp *Onias* and the temple of Leontopolis, *R/V* vii. 10 f.), but this law could be evaded by making them with five, six, or even eight arms (1b. *Zara*, 43a).

The holy candelabrum is referred to comparatively seldom in subsequent writings.⁵ It forms the motive in

3. History. Zechariah's vision (*Zech.* 1, cp Rev. 11:4). In B.C. 170 Antiochus I Epiphanes carried it off along with the golden altar etc. (1 Macc. 1:21, ἡ Ἀρχία τοῦ φωτός [AN], om V); but a fresh one (tradition relates that it was of inferior material) was reconstructed by Judas after the purification of the temple (163 B.C., 1 Macc. 1:22). Jesus the son of Sirach employs the Ἀρχία καλαμῶν ἐπὶ Ἀρχίας ἀγίας as a simile for beauty in ripe old age (*Ecclesi* 26:17). The same is doubtless the Ἀρχία ἵστα seen by Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 14), which, with its seven Ἀρχία, was one of the three famous objects in the temple of Herod (*R/V* v. 50). Its fate at the fall of Jerusalem is well known. The holy candelabrum, or, more probably, a copy of it, was carried in the triumph of Titus (*R/V* vii. 53), and was depicted upon the famous arch which bears his name. Vespasian deposited it in the temple of Peace, and after various vicissitudes (see Smith, *DDB*, s.v.) it was placed in the Christian church at Jerusalem (533 A.D.). All trace of it has since been lost. Possibly it was destroyed or carried off by Chosroes II. of Persia, when, in 614, he took an ill-fated Jerusalem (see Levesque in *Vigoutoux*, *DDB*, s.v.).

Curiously enough, Josephus, in his account of the triumph of Titus, states that the workmanship (*ἐργον*) of the candlestick was not the same as that which had been in the temple.⁶ As was the case with other objects in the triumph, it was probably constructed from the descriptions of the captives; besides, such conventional candlesticks were not unknown at that time.⁷ The griffin-like figures depicted upon the base of the candelabrum may be possibly ascribed to the artist; so far as can be judged, they do not resemble the mythical symbols from Palestine or Assyria. Consequently, in endeavouring to gain an idea of the original seven-branched candlestick, one must not adhere too strictly to the representation upon the Arch of Titus.

The language employed to describe the sacred *menorah* shows that it must have closely resembled a tree.⁸ Seven-branched trees are frequently met with in sculptures, etc., from the E.⁹ and, as Robertson Smith observes, 'in most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon' (*R/V* 488). Since it is only natural to look for traces of Assyrian or

1 *Zech.* 1:12 mentions also 77, 'pipes', for conveying the oil (*καταστήσεις*).

2 Cp Ex. 27:20 f., 2 Ch. 13:11 and Jos. *Ant.* iii. 83. Rabbinical tradition held that only one was lit by day. This, it has been suggested, was the lamp upon the central shaft (called *sema* 77).

3 Thus, e.g., in the Feast of Tabernacles (see *Maccab.* 5:2).

4 The evidence for the existence of more than one in post-exilic times rests only upon Jos. *R/V* vi. 83. With *Ant.* xiv. 54 (1 Macc. 1:21) contrast *ib.* 7:6.

5 *R/V* vii. 55 [ed. Nicē]. The passage is not free from obscurity. Noteworthy is the remark that slender arms (*καλαμίσκος*) resembling the form of a midew were drawn forth. (See § 4.)

6 Cp their use as symbols in Rev. 1:12 f. 2:1 ff. 4:5.

7 Cp similarly the candelabrum in the temple of the Palatine Apollo (Pliny, 34:8).

8 A seven-branched palm upon a coin of the Maccabees; see Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 71, n. 7.

CANDLESTICK

Babylonian influence in the second temple, it is not improbable that the *menorah* was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree itself, possibly indeed the tree of life.¹ The six arms, instead of coming up and forming a straight line with the top of the central shaft, probably tapered off, the extremities of each pair being lower than those of the pair above it, thus presenting more accurately the outline of a tree. Examples of candelabra with the arms thus arranged are not unknown.²

It is not impossible that the *ethrog* and *Lulab* ('citron' and 'palm branch'; cp. Apoc. § 2 [3] of the Feast of Tabernacles (wherein candlesticks played so important a part) are to be connected also with this sacred seven-branched tree, from which, it has been suggested, the *menorah* has been evolved. The specific tree represented was one which, for various reasons, was considered the most unique and valuable. The choice may have depended more strictly upon the belief that it was supposed to represent the tree of temptation in the Paradise myth (so at all events in Christian times; cp. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, 80).

See Reland, *De Sacris Templi*; H. Opitz, *Diagnostik . . . de candelabris* . . . (1783); Reinach, *L'Art de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1899); and Vigouroux, *DB*, s.v. 'Chandelier,' with the literature there quoted.

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CANE, SWEET (732), Is. 43:24 Jer. 6:20. See R. 1 (A).

CANKERWORM (733; *βρογχο* or *ακρις*). 105:14 Jer. 51:14 27 Joel 1:4 [twice], 2:25 Nah. 3:1, 16b Ps. and ec. AV has CATERPILLER. The Hebrew is usually regarded as denoting a young stage in history of the locust; but this seems doubtful. Luc. 18, § 2, n. 6.

CANEH (733), Ezek. 27:24. M. F. usually taken for name of a place in Mesopotamia with which Tyre commercial dealings, and identified with Canneh. Sehr. in Riehman's *III* 782, 1256. Cornill even reads 'Canneh' (כנח), appealing to a single Heb. MS which reads this, and to variants of *Q*—viz. *χανααν* [V]. But the name is really not existent; words rendered 'and Canneh and Eden' should rather be 'and the sons of Eden.'

Everywhere else we read either of Beth-Eden or of 'the Eden' it is not probable that there is an exception here. *χανα* [B], or *χανααν* [AQ] of *Q*, is not כנח, but כנע or כנז where *Q* or *Y* is a relic of *י* or *י*, and כנע a corruption of כנז. MSS of *Q* give only two names, and the second name is Canneh (as Smith's *1762*), but a corruption of the Eden, discovery (for such it seems to be) is due to Mez (*Gen. 4, Stadt Harran*, 1892, p. 34).

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CANON

INTRODUCTION: THE IDEA OF A CANON (§§ 1-4).

A. OLD TESTAMENT.

I. CONTENTS OF OT CANON (§§ 5-14).

- Extent and classification (§ 5).
- Order of books (§§ 7-9).
- In Septuagint (§ 10 f.).
- In Josephus, Jerome (§§ 12-14).
- ii. CROSSING OF CANON (§§ 15-22).
- Early tradition (§§ 15-17).

Elias Levita and 'The Great Synagogue' (§§ 18-21).

- Scientific method (§ 22).
- iii. HISTORY OF CANON (§§ 23-59).
- First canon: the Law (§§ 23-27).
- Second canon: the Prophets (§§ 28-42).
- Why not canonised with Law (§§ 28-35).
- Traditions, etc. (§§ 36-38).

Date (§§ 39-42).

Pharisaean; Hagiographa (§§ 43-5).

Principle observed (§§ 43-47).

Date (§§ 48-53).

Revised (§ 54).

Non-Palestinian views (§ 57 f.).

OT canon in Christian Church (§ 59).

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

Gradual growth (§§ 60-64).

Evidence of orthodox writers (§§ 64-68).

Evidence of unorthodox writers (§ 69).

Versions (§ 70).

General traces of NT (§ 71).

Muratorian canon (§ 72).

Books temporarily received (§ 73).

Result (§ 74).

Bibliography: OT and NT (§ 75 f.).

The word canon is Greek; its application to the Bible belongs to Christian times; the idea originates in Judaism.

1. Greek terms.

The Greek *ὁ κανὼν* (allied to *κάρνα*, *κάρνη*, 'a reel'; borrowed from the Semite; Heb. 72) means a straight rod or pole, a rod used for measuring, a carpenter's rule; and, by metonymy, a rule, norm, or law, a still later meaning is that of catalogue or list.

As applied to the books of Scripture *κανὼν* is first met with in the second half of the fourth century—thus, *καὶ ἡ κανονία* (as opposed to *ἀκανονία*) in ca. 59 of the Council of Laodicea (circa 360 A.D.), and *καὶ κανονισμὸς* in Athanasius (ep. fest. 39; 395 A.D.); *κανὼν* for the whole collection is still later. The original signification is still a question. Did the term mean (a) the books constituted into a standard; or (b) the books corresponding to the standard (i.e. of the faith; cp. *κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*, κ.

2. Early usage.

1 Perhaps originally a symbol of the universe—the tree of life being viewed as distinct in its origin from the sacred mountain of Elilim with which in a later myth it was combined. (Cp. *JACOB* and *BOYD*.) It is noteworthy that a seven-branched palm is represented by the side of an altar on an old Greek vase (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. 105, fig. 1).

2 Cp. *PEF Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land*, 184, the representation upon an amethyst reproduced in Reland, *De Spol.*, facing p. 35, also *ib.* facing p. 42. The older form may in time have tended to approach the conventional form represented upon the arch of Titus, which agrees with later Jewish tradition. This form, resembling a trident in its outline, is especially noted by Jos. as a novelty (*BJ* vii. 35). For illustrations of the latter variety see Martigny, *Dict. Ant. Chret.* (77) 113; the plates in Calmet's Dictionary; and one at Tabariyeh (Perrot-Chippiez, *Art in Jud.* 1250).

τῆς ἀληθείας, κ. τῆς πίστεως) and measured by it (cp. *καὶ κανονισμὸς* in Ptolemy's Letter to Flora, circa 200 A.D. in Holtzmann, p. 115 f.), or perhaps underlying it, (c) the books taken up into the authoritative catalogue or into the normal number? The subject is discussed with full references to the literature in Holtzmann, pp. 112 ff. It is not improbable that the word passed through various phases of meaning in course of time.

The idea involved is clearly fixed; *θεωρησάτω γράμματα* (Amphilochius, ad 395), *κατεστημένα θεὰ εἶναι δεύσαντα* (Athanasius, *ut sup.*) are expressions concurrently used to convey the same meaning. It was, as we saw above, a loan from Judaism, and within the Christian domain originally applied only to the sacred books of the synagogue—the OT. So already in the NT (1 Th. 5:22 Tit. 3:16). The doctrine of the synagogue was that all the writings included in its canon had then origin in divine inspiration, and that it was God who spoke in them (Weber, § 20 f.). "is canon, with the doctrine attached to it, passed over to the Christian church and became its sole sacred book," until new writings of Christian origin came to be added, and the Jewish canon, as the Old Testament, was distinguished from the New.

The composite expression 'canon of books' has an analogue in the usage of the synagogue. From the first century A.D. such books are designated

3. Hebrew terms.

ספרים קדושים ('that delight the hands'; *Yadayim* 3:4 5:4 5:6; cp. *1 David* 5:3, and

1 But see also below, §§ 57-59.

2 See below, § 53.

852—printed in modern impressions in the order of the
 books at which they are read in the synagogues: Canticles
 (Psalter), Ruth (Pentecost), Lamentations (15th Ab,
 Destruction of Jerusalem), Ecclesiastes (14th machs,
 Esther (Purim)—only once in the *Shemašas* (14th machs,
 576) do we find the three finger-pieces, Psalms,
 Proverbs, and Job, grouped together as *šemašas*,
 and the three smaller canonic, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations,
 and Ruth, as *šemašas*. Finally, Daniel, Ezra, through a
 close list.

7. **Uncertain order.** Comparative and threefold division of the canon are already taken as fully settled in a very old and authoritative passage in the tradition of the synagogue, viz. the *Berakhot Baba*

7. Uncertain order.

of the books within their several divisions the same passage gives a decision for the first time. The explanation of this is that in the oldest times the sacred writings were not equid into continuous codices. Each book had a separate roll to itself.² Accordingly, in the preceding Barutha (*Haiba Rether* 196), we find the question started whether it be permissible to write the entire Holy Scriptures, or even the eight prophets, on a single roll. On the strength of some precedent or other the question is answered in the affirmative; and this leads up to the further question as to the order in which the single books in the second and the third divisions ought to be written. This plainly shows that there was as yet on the subject no fixed tradition, and therefore too great importance ought not to be attached either to the Mishnaic determination of the question or to the departure from Mishnaic usage which we meet with.³ Both, however, are worthy of attention.

The order of the prophets proper, according to our passage, ought to be: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the

8. Prophets. The position of Isaiah seems to have struck even the teachers of the Gemara as remarkable, and is explained by them in a fanciful way. The Massora gives Isaiah the last place, and in this it is followed by the MSS of Spanish origin (as by the printed texts), while the German and French MSS adhere to the Talmudic order. Just because of its departure from strict chronology, we are justified in assuming that the Talmudic order rests on old and good tradition. We may safely venture, therefore, to make use of it in the attempt to answer the question of the origin not only of the individual books but also of the canon.

For the first books of the Hagiographa, the order given in our printed texts—Psalms, Proverbs, Job—

9. Hagio-grapha. which is that of the German and French MSS. gives place in our passage to this order: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs. Supposing this to be the original place of the Book of Ruth, it might account for its later change of position by desire to group together the five biblical rolls. This explanation, however, is impossible for the reason that the Massora and the Spanish MSS put Chronicles instead of Ruth in the first place and before the Psalter. Of course, the same purpose is served by either arrangement; each of them prefixed to the (Davidic) Psalter book which helps to explain it. The Book of Ruth informs this service inasmuch as it concludes with David's genealogical tree and closes with his name; and the Book of Chronicles does so in a still higher degree, inasmuch as, in addition to the genealogy (1 Ch. 29 ff.), it gives an account of David's life, particularly of his elaborate directions for the temple service and temple music. Thus the claim of the Psalter to the first place

Baraytha (87-27) is a Mishna tradition which has not been taken into the canon of the Mishna, but comes from the same tradition about 200 years later. On the very important passage referred to by Marx, *Tradition* etc.

The Law was an exception; its five books as a rule constituted but one roll, although the five books (*pentateuch*) were to be kept with also separately (cp. *Margolis*, 27a).

¹ Cf. the excellent synoptic table in Kyle (*Canon of OT*, 231).

8. No. of 'books.'—The extent of the OT canon, so far as the synagogue is concerned, is exactly what we find in our Hebrew printed texts and in the Protestant

translations. 'The original reckoning of the synagogue, however, does not regard the books as thirty-one. The twelve minor prophets count as one book called 'the twelve,' *ספר שנים עשר* (so already in *Baba Bathra*, 14b, 15a text), *Shodeket prophetim*; so also Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; whilst Ezra and Nehemiah form one book of Ezra. Thus $11 + 3 + 1 = 15$ have to be deducted from our 30, leaving only 24.³ See § 11 ff.

The twenty-four canonical books fall into three main divisions: **תורה** (the law) with five books, **נביאים** (the

Classification. prophets) with eight, and **ספרים** (the writings, Hagiographa) with eleven.⁴ The prophets consist of four historical books (Isaiah, Judges, Samuel, Kings) and four prophetic (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor). Since the Masoretic period (cp Strack, *PREZ*⁵ 7439) the first group has borne the name of **נביאים** (‘former prophets’) to distinguish it from the second, **כתובים** (‘latter prophets’). Among the Hagiographa a distinct group is formed by the five (festal) ‘rolls’—**מגילות**

See WRS, *Rev. Sem.*, 161, 452. He well adds that the high priest on the Day of Atonement washed his flesh with water, not only when he put on the holy garments of the day, but also when he put them off (Lev. 16 24; *Yoma*, 7 4).

With this corresponds the Mishnic name of the canon כְּתָבֵי הַכֹּהֵנִים, while the names כְּתָבֵי הַכֹּהֵנִים tacitly supplement the idea of holiness. To these exactly answer the NT expressions γραφαὶ ἁγίας, ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί. For other names see below, and for fuller details cp Sirac. k, 43 f.

Hence a very common old name for the collection, still frequently in use: 'the twenty-four books,' **ספרים וארבעה עשר**, often also **ספרים**.

Hence the old collective title *הַיְּהוּדִים וְנַבְיָאִים וְכַהֲנָיִים* with its assonetic contraction *הַיְּהוּדִים*.

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is only confirmed by both variations (that of the Palimpsest and that of the Massora) from the usual order.¹ On the other hand, the Massora and the Spanish MSS support the order, Psalms, Job, Proverbs (Job before Proverbs), which therefore must be held to be the older arrangement, the other being explained by the desire to make Solomon come immediately after David.

The arrangement of the five 'rolls' in the order of their feasts is supported only by the German and the French MSS. The Massora and the Spanish MSS have—Ruth, Cant. Eccl. Lam. Esth., whilst *Baba Bathra*, after transposing Ruth in the manner we have seen, gives the order—Eccl. Cant. Lam., then introduces Daniel, and closes the list with Esther. We may venture to infer from this (1) that the arrangement of the Megilloth in the order of their feasts in the ecclesiastical year is late and artificial; (2) that about the year 200 A.D. they had not even been constituted a definite group; (3) that the inversion of the order of Daniel and Esther, and the removal of Ruth from the head of the list, were probably designed to effect this, the position of Daniel before Esther having thus a claim to be regarded as the older;² and (4) that the original position of the book of Ruth is quite uncertain, because the first place among the rolls may have been assigned to it by the Massora simply because it had been deposited from the first place among the Hagiographa. We may, further, regard it as probable that Proverbs was originally connected, as in *Baba B.*, with the other Solomonic writings. Finally, it may be taken as perfectly certain that Ezra and Chronicles closed the list.³

The definition, division, and arrangement of books as given above, which rests on real tradition, and must constitute the basis for our subsequent investigations, is violently at variance with that of the LXX. It will be sufficient merely to indicate the differences here, for, as compared with the canon of the synagogue, that of the LXX represents only a secondary stage in the development.

(1) The arrangement of the LXX is apparently intended to be based on the contents of the books. The poetical books are, on the whole, regarded as didactic in character, the Prophets proper as mainly predictive, whilst the Law leads up to the historical books and is closely connected with the Former Prophets. As the Prophets are placed at the end, the progress of the collection is normal—from the past (historical books) to the present (didactic books) and the future (books of prophecy).

Certain, however, of the miscellaneous collection in which forms the Hagiographa—those, namely, that are historical—are transferred to the first division, where a place is assigned them on chronological principles. Ruth (p. 11) is inserted immediately after Judges, whilst Chronicles, Ezra, and Esther are appended at the end. Lamentations, on the other hand, regarded as the work of Jeremiah (cp. 2 Ch. 35.25 and the opening words of the book in 5), is transferred to the third division (prophetic books) and appended to Jeremiah; whilst Daniel closes the entire collection. Lastly, Job, regarded as a purely historical book,⁴ serves to effect the transition from the historical to the didactic writings.

Of the prophetic books, the Deuteroprophets head the list (in a somewhat varying order of the individual books), presumably on account of the higher antiquity of the writings which open it.

(2) Samuel and Kings together are divided into four books of Kings. Chronicles is divided into two books, as is also (subsequently) Ezra. (3) In varying degrees new writings unknown to the Hebrew canon are interpolated.

¹ Cp also 2 Macc. 2.13 f.; 13. 24.44.

² This is supported by Jerome in *Prolog. Gal.* (cp. the text in Kyle, 287 ff.). Other variations, it is true, occur in the same author.

³ It should be added that the MSS show the utmost irregularity in their arrangement of the Hagiographa; cp. Kyle, *Expositio* C. 281 f., and, for some important details, A. Kahlf., 'Aber u. Heint der vaticinischen Bibelhandschrift,' *GGV*, 1899, Heft 1 (Philol.-hist. Klasse).

⁴ There is, however, considerable vacillation as to its position. For other variations, which are very numerous, cp. Kyle, 213 ff., and the table appended to 281.

The very various arrangements of the Hebrew canon which have been adopted in the Christian Church all be traced back to the LXX, more or less far-reaching corrections based on the canon of the synagogue.

11. Ruth and Lam.

Among all the divergences of the LXX from the synagogue arrangement, there is only one concerning which it is worth while considering whether it may not possibly represent the original state of things as against the synagogue tradition: Ruth is made to follow Judges, and Lamentations Jeremiah. If the actual state of the canon be that these two books ranked originally among the prophets, but were afterwards transferred to the Hagiographa, the historical value of the threefold division of the canon is very largely impaired. Now, this order of the books is supported by the oft recurring reckoning of twenty-two books instead of twenty-four (cp. above § 2), a reckoning which can be explained only on the assumption that Ruth and Lamentations were counted separately, being regarded as integral parts of Judges and Jeremiah.

Our sole Jewish witness to this is Josephus (*Ap. l. 8; c. 100 A.D.*). He gives the total as twenty-two, made out as follows: Moses, 5; Prophets, 13; hymns to God and precepts for men, 13. The last named category doubtless means the Psalms and the three Solomonic writings. Thus Daniel, Esther, Ezra, Chronicles, and even Job, are, as historical books, reckoned with the prophets, and Ruth and Lamentations are not counted at all, that is to say, they are included in Judges and Jeremiah. Here clearly a compromise has been struck between the threefold division of the synagogue, which places the prophets in the intermediate position, and the division of the Alexandrians, which arranges the books according to subjects. The Alexandrian canon is obviously in view also in the pointed addition [*δεξιὰ τὰ δέκατοι πενταετηρίδα*],² by which the books not contained in the canon of the synagogue are excluded. We may conclude, therefore, that also the reason why Ruth and Lamentations are not reckoned as separate books is that the LXX is followed; and thus we have no fresh testimony here. There is a further remark to be made. That the seven books just mentioned should be removed from the prophetic canon, if they were there, to a place among the Hagiographa, could be explained only by a desire to have the total rolls beside one another. In the oldest tradition, however, there was no such group of rolls (see above, § 6).

13. Origin of No. 22.

The supposed motive, therefore, could not have been operative. On the other hand, the number twenty-two has an artificial and external motive, not indicated by Josephus, but mentioned by all the Church fathers from Origen downwards: there is thus one book for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. This childish fancy is carried to an extreme point when the books are reckoned as twenty-seven (an alternative which is offered by Epiphanius and Jerome) to do justice to the five final letters also; the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra are divided, the fifth being supplied in Epiphanius by Judges and Ruth, in Jerome by Jeremiah and Lamentations. That this is mere arbitrary trifling is obvious.

On the other hand Jerome gives also the number twenty-four (*Prolog. Gal.*), cautiously describing it as a reckoning accepted by 'nomini' Ruth and Lamentations thus being

¹ For various blundering attempts to put another meaning on the canon of Josephus, cp. Strack, 28, Ryle, 176. Briggs (see above, below, § 75, p. 127 f.) inclines to the opinion that Josephus did not recognise as canonical the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. See, on this point, below, § 52 ff.

² The word *δεξιὰ* after *δεξιὰς* is disallowed by Niese as an interpolation.

³ A thing improbable in itself, as implying a degradation. See below, § 43.

⁴ Cp the passages in Ryle, 227, and still more exhaustively in Strack, 435 ff.

CANON

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To this question the tradition of the synagogue actually offers an answer,—in the same *Ravatha Bata* (145-152) in which the order of the Prophets and the Writings is determined. The passage proceeds thus:—‘And who wrote them?’—and names the writers of the several books in exact chronological sequence. The last of them is Ezra. With him, therefore (*i.e.*, according to traditional chronology, about 444 B.C.), the canon closed.²

17. 4 Esdras. orderly closing. The oldest form of this kind of tradition, so far as known to us, goes back earlier by a whole century than the tradition of the synagoge. It is to be found in the passage of 4 Esdras (chap. 14) that has been referred to already.³ Ezra (v. 18 ff.) prays God to grant him by his Holy Spirit that he may again write out the books

The real date of Ezra and the promulgation of the law related in Neh. 8-10 will be considered elsewhere (see CHRONOLOGY, § 14; NEHEMIAH). The results of the present article would not be altered essentially by fixing it, e.g., in the year 457 B.C. or year 397, instead of 444. In what follows, therefore, the date of Neh. 8-10 will be taken as 444. A full discussion of the point and a survey of the literature will be found in C. Kent, *A History of the Jewish People, from the Babylonian Exile to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (London, 1890), I, 257-260, 262-263, 265-266, 268-269, 271-272, 274-275, 277-278, 280-281, 283-284, 286-287, 289-290, 292-293, 295-296, 298-299, 301-302, 304-305, 307-308, 310-311, 313-314, 316-317, 319-320, 322-323, 325-326, 328-329, 331-332, 334-335, 337-338, 340-341, 343-344, 346-347, 349-350, 352-353, 355-356, 358-359, 361-362, 364-365, 367-368, 370-371, 373-374, 376-377, 379-380, 382-383, 385-386, 388-389, 391-392, 394-395, 397-398, 400-401, 403-404, 406-407, 409-410, 412-413, 415-416, 418-419, 421-422, 424-425, 427-428, 430-431, 433-434, 436-437, 439-440, 442-443, 445-446, 448-449, 451-452, 454-455, 457-458, 460-461, 463-464, 466-467, 469-470, 472-473, 475-476, 478-479, 481-482, 484-485, 487-488, 490-491, 493-494, 496-497, 499-500, 502-503, 505-506, 508-509, 511-512, 514-515, 517-518, 520-521, 523-524, 526-527, 529-530, 532-533, 535-536, 538-539, 541-542, 544-545, 547-548, 550-551, 553-554, 556-557, 559-560, 562-563, 565-566, 568-569, 571-572, 574-575, 577-578, 580-581, 583-584, 586-587, 589-590, 592-593, 595-596, 598-599, 601-602, 604-605, 607-608, 610-611, 613-614, 616-617, 619-620, 622-623, 625-626, 628-629, 631-632, 634-635, 637-638, 640-641, 643-644, 646-647, 649-650, 652-653, 655-656, 658-659, 661-662, 664-665, 667-668, 670-671, 673-674, 676-677, 679-680, 682-683, 685-686, 688-689, 691-692, 694-695, 697-698, 699-700, 702-703, 705-706, 708-709, 711-712, 714-715, 717-718, 720-721, 723-724, 726-727, 729-730, 732-733, 735-736, 738-739, 741-742, 744-745, 747-748, 750-751, 753-754, 756-757, 759-760, 762-763, 765-766, 768-769, 771-772, 774-775, 777-778, 780-781, 783-784, 786-787, 789-790, 792-793, 795-796, 798-799, 801-802, 804-805, 807-808, 810-811, 813-814, 816-817, 819-820, 822-823, 825-826, 828-829, 831-832, 834-835, 837-838, 840-841, 843-844, 846-847, 849-850, 852-853, 855-856, 858-859, 861-862, 864-865, 867-868, 870-871, 873-874, 876-877, 879-880, 882-883, 885-886, 888-889, 891-892, 894-895, 897-898, 899-900, 902-903, 905-906, 908-909, 911-912, 914-915, 917-918, 920-921, 923-924, 926-927, 929-930, 932-933, 935-936, 938-939, 941-942, 944-945, 947-948, 950-951, 953-954, 956-957, 959-960, 962-963, 965-966, 968-969, 971-972, 974-975, 977-978, 980-981, 983-984, 986-987, 989-990, 992-993, 995-996, 998-999, 1001-1002, 1004-1005, 1007-1008, 1010-1011, 1013-1014, 1016-1017, 1019-1020, 1022-1023, 1025-1026, 1028-1029, 1031-1032, 1034-1035, 1037-1038, 1040-1041, 1043-1044, 1046-1047, 1049-1050, 1052-1053, 1055-1056, 1058-1059, 1061-1062, 1064-1065, 1067-1068, 1070-1071, 1073-1074, 1076-1077, 1079-1080, 1082-1083, 1085-1086, 1088-1089, 1091-1092, 1094-1095, 1097-1098, 1099-1100, 1102-1103, 1105-1106, 1108-1109, 1111-1112, 1114-1115, 1117-1118, 1120-1121, 1123-1124, 1126-1127, 1129-1130, 1132-1133, 1135-1136, 1138-1139, 1141-1142, 1144-1145, 1147-1148, 1150-1151, 1153-1154, 1156-1157, 1159-1160, 1162-1163, 1165-1166, 1168-1169, 1171-1172, 1174-1175, 1177-1178, 1180-1181, 1183-1184, 1186-1187, 1189-1190, 1192-1193, 1195-1196, 1198-1199, 1201-1202, 1204-1205, 1207-1208, 1210-1211, 1213-1214, 1216-1217, 1219-1220, 1222-1223, 1225-1226, 1228-1229, 1231-1232, 1234-1235, 1237-1238, 1240-1241, 1243-1244, 1246-1247, 1249-1250, 1252-1253, 1255-1256, 1258-1259, 1261-1262, 1264-1265, 1267-1268, 1270-1271, 1273-1274, 1276-1277, 1279-1280, 1282-1283, 1285-1286, 1288-1289, 1291-1292, 1294-1295, 1297-1298, 1299-1300, 1302-1303, 1305-1306, 1308-1309, 1311-1312, 1314-1315, 1317-1318, 1320-1321, 1323-1324, 1326-1327, 1329-1330, 1332-1333, 1335-1336, 1338-1339, 1341-1342, 1344-1345, 1347-1348, 1350-1351, 1353-1354, 1356-1357, 1359-1360, 1362-1363, 1365-1366, 1368-1369, 1371-1372, 1374-1375, 1377-1378, 1380-1381, 1383-1384, 1386-1387, 1389-1390, 1392-1393, 1395-1396, 1398-1399, 1401-1402, 1404-1405, 1407-1408, 1410-1411, 1413-1414, 1416-1417, 1419-1420, 1422-1423, 1425-1426, 1428-1429, 1431-1432, 1434-1435, 1437-1438, 1440-1441, 1443-1444, 1446-1447, 1449-1450, 1452-1453, 1455-1456, 1458-1459,

hood of the humanists and of the reformation
 of this as well as many other legends;² but
 if the old legend disappeared, it was only
 to make way for a modern one, not my-
 stical but rationalistic in character. This latter
 idea had evidence from Thos Leavitt,
 who says³ that *Ezra and the men of the great*
scribes (1833), among other things, had
 in one volume the twenty-four books (which had
 been translated separately) and had classified them
 into the three divisions above mentioned, determining
 the order of the Prophets and the Writings
 only; it is true, from the Talmudic doctors in
Jericho.⁴ This assertion satisfied the craving of
 men for a duly constituted body, proceeding in a
 state manner. Accordingly the statement of Thos
 Leavitt, especially after it had been homologated by J.
 Buxton the elder in his *Liberator* (1826), became the
 authoritative doctrine of the orthodoxy of the seventeenth
 and eighteenth centuries. To it were added, as self-
 evident, though Leavitt said nothing of them, the authori-
 tative *decrees* (Hottelinger), and the *repetition* of the non-
 canonical writings (so already Buxton), and after him
 Leisen and Vinyard.⁵

It is vain to seek for the tradition on which Elias Levita based his representation. The *Talmud*, which says a great deal about 'the men of the great synagogue,' has not a word to say about this action of theirs with reference to the whole body of Scripture. The *Mekhilah* and *Seder 'Olam* also touch on the matter but lightly. We conclude therefore that, to suit the needs of his time, Levita merely inferred such an action from the existence of the body in question.⁵

The evidence for the very existence of a body of the kind required, however, is extremely slender. From the middle of the seventeenth century it was continually disputed anew. It even we moderns must admit that there was a body of some kind, the kind of existence that we can accord to it supplies the strongest refutation of the statement of Elias Levita. 'The question as to what we are to understand by "the men of the great synagogue" (or

body of some kind, the kind of existence that we can record to it supplies the strongest refutation of the statement of Elias Levita. 'The question as to what we are understand by 'the men of the great synagogue' (or

¹ Cf., however, the elucidation of the passage in *Bata B.* 14^b 15r, below, § 21.

³ See third preface to *Massoreth hammassereth* (1538, ed. Ginsburg, 1867, p. 120); cp Strack, 410.

Compare the passages quoted in Kyle, 251 ff. It should be added that the same step had been taken already in the *hup* post-Edmudic tractate *Aboth de R. Nathan* (chap. I), where it is said of 'the men of the great synagogue' that they decided on the reception of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, against objections that had been urged (see the passages in C. H. H. Wright, *op. cit.*). We shall see below that an artificial antedating can be clearly demonstrated here.

2 When Levita points out that the order of the Prophets and the Writings, as fixed there, was different from that in *Palea Fi*, his only goes to show that the sages of the Mishna still found nothing for them to give decisions about. **¶** *Elia* § viii. f. 60^a but these sages found the books written on separate rolls, and that, therefore, there was not yet any order to fix. **¶** *Cpaboe* § 7.

rather 'assembly') in the sense in which the expression was originally used, may be regarded as now fully cleared up. If a brilliant application and criticism of all that tradition had to say and all the work of his modern predecessors, Knaben¹ demonstrated that this 'synagogue' is no other than the great assembly at Jerusalem described in Neh 8.10, the assembly in which the whole body of the people, under the presidency of Nehemiah and through the signatures of its representatives, pledged itself to acceptance of the law book of Ezra. This assembly, as the latest authority mentioned in the OT, was afterwards, by the tradition of the synagogue, made responsible for all those proceedings of a religious nature not referred to in the OT, which, nevertheless, so far as known, dated from a period earlier than the tradition laid down in the Talmud. Since this last, however, with its most ancient (and almost mythical) authorities, the tve 'pasas' and Antigonus of Socho, does not go back farther than the second century B.C., there gradually grew out of the assembly, whose meetings began and closed within the seventh month of a single year, a standing institution to which people in that later time, each according to his needs and his chronological theories, attributed a duration extending over centuries. This was made all the easier by the chronology of the Talmud bringing the date of the Persian ascendancy too low by some 150 years, and thus bringing the beginning and the end closer together.²

The activity as regards the canon, then, which Elias Levita and his followers ascribe to 'the men of the great synagogue', implies for the most part a comparatively late and false conception of the character of that supposed body. What ancient tradition has to say about it remains well within the limits of time assigned to it by criticism. In *Raba B. 14b* 15a, 'the men of the great synagogue' have assigned to them a place immediately before Ezra; they wrote Ezekiel, the Docecapropheton, Daniel, and Esther. When, therefore, Ezra had contributed his share (Ezra and Chronicles), forming the closing portion of the series of the twenty-four books, the canon was forthwith complete. It is evident (1) that here the activity of 'the men of the great synagogue' does not extend below Ezra's time; and (2) that it extends only to four books, not to the whole canon. Therewith the absolute untenability of Levita's assertion becomes apparent. Expedients have been

20. 'Writing' of books.

resorted to in vain; as, for example, that *282*, 'to write,' means in the *Baraita* to 'collect,' or to 'transcribe and circulate,' or both together (cp. Marx, 41). 'The writer' of the Mishna most certainly means the author of the books—so far as there can be a question of authorship where, in the last resort, the author is the Holy Spirit. Of authorship nothing but writing is left. This, accordingly, is the sense assumed by Gemara and by rabbinical exegesis. What we are told concerning 'the men of the great synagogue' is not more startling than it is to learn that Hezekiah and his companions wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes, books of which tradition is unanimous in saying that the last two were

wholly, and the second in great measure, written by Solomon two centuries before Hezekiah. Here, in it is the miraculous that is deliberately related, meaning is that Solomon had only spoken (cp. 1 K. 5. 12), divine inspiration enabled the men of Hezekiah to write it out, and so make it into canonical books, exactly the same operation 'the men of the great synagogue' were enabled to write out what an Amos, a Hosea, a Micah and a Nahum, and so forth had spoken in the name of God. There is nothing to surprise about such a view as this, if we remember what we already found in connection with 4 Esdras (above, § 1). In the present instance, indeed, it is only a portion of the OT that comes into question, not the whole mass in 4 Esdras; but, on the other hand, in 4 Esdras only the reproduction of books that had been lost is spoken of, whilst here it is their very composition.

That stories such as these should ever have passed current as real historical tradition resting upon fact is surprising enough. Almost more astonishing is it that such baseless fancies should not yet have been abandoned, definitely, for good, by the theology of the Reformed Churches.

Whether the tradition is genuine need no longer be asked. The only question is, How was it possible that the Mishna doctors, and perhaps those who immediately preceded them, arrived at such a representation? This question in some cases already greatly exercised the exegetes of the Gemara, and even led them to attempted corrections; and Rashi (op. cit. 1105) gives a solution of some of the knottiest points which, if we are to believe Strack,² represents the view of the Rabbis. According to this explanation, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther did not write their own books, because they lived in exile, and outside the borders of the Holy Land it was impossible for any sacred book to be written. Even, however, if this view had some element of truth in it, it hardly meets the main point. The writing of each book the scribes, as was natural to their order, sought to assign to a writer like themselves, a *sofer* (see Strack), and attributed the authorship of any book only to one to whom writing could be assigned of the authority of a proof text. In the case of books whose reputed authors could not be shown to have been *soferim*, the authorship was attributed to the writers of such other books as stood nearest to them at point of time.

That Moses was a scribe was held to be shown by De. 31. 9 (the Book of Job also was attributed to him on account of its supposed antiquity), and the same is true of Joshua (Josh. 24. 26). Similar proof was found for Samuel in 1 S. 10. 25, and to him accordingly was assigned, not only the book that bears his name, but also Judges and Ruth. In the case of David, if the words 7228 in 2 S. 1. 18 were not enough, there was at all events sufficient proof in 1 Ch. 23. 32 and especially in 2 S. 1. 1, where were found also for reconciling the tradition that he wrote the whole Psalter with the tradition (oral or written) that he assigned certain psalms to other authors. It was declared that he wrote the psalms, but 7229 of those other writers of Solomon all that was said in 1 K. 5. 12 was that he spoke, not that he wrote; but no one felt at any loss, for in Prov. 25. 1 the production of a portion of his Book of Proverbs is attributed to the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah. These great scribes were utilised to the utmost. They had ascribed not only all the Solomon books, but also the book of the contemporary Isaiah, although Is. 8. 1 might well have been taken as saying something for the prophet himself. Whether in this instance some special cause contributed to the result, or whether it was merely that prophet and scribe had at any one time kept separate, it is impossible to say. For Jeremiah, too, one prophet in the narrower sense of the word amongst those who are named, Jer. 30 spoke too distinctly to be ignored, that Kings also should have been attributed to him is at once completely explained by 2 K. 24. 18, and chap. 25 compared with Jer. 52. Next in order as biblical authors come 'the men of the great synagogue,' who, as contemporaries of Ezra the scribe, are regarded (themselves also one of them numbered) but at the same

¹ *Over de mannen der groote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1856), translated into German by K. Biddle in his edition of Knaben's collected essays (*Gesammelte Abhandl.*, 1854, p. 361 ff.).

² Knaben's proof has, in Great Britain, been accepted (among others) by Robertson Smith (*OT*, 1876, 77), Driver (*Introduct.* 1891), and (at least in essentials) by Ryle, to whose very careful *Exegeticon* (1892, 272) the reader (especially referred). It has indeed found an uncompromising opponent in C. H. Wright (*Kohleth*, 5. p. 475 ff.), whose arguments, however, amount to little more than this: The necessity (which in fact produced the legend) for some corporate body by whom the religious duties of that time could have been discharged. This, however, cannot convert what is demonstrably legend into history. What ever has to be conceded is granted already by Knaben (*loc. cit.* 1136, 1138), and writers like Strack (*PRF*, 2. 1839, footnote*) are skilful enough to reconcile the demand for such 'organised powers' between Ezra and Christ with Knaben's results. The most recent apology for the tradition is that of S. Krauss ('The Great Synod,' *JPR*, Jan. '98, p. 307 ff.). Of course he does not defend the theory of Elias Levita.

¹ That the two legends have an intimate connection is by no means improbable.

² *Op. cit.* 41*, with the quotation there given; cp. also Ryle, 263 ff.

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time also as signatories of the act in Neh. 10, were expressly called to this. Why Ezekiel (the scribe, if any scribe there was among the prophets), to whom the act of writing is repeatedly attributed (cf. *ibid.* 40.1), should not have been credited with his own book, may perhaps be rightly explained by Rashi. The twelve prophets could not have written severally their own books, because all the books together form (see § 6) but one book; for a somewhat different turn is given to this in Rashi, and as the latest of them belonged to the period of the great synagogue, and, indeed, according to tradition, were actually members of that body, the assignment of the authorship to it presented no difficulty. Finally Daniel and Esther, regarded as books of the Persian period, easily fell to their domain. Ezra, with his account of his own time, closes the series. Some explanation is needed of the fact that whilst 'the genealogies in Chronicles down to himself' (this is no doubt the easiest explanation) also are assigned to Ezra, no account is taken of the remainder of that work. The most likely reason is that the main portion of Chronicles was regarded as mere repetition from Samuel and Kings, the origin of which had been already explained.

It is not of the slightest importance to consider how far this attempted explanation of the origin of the various books is in agreement with the real thought of the Rabbis; in any case it remains pure theory, the product of rabbinical inventiveness, not of historical tradition. Apart from a lived general opinion about certain individual books and about the Pentateuch, the tangible outcome of the beliefs of the whole period with which we are dealing is that the canon was held to have been closed in the time of Ezra. The theory upon which this belief proceeded will occupy us later (§ 44 f.).

As against this congeries of vague guesses and abstract theories, science demands that we should examine each book separately, and endeavour, with the evidence supplied by itself, and with continual reference to the body of literature as a whole, to ascertain its date and to fix its place in the national and religious development of the Jews. This is the task of 'special introduction'; but its results must always have a direct bearing on the history of the canon. This history must give close attention also to all the external testimonies relative to the formation and to the close of the canon, and, after weighing them, must assign to them their due place. Above all, it must trace out all general opinions and theories, such as we have been considering, ascertain their scope and meaning, and satisfy itself as to the period at which they arose, and as to their influence on the formation of the canon. In so far as we succeed in these endeavours, we shall arrive at a relatively trustworthy history of the canon.

III. HISTORY OF THE OT CANON. (1) *The first canon: the Law.*¹—Whatever difficulties we may have

¹ W. J. Beecher (see below, § 75) offers a solemn protest against the fundamental proposition of this article (as of all modern discussions of the subject): a triple canon, collected and closed in three successive periods. He denies that there is any evidence of a time when the Law and the Prophets stood in authority above the Writings. He denies that the other OT writings were originally regarded as less authoritative than the Pentateuch. He sees in the canon of the OT an aggregate of sacred books growing gradually and continually to a definite time when the part written latest was finished and the collection was deemed complete. Law for father, Messiahs, Prophets, and Writings are nothing but three different names for the same books—*etc.*, the prophetic writings. We are not to add how these terms came to be the names of three different parts of this collection. The fundamental fact that the Law alone was promulgated and made authoritative by Ezra and Nehemiah, is obscured by Beecher by the statement that the term 'book of Moses' is applied to an aggregate of sacred writings including more than the Pentateuch. His only proof is Ezra 7.18, where 'we are told that the returned exiles set up the courses of the priests and Levites, "as it is written in the book of Moses." The Pentateuch contains nothing in regard to priestly or Levitical courses. Possibly the reference is to written precepts now found in 1 Chronicles.' Beecher does not translate accurately. The text runs: 'They set up the priests in *their* courses and the Levites in *their* divisions.' This means that the priests and the Levites are set up 'as it is written in the book of Moses'; but it does not necessarily mean that their courses and divisions were based on the same authority. Beecher never mentions the fact that the Samaritans accepted only the Law (see below, § 25), nor does he investigate what grain of truth is contained in the same statement as to the Sadducees

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in dealing with the later stages of the history of the canon and with its close; there is no obscurity about its contentment. It was indeed by those

23. The Torah. 'men of the great synagogue,' to whom orthodoxy assigns the close of the canon, that its foundations were laid, in the clear daylight of well-authenticated history. From the twenty-fourth day of the seventh month of the year 444 B.C. onwards, Israel possessed a canon of Sacred Scripture. It was on this day that the great popular assembly described in Neh. 9.7, solemnly pledged itself to 'the Book of the Law of Yahweh their God' (9.1), which had been given by the hand of Moses the servant of God' (10.1), and had been brought from Babylon to Jerusalem shortly before by Ezra the scribe (Ezra 7.6-11; Neh. 8.1-4). In virtue of this resolution the said law book at that time became canonical; but only the law book.

Already, indeed, in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, between 623 and 621 B.C., there had been a solemn act, of a similar character, when the king and people pledged themselves to the law book that had been found in the temple, the 'book of the covenant' (2 K. 23.1). The entire editorial revision of the Books of Kings, and especially the express references to the law book (2 K. 24.2 K. 23.25, and above all, 2 K. 14.6 compared with Dt. 24.16), clearly prove that it had canonical validity during the exile period, whilst the book of Malachi (cp. esp. 2.4 ff. 3.5 ff. 2.2) shows that also in the post-exile period down to the time of Ezra it continued to hold this place in Jerusalem.¹ The critical labours of the present century, however, have conclusively established that this first canonical book contained simply what we now have as the kernel of our Book of Deuteronomy.

The law canonised in 444 was a very different document. The only possible question is whether it was the entire Pentateuch as we now have it, or only the Priestly Writing, the latest and most extensive of the sources which go to make up the Pentateuch. The latter is, so far as we can at present see, the more likely hypothesis. In that case what happened in 444 B.C. was that the Deuteronomistic Law, which had until then ruled, was superseded by the new Law of Ezra. A determination of this kind, however, was unworkable in view of the turn place which the older book that had been built up out of JE and D² had secured for itself in the estimation of the people. Accordingly, the new law was revised and enlarged by the fusing together of which our Pentateuch, the canon of the Law, was the result.

This last stage was most probably accomplished in the next generation after that of Ezra, and completed before 300 B.C. We have evidence of this in the fact that the Samaritan community of the Samaritans accepts the entire Pentateuch as sacred. It is true that the solitary historical account we possess (Jos. 20.7, 8.4) places the separation of this community from that of Jerusalem as low down as the time of Alexander the Great (about 330 B.C.); but the cause that led to

(see below, § 28), or consider the reason why the Law is wanting in Mal. 2.1 (see below, § 27). On the other side, it may be hoped that he will find the difficulty caused by the Book of Joshua, a difficulty greatly exaggerated by himself, removed (in fact turned into a help) in § 28.2 of this article, written two years before his paper was published. This is only one of many instances. The theory of the triple canon of the OT, based on incontestable facts, is not as mechanical as Beecher represents it. It is able to satisfy every demand for organic growth in the collection of OT writings. Beecher's paper, for all failure it seems to the present writer, in the main point may do much good in convincing against the mechanical conception, but it did not furnish to the present writer any occasion to alter the views developed in this article.

¹ The reasons for saying that the references in Malachi are to Dt. and not to Ezra's law-book cannot be given here (see now *Kt. Proph.* 191; but cp. MALACHI).

² On this and on the larger critical question cp. H. WATKINS.

the separation—the expulsion of the high priest's son, the son-in-law of Sanballat, who founded the community and sanctuaries of the Samaritans—is rather, according to Neh. 13:28, to be referred to the period of Nehemiah (about 430 B.C.). It has already been mentioned (§ 19) that Jewish chronology has dropped a whole century and a half, so bringing the periods of Nehemiah and Alexander into immediate juxtaposition; and this is the explanation of the confusion found in Josephus. We may suppose that before the final separation of the Samaritans there elapsed an interval of some decades which would give ample time for the completion of the Law.¹ This does not exclude the possibility that adjustments may have been made at a later date between the Samaritan Pentateuch and that of Jerusalem, or that later interpolations may have found their way into the Samaritan Law. The compass of the work, however, must have remained (to speak broadly)² a fixed quantity, otherwise the Samaritans would not have taken it over.

At the same time the Samaritan canon, which contained nothing but the (complete) Law, is our oldest witness to a period during which the canon consisted of the Law alone, canon and Law being thus coextensive conceptions.

If alongside of the Law there had been other sacred writings, it would be inexplicable why these last also did not pass into currency with the Samaritans. There are other witnesses also to the same effect. The weightiest lies in the simple fact that the name 'Torah' or 'Law' can mean the entire canon, and be used as including the Prophets and the Writings. We find it so used in the NT (Jn. 10:34; 12:14; 15:25; 1 Cor. 14:21), in the passage already cited from 4 Esdras (11:20), and, at a later date, in many passages of the Talmud, the Midrashim, and the Rabbins (cp. Strack, 439). This would have been impossible if the words 'canon' and 'Law' had not originally had the same connotation, other books afterwards attaining to some share in the sanctity of the Law.

27. 2 Macc. The same thing is shown by an often quoted passage in 2 Macc.

2:13. There we read that Nehemiah, in establishing a library, brought together the books concerning the kings and prophets (*τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ προφητῶν*) and the (poems) of David (*τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ*) and the letters of kings concerning consecrated gifts (to the temple: *ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀθυσιασμάτων*). The passage occurs in a letter from the Jews of Palestine to their compatriots in Egypt, and is an admitted interpolation in a book which is itself thoroughly unhistorical; it is thus in the highest degree trustworthy (cp. Macc. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100). As evidence of what could be believed and said at the time of its composition, however, in the first century B.C., it is unimpeachable. When we find the Former and Latter Prophets and the Psalms catalogued as forming part of a library, and, alongside of them and on the same level, letters of kings (the other kings of course), it is clear that there is no idea of sacred

¹ This explains why the Book of Nehemiah closes with the expulsion of the son-in-law of Sanballat, but says nothing as to the setting up of the temple and church of the Samaritans. There is no occasion for scepticism as to the entire story in Josephus (cp. Kautsch, *PKZ*, 2, art. 'Samaritaner', 34-37).

² See below, § 17.

³ Against the completion of the law at this date Duhn (*Zeits.*, 1, 2, p. 5) urges objections. He thinks that, since as the time of the Chronicler (fourth century B.C.) the so-called Priestly Document had not yet been used with J E and D; for the intention of the Book of Chronicles is, in his opinion, to continue the Priestly Document (which comes down only to the end of Joshua), not the older work embracing the Book of Kings, which indeed is sought to supersede. Neither criticism, however, can be attributed to the Chronicler. In fact he begins with the creation, his method being to write out at full length the genealogies from Adam downwards, taking them from the work that lay before him (J E D P). Since, however, he is writing a history only of Jerusalem and the temple, he passes over all that does not relate to this. At the same time, even if the Chronicler had used nothing but P, this would not prove more than that, after its first use with the other sources, P continued to be used also separately for a long time.

sanct books. The Law is not mentioned in the same connection; as the sacred canon, it receives a place of its own and has nothing to do with the library. Whether all the contemporaries of this author shared his view is another matter; in any case, the possibility of such a view being held is proof of the original isolation of the Law. Moreover, it appears from this passage that at the time when it was written, or within the writing circle, the legend of the closing of the canon by Ezra had been prevalent only in the (narrower and historical) circle, the legend of the closing of the canon by Ezra had received its validity as such by Ezra's action. The fact, moreover, that in the LXX the version of the Law appears to be distinctively an official work, not the result of private enterprise, confirms the inference already drawn from the exclusive attention given to the Law in the period represented by Ezra.

(2) *The second canon: the Prophets.*—The nucleus for a second canon was laid to the hand of the scrib-

28. J E D. of the fifth century in the very fact that the canon of the Law had been set apart to place by itself. It is one of the certain results of the science of special introduction that the Priestly Document on which Ezra's reform rested, followed the history of Israel, including the division of Canaan, down to the end of the Book of Joshua; the portions derived from it can still be distinguished in our present Book of Joshua. The same holds good for J E D. We can go further. It may still be matter of dispute, indeed, whether the material for the subsequent books (Judges, Samuel, Kings) also was derived from J and E; but so much is indisputably certain, that the Deuteronomistic redaction embraced these books also, in fact, the whole of the Former Prophets, and that at the end of Kings the narrative itself is from Deuteronomistic hands. As even now each of these books is seen to link itself very closely to that which precedes it, it follows that J E D, ultimately at least, in the form in which the work was used in the fifth century, included the Law and the Former Prophets. That the Law might attain a sacred

29. Penta-teuch. form as a separate unity, therefore, it was not enough that P and J E D should be worked up into a single whole. This

whole must be separated from the history that follows it. How and when this was effected we can imagine variously. According to the view taken above, what is most probable is that in 444 the entire Priestly Writing, including the closing sections relating to the entrance into Canaan and the partition of the country, was already in existence and canonized in its full extent. Not until its subsequent amalgamation with the corresponding sections of J E D did the hitherto quite insignificant historical appendix to the 'Law,' strictly so called, acquire such a preponderance that the division was found to be inevitable. It was made at the end of the account of the death of Moses, and thus, even of the Priestly Writing also (as well as of J E D), severed from the body to which it belonged. In any case, however we may reconstruct the details, the fact abides that, after the Law had been separated, the compactness of writings which afterwards came to be known as the 'Former Prophets,' a body of literature which from the very first could not fail to take an exceptional position from the scriptural point of view, had once been connected with the sacred canon, and must necessarily have been prized by the community as a possession never to be lost.

Equally certain is it that by far the larger proportion of the 'Latter Prophets' was already in the hands of the scribes of the fifth century. In fact, the books of the Latter Prophets, almost without exception, by the mouth of his prophets, in fact

30. 'Former Prophets.'

31. 'Latter Prophets.'

¹ A last trace of some reminiscence of this short period during which the Book of Joshua still belonged to the 'Law' may be seen in the Apocryphal Book of Joshua of the Samaritans.

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reason enough for assigning to them the attribute of holiness. If, nevertheless, the books were not reckoned to the canon, the explanation is to be sought in the practical character of the first canon: Ezra gave to the community in the canon of the Law all that it required. It was not me, when he gave it, he only gave over again what God had once already given through Moses to the people as his one and all. If the people had remained true to this Law, not only would they have escaped all the disasters of the past, but also they would never have needed new revelations from God through his prophets. These prophets contributed nothing new; they were sent only to admonish the unfaithful people to observe the Law, and to announce the merited punishment of the impenitent. The Law thus had permanent validity, whilst the work of the prophets was transitory; the Law addressed itself to all generations, the prophets each only to his own, which had now passed away. The generations that had sworn obedience anew to the Law under Ezra, therefore, had no need for the prophets. Should similar circumstances recur, it might be expected that God would send prophets anew; but the prevailing feeling was, no doubt, that the time of unfaithfulness, and consequently of the prophetic ministry, had gone for ever.¹

32. Provisional.

The view here set forth is that of the OT itself, pre-eminently that of the Deuteronomistic school, where it is constantly recurring.² Indeed, since the Deuteronomie and the Priestly Laws alike, each in its own way, had assimilated the results of the work of the prophets, this view must be called, from then point of view, the right one. Accordingly it has throughout continued to be the view of the synagogue, as can be proved from many passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim.³ It explains at the same time why it is that the historical books (Joshua-Kings) are called 'prophets.' They speak just in the manner of the prophets of the unfaithfulness of past generations to the law, and of the divine means, chiefly the mission of prophets, used to correct this. Both relate in a similar way to the past. For the same reason the prophets, conversely, are called 'history'; for 'tradition' in the sense of 'history' is what is meant by *ספרות* (*sepharut*), the Massoretic term for the canon of the prophets, the *ספרות* (*sepharut*), as a whole (p. further, Strack, 439f.).

We can thus very easily understand how it was that the Prophets could not be canonized simultaneously with the Law. To pledge people to the obligation to the Law would only have been obscured and weakened by a canonization of the Prophets at the same time. The idea of canonization had first to be enlarged, it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.⁴

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this; and the same result follows from the established facts of 'higher criticism.' The idea of canonization had first to be enlarged, it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.⁴

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this; and the same result follows from the established facts of 'higher criticism.'

34. Not yet canonized.

Prophets was not possible, and the obligation to the Law would only have been obscured and weakened by a canonization of the Prophets at the same time. The idea of canonization had first to be enlarged, it had to be conceived in a more abstract manner, on the basis of a historical interest in the past, before the canonizing of the Prophets—that is to say, their being taken in immediate connection with the Law—could become possible.⁴

Of course a considerable period of time must have been required for this; and the same result follows from the established facts of 'higher criticism.'

35. Freely edited.

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¹ With every reservation let it be noted here that in Mal 3:23 the promise is not of a new prophet, but only of the return of Elijah, and that in Zech. 13:2 ff. to come forward as a prophet is a risk one's life.

² Compare also, however (especially), the confession of sin in Neh. 9:2, which precedes the taking of the covenant (particularly 26 ff., 28:20 ff., 34).

³ See Weiser, 18 f., 28 f.

⁴ Cf. the passage (2 Marc. 2:13), already spoken of, in which such a historical interest appears, but leads only to the foundation of a library, not to the canonizing of its contents.

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evidence of a secondary literary activity.¹ These phenomena are so manifold, and there are traces of periods so widely separated, that we must believe not a few generations to have borne a part in bringing the prophetic books to their present form. Yet these extensive additions and revisions, at least most of them, must of course have taken place before the canonization.

This obvious conclusion is indeed contradicted by the tradition of the synagogue, which tells us that the books of the prophets were written by 'the men of the great synagogue' on which view the canon of the prophets was already complete in 444 B.C.

36. Gap in tradition.

Nor does this assertion, the baselessness of which we have already seen, stand alone. It is backed by others. Josephus (c. 1 p. 18) says expressly that it was down to the time of Antiochus, the successor of Nereus (*Ant. 12.18*), Longimanus, 495-424 that the literary activity of the prophets continued. The passage in the Mishna in which the unbroken chain of tradition is set forth (*Trakt. Aboth. 1:1*) represents the Law as having been handed down by the prophets to the men of the great synagogue; which again brings us to the same date, and dispenses with the need of any further testimony.

It is exactly this chain of tradition, however, that supplies the interval of time that we need. The passage goes on to say: Simon the Just was one of the last survivors of 'the men of the great synagogue'; he handed on the tradition to Antiochus of Socho, by whom² in turn it was transmitted to Jose b. Joezer and Jose b. Jochanan, the first of the so-called 'sages.' That the chronology of this section leaves much to be desired is clear.³ It seems to be as good as certain, however, that the fourth of the five parts lived about 50 B.C., the third about 200 B.C. The same ratio would bring us to somewhere about 100 B.C. for the first 'sage,' whilst the time of Antiochus and Simon would fall about 200 B.C., or a little earlier. In that case Simon the Just would be the high priest Simon II, b. Onias who is briefly mentioned by Josephus (*Ant. 12.18*). The cognomen of 'Just,' however, is given by Josephus (*Ant. 12.18*) to Simon I, b. Onias, who lived almost a century earlier, soon after 300. If we must consider that he is the Simon who is meant, it is clear that the alleged chain of tradition is defective in its earlier portion, only a single name having reached us for the whole of the third century. Further, Simon the Just is the connecting link with the great 'synagogue,' and as the assembly that gave rise to this name was held in 444, there is again a gap, this time of a century, even if we concede that Simon reached a very advanced age. The long interval between Simon the Just and 444 B.C., however, is not to be held as arising from a different view about the synagogue; it is to be accounted for by the hiatus already referred to, §§ 10, 23 in the traditional chronology between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great, similar to that which brings Zerubbabel into immediate relation with the time of Ezra.⁴ It is within this vacant period that we must place those redactions, the fact of which has been so uncontestedly proved by critical inquiry. The main reason why the synagogue has no recollection of this period, is that during this time the activity of the scribes (with the history of which alone the chronology bases itself from Ezra onwards) had no independent life, but devoted itself almost exclusively to the sacred writings of the past, and left its traces only there, so that whatever it

37. Activity in interval.

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¹ The same time is fully of Isaiah, Micah, and Zephaniah; let it not be forgotten that they show the same thing in some degree.

² By whom is placed according to the text, but reference is made perhaps to Simon the Just, Zure (Gen.) would interpret it in the successors of Antiochus, more or less immediate.

³ But this is hardly permissible.

⁴ See Strack, *op. cit.* 2, 30 ff.

⁵ Cf. also J. S. *Ant.* 12.18, with 71 and 81.

accomplished was put to the credit of the earlier times. This holds good, in the first instance, of the Law, to which considerable additions were still made as late as the third century (see above, § 25). Still more extensive was this activity in the case of the prophetic books; it was now that they took their final literary shape.¹ The additions naturally corresponded to the thoughts and wishes of the age in which they arose; on the lines of older models, the elements of hope and of comfort received a much fuller development, and thus the prophets were made of practical interest for a present time that, contrary to expectation, had turned out badly.²

It is possible that we even possess a proof that the canonization of the prophets did not take place quite without opposition and dispute, a thing in itself not improbable. In the Church fathers we meet with the very

definite assertion that the Sadducees had scruples about acknowledging any sacred writings (especially the Prophets) in addition to the Law.³ It cannot be supposed that there is here any confusion with the Samaritans, who are expressly named along with them as sharing the same view; a somewhat easier view is that what is referred to is their rejection of the oral legal tradition.⁴ Let it be borne in mind, however, that we here have to do with our best Christian authorities on matters Jewish—Origen and Jerome, the former of whom was contemporary with the period of the Mishna. That neither the Mishna itself, nor yet Josephus, has a word to say on such a dangerous subject, is intelligible enough. It is, of course, not for a moment to be supposed—even though this is suggested by some of the passages cited—that the Sadducees rejected the prophets, or, in other words, refused to recognise them as having been channels of divine communications. On the other hand, it is not difficult to believe that these conservative guardians of the old priestly tradition should have resisted the addition of a second canon to that of the Law, which until then had held an exclusive place. In doing so, they would only have been maintaining the position of 144 B.C., whilst in this, as in other matters, the Pharisees represented the popular party of the time. The controversy

1 Cp. Weitz, *Die* 155 ff. and ed. 169 ff.; M. Hershkov, *Origines et Growth of Rabbinic Religion* (Hob. Inst. 189.), 41 ff. The fact that it was expressly prohibited to commit to writing the traditional law cannot of course be taken too literally; he maintained (cp. Strack, art. 'Thalmud' in *REJ* 833 ff.) that it is not impossible that there lies at the basis of a still reminiscence. Hardly, indeed, such a one as Strack suggests (p. 373 f.); but rather this: that the addition of all sorts of novelties to the canonical law was definitely put a stop to, and thus a reaction against this tendency to add, there arose, some time (say) in the course of the second century, a certain reluctance to write the further developments of the law – the Halakoth – until at last the codification of the Mishna put an end to this.

² Ryle's conjecture (p. 117) that the gradual admission of the Prophets to a place in the public reading of the synagogue preceded and led to their canonization, rests unfortunately on a precarious foundation, as we do not know whether the *Haphtarā* goes back to a sufficiently early date. The first mention of the public reading of the Prophets is in the NT (Lk. 4:16 f.; Acts 13:1-27), the next, in a very cursory and obscure form, is in the Mishna (*Megilla*, 4:6), and, very full and clear, in the Tosephta (*Megilla*, 4:3f., ed. Zuckermann, 225 ff.). This much may be taken for certain, that the reading of the Prophets came in very considerably later than that of the Law. That what led to it was the destructive search after copies of the Law in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. 1:57) is pure conjecture, even if proved it would be insufficient for Ryle's purpose. For the age of the *H. piphārā*, see Zimm., *z. f. N. B.*, 116 f.; and on the *Haphtarā* in general, see Schurr, *z. f. N. B.*, 237 f. It is necessary to add a note of warning as to 1 Macc. 1:56 f.

³ See the passages textually quoted in Schurer, 2:317; Orig., *c. cels.* 1:4 (ed. Lommatsch, 1894); *Comm. in Matth.* 1, chap. 35 (ed. on chap. 22 20 u. f. (ed. Lomm., 1466 n. 4); *Ier. Comm. in Matth.* 22 u. f. (Vall., 17179); *contr. Iulianum*, chap. 23 (v. c. 199); *Philosophumena*, 329; Pseudo-Text, *adv. Her.* chap. 1.

⁴ Yet in the last-cited passage there follows immediately: "Praeternitto Phariseos qui addimenta quaedam leges adstruendo a Iudeis divisi sunt."

about defiling the hands (M. *Yadayim*, 16) may
 been a last echo of this.¹

Lastly, we must endeavour to fix an interval for the date at which the prophetic events

39. Inferior
limit = **Ecclus.**

older and much more extensive than 4 Esdras I-aspis, namely the hymn to the great merit of past with which Jesus b. Sira (Ecclesiastus), in c. 44-50, concludes his didactic poem. From I downwards all the righteous are portrayed exactly in the order in which they occur in the Law and Former Prophets. The kings are treated quite on heteronormative lines: David, Hezekiah, and Josiah receive unqualified praise. Solomon is commended half heartedly whilst Rehoboam is spoken of as a fool and Jeroboam as a scoundrel. Elijah and Elisha and their place in the series immediately after these kings, whilst between Hezekiah and Josiah comes Isa. Of him we are told in one and the same sentence we read in chaps. 36-39 (cf. 2 K 18-20), and that his mighty inspiration he foresaw the future and comforted them that mourn in Zion (cp. 40). This part not only chaps. 36-39, but also chaps. 40-66, all were parts of the Book of Isaiah, and thus that the essential steps to its final redaction had been made (cf. *Int'r.* Lx. xviii.). Still more significant is that after Jeremiah (who is associated with Josiah, as I have shown with Hezekiah) and after Ezekiel, the twelve prophets of *δωδεκα προφηται* are mentioned, and disposed collectively in a single panegyric. Here already it is to say, we have the same consolidation as we have seen (§ 21) in the Mishna (where a single authorship of the persons of 'the men of the great synagogue' has been found for the one book of the twelve). We may surmise that Jesus b. Sira found the twelve books already grouped upon a single roll, and thus in their final form by his time the prophetic canon had been closed.

The conclusion of this hymn (chap. 50), answers the question as to the date of its author. It is the praise of Simon b. Onias who was high priest in Jesus b. S. 300 A.D. day. In this instance, it is certainly not Simon b. Just (cp § 36) that is intended, if it were only on account of the absence of the surname distinctively given to Josephus and the Mishna. The question is decided for Simon H. (*ibid* 200) by the prologue of the translation of the author, who made his version later than 132 B.C. (see ECCLESIASTICS, § 8).⁴ We there-

¹ The arguments for utter rejection of this statement can be found in Winer, *III BZ* 2, 353 f. The view taken in this volume seems to be shared by We, when he writes (*ITC* 251: 267, 268, 269; 3rd ed. 297); 'They (the Pharisees) stood up again at the Sadducees for the enlargement of the canon.' Another view is expressed in *Einf.* 3: 134.

² The procedure here given him has no bearing on the place assigned to his book in the Prophetic canon (cf. above, § 1). It is the chronological succession of the persons that is being dealt with.

217¹ The doubt raised (not for the first time) by Bohm (loc. cit. 17, 230 ff.) against the genuineness of 1 Th. 1, 10, where the $\chi\lambda\iota\varsigma$ is referred to, was excellently disposed of by N. Loh (Z. N. T. 8, 1914, 18 ff.) by the evidence of the Syriac tradition (which rests immediately on the Hebrew), and by showing that in 1 Th. 1, 10, according to Cod. A and others, the correct reading is the plural $\mu\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\alpha\iota$ (followed by $\gamma\alpha\rho$ in Cod. B and $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha$ in Cod. A), so that 10⁶ refers not to Ezekiel but to the XII. Another circumstance ought to be noted. If the phrase is exactly that of Jeremiah in Jer. 7, with that of II Th. 2, 13 (part from Isaiah) in Jer. 21, 6, and finally with that of the XII, it is 10⁶ is taken as applying wholly to them. To pass, then, before us as Zöckler (*Die Apokryphen des N. T.*, 1894, p. 348 f.) silently does is quite inadmissible. I all the more now be added the testimony of the lately discovered Hebrew. The genuineness of 1 Th. 1, 10 is doubted by Bohm (loc. cit. 17, 230, p. 31), but without any reasons being given. On p. 31, he appears to be able to accept the genuineness.

4 The arguments by which I. Halevy (*Étude sur la partie du texte Hébreu de l'Éclésiastique*, rev. ed., Paris, 1897) endeavored to prove that Simon I. the Just is the author of chap. 50, have failed to convince the present writer. Still it should be kept in mind that even if Halevy were right in

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conclude—and the conclusion agrees with the course of the development traced above—that the prophetic collection already existed as such, pretty much in its present form, about the year 200 B.C.¹

Notable reasons for the same conclusion are supplied by the Book of Daniel (written about 164 B.C.). In the first place there is a reason of a positive character. In 9:2 we find Jer. 25:13 cited as **דברי ירמיהו** (in the [Holy] Scripture). Of greater weight, however, is a negative reason—the Book of Daniel itself found a place, not among the Prophets, but among the Writings. Other reasons for this might be conjectured,² but the most probable one still is that at the time of its recognition as canonized the canon of the Prophets had in current opinion been already definitely completed. The time of canonization, however, must be taken to have been considerably later than the date of composition (164 B.C.), and so this reason does not go for much. Still less important is the further fact, that the work of the Chronicler composed during the first half of the third century is not included among the Former Prophets. Its special character as a Midrash to already accepted biblical books must long have precluded its attaining the dignity of canonization; but a further circumstance helped to impede its recognition. The immediate integrity of the Former Prophets and the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (the right to their final form at an early date) had comparatively soon come to be regarded as fixed and unalterable,³ whilst, on the other hand, to append Chronicles to the later prophets was plainly impossible.

It remains, then, that the canonization of the *Ketuvim* we might almost say was of the *second* order of the Prophets.

41. **Prophetic canon subordinate.** Thus, however, does not yet bring us to an altogether unambiguous finding, with reference to either canonization or canon. It is only misleading if we allow ourselves, without justification, to carry back the idea of 'canonization' to the fully-developed form which it finally reached, to the earliest beginnings of the formation of a canon. It was impossible for the Jewish people to receive a 'canonical value in the same sense in which this was given to the Law—the subordinate character of the Prophetic canon remains fixed for all coming time.⁴ Holiness was, and continued to be, a relative conception, and we do not need to give to the designation **דברי ירמיהו** in Dan. 9:2 the same fullness of meaning that it has in the Talmud. The gulf between the Law and all the remaining books could be bridged only artificially, and we know with certainty that the bridging idea—the idea of a property common to all holy books, that of 'defining the hands'—was an invention of Pharisaic scholarship, withstood by the Sadducees even after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Fad.* 4:3). Until this bridge had been securely constructed there was no idea of a canon which included all three portions equally. This is proved by a fact to which we have already referred,—the Sadducean recognition of nothing but the Law. Before a definitive union of the Prophetic canon with that of the

rate of Ecclesiasticalism ought not to be pushed back more than fifty or sixty years. The author may be descending in fact to the reminiscences from his early youth. See Kautsch in *SVT*, 1, p. 108 f.

The possibility of much later additions to the books admitted to the canon is unfortunately by no means excluded, as is sufficiently evident from the simple fact that even the Pentateuch continued to be added to long after its canonization (see § 32). This is not in the nature of the canon, but prevents us from attaching the appendices to Zephaniah (chaps. 9-11), the later Malachi period, as *W. (H)* 228, n. 2, and ed. 24, n. 1, appears to do (cp. Zephaniah 1:1), or admitting the two passages in Isaiah (already enlarged by the addition of chaps. 40-66) as indicated by Duhm's results. In these cases, however, we are justified in demanding very conclusive arguments.

¹ Cp. for example, Duhm, *op. cit.* 3, vi, n. 1.

² Hence also the exclusion of the Book of Ruth.

³ As to this cp. the very significant passage (*Hegilla*, 27a) quoted in Marx, 20, n. 3.

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Law could be effected the way had to be prepared by a continually rising appreciation of the prophetic literature, and by an ever-growing conception of its sanctity. To this result the Maccabean period must unquestionably have contributed much. Such passages as 1 Macc. 4:49, 9:27-11:4, and the Song of the Three Children (*12:14*, cp. Ps. 71:6) show not only how far people then felt themselves to be removed from the prophetic times, but also how highly those times were thought of. Still we must bear in mind the passage in 2 Macc. (12:1) already referred to (§ 27), which seems to show that even in the first century B.C., it was still possible to speak of the Prophets and of prophetic writings, in the same breath, as parts of the same library.

On the other hand it can be shown that there was once a time in which the Prophets, but not the Hagiographa, could be spoken of along with the Law as included among the sacred writings.

42. **Prophets preceded Hagiographa.** As the name of the Law can be used to designate the whole tripartite canon (see above, § 26), so also can the double name 'the Law and the Prophets' (cp. in N.T. Mt. 23:35; Lk. 16:17; Acts 28:23), and, in the tradition of the synagogue *Kosher ha-shema*, 16; *Talm. B.* 8:14; *Talm. J. H. d. B.* also *Talm. B.* 13:4). It may also be pointed out that the name *Ketuvim* (Hagiographa) includes the Prophets and the Writings (cp. the numerous passages in *Lev.* 44:1-3, but the synonymous expression *Libri* (see above, § 30), if we are correctly informed (*Strack*, 490), the *12* books only).

(3) *The third canon, the Hagiographa.* Here, again, there is no possibility of doubt that, at the time when the prophetic collection was closed, much of what we now find in our third canon was already in existence, and yet it did not gain admission into the canon and found no place in the canon of that day.

At bottom the reason is self-evident: it was a collection of prophets that was being made, and not that it is to say, of writings in which God himself spoke, employing the Law by the mouth of his prophets. Such other writings were then extant did not need to be included in the canon of Yahweh (the Law, the Prophets), the inner utterance of the God of Israel. One of them, indeed, the earlier nucleus of the Psalter, was in use as the hymn book of the Temple services, but to have admitted it into the canon on that account would have been very much the same as it now a Christian church were to place its hymns among its sacred books. There is no necessity, accordingly, of a further expansion of the canon. Sacred Writings, or thus the word with the canon of the canon of the canon, and also to say a reduced intensity, before any further books could find admission, not of course into either of the canons already existing, but into a third, subordinate rank to these. It is obvious, further, that age, or a considerable period must have elapsed before this extension of the idea could make way and thus render possible the admission of books which, at the time when the prophetic canon was closed, were still unwritten.

Besides the (obvious) condition of a book's having a religious character, the only remaining condition demanded by the test implied in the expanded idea of canon is the condition of date. These books were accepted which were considered to have been written during the prophetic period.

43. **End of prophetic period.** The passage already referred to in § 15, after some further explanation of the sacred writings (cp. 1:24), goes on to say: *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς προφητείας ἐστὶν τὸ κατὰ θεὸν ἄρρητον ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς τὸν ὅποιοις ἀνθρώποις ἀποκαλύπτει τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀποκαλύπτει τὸν θεὸν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀποκαλύπτει τὸν θεὸν.* This is now the prophetic period, closes with Antiochus (167) and Nehemiah.

44. **Exclusion of the Hagiographa in both cases.** It must be recalled that the evidence for their inclusion is regarded as being so certain in the case of the Law and the Prophets as it is in that of the Law alone.

and canonicity (even in the case of non-prophetic books) is guaranteed only by contemporaneity with the continuous series of the prophets. This view is confirmed by the Talmudic tradition. Tos. Yadayim, 2:3 (p. 63) rules that 'books such as Ben Sira [Ecclesiasticus] and all books written לפניו [before] do not defile the hands'. This לפניו —i.e., 'from that time forward'—is the standing expression for the cessation of the prophetic period. Corresponding with it is the other phrase מעתה ('until then'), denoting this period. Further confirmation is found in *Sav. 28a*: 'Books like Ben Sira and similar books written from that time onwards may be read as one reads a letter' (cp on this, Bahl, § 2). The point of time is fixed by a passage in *Seder olam raba*, 13, as the time of Alexander the Macedonian; 'The rough legend (Dan. 8:21) is Alexander the Macedonian, who reigned twelve years; until then the prophets prophesied by the Holy Spirit; from that time forward incline thine ear and hearken to the word of the wise'.¹ If Alexander the Great here takes the place of Artaxerxes in Josephus, the explanation is simply that, according to the Jewish chronology and conception of history, Haggai and Zechariah, Ezra and Malachi all lived at the same time, which is contiguous with that of Alexander.²

We now know, therefore, that it is not out of mere caprice, but in accordance with a settled doctrine, that 4 Esd. 14 and *Riba Rikra* 1:51 declare all the canonical books to have been already in existence in Ezra's time. The time limit was a fixed one; difference of view was possible only with regard to the person of the author. From this doctrine we deduce the proposition: *Into the third canon, that of the Hagiographa, were received all books of a religious character of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the Prophetic period, that is, to the time of Ezra and the Great Assembly.*

The reason for the setting up of such a standard is easily intelligible. Down to the time of the Great

45. Reason of limit.

Assembly, the Spirit of God had been operative not only in the Law but also outside of it, namely in the Prophets, but 'from that time onwards' the Law took the command alone. 'Until then' it was possible to point to the presence of the factor which was essential to the production of sacred writings, but 'from that time onwards' it was not. Hence the conviction that the divine productive force had manifested itself even in those cases where the writing did not claim to be an immediate divine utterance; but only down to the close of the prophetic period. The proposition we have just formulated is sufficient to explain the reception or non-reception of all the books that we now have to deal with. Job was received as, according to general belief, a book of venerable antiquity; Ruth as a narrative relating to the period of the judges, and therefore (as was invariably assumed as matter of course in the case of historical narratives) as dating from the same time; the Psalms as broadly covered by the general idea that they were 'David's Psalms'; Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes as resting on Solomon's name; Lamentations as resting on that of Jeremiah; Daniel as a prophet of the Persian period (which in its whole extent was supposed to fall within the prophetic age) overlooked in the earlier collection. The same consideration held good for Esther, regarded as a history book. At the close comes the Book of Ezra—separated from the general work of the Chronicler³—which, in its account of the Great Assembly, contained the original document on the close of the Prophetic period and so, as it were, puts the colophon to the completed canon. Had

46. Appendices.

what we now call Chronicles—i.e., the first part of the Chronicler's work—been incorporated with the canon simultaneously with the incorporation of its second part, the Book of Ezra, the two would never have been separated, and even arranged in an order contrary to the chronological (cp *LIT. CRIT.*, § 15). We may therefore say with all confidence that Chronicles did not come in till after-

wards, as an appendix to the canon. The reason for its original exclusion was no doubt the consciousness, strictly, it was but a Midrash to other canonical books. The second part of the Chronicler's work, once canonized, tended to take the other along with it; possibly the Book of Chronicles may have been helped by the necessity with which it goes into the temple service—a factor to which at a later date, in the Massoretic arrangement (see above, § 8), it was indebted for a first place among the Hagiographa. From this one certain case, the inference may be inferred the possibility that other books, especially the immediately preceding ones (Ezra, Esther, Daniel; perhaps also Ruth; see above, § 9), were gradually added, one by one, to the third canon in way of appendices. At least, they all of them have the appearance of being, as to their contents, appendices to the two halves of the Prophetic canon, whilst the remaining six books form a class by themselves. We are, however, in a position to speak with certainty here.

Conversely, all other writings, so far as not excluded by reason of their language or some exception relating to their contents, may safely be supposed to have been excluded either because

47. Excluded books.

manifestly and on their own confession they did not go back to the Prophetic time, or because their claim to do so was not admitted.¹ The first mentioned reason must have been what operated in the case of works of so high a standing as 1 Mace. and Ecclesiasticus; as instances of the application of the same principle, we may take (in contrast to Daniel) the books of Baruch and Enoch.²

The attempt to determine the date at which the canon of the Hagiographa, and with it that of the entire OT, was finally closed, is again

48. Date, inferior limit.

surrounded with the very greatest difficulty. Let us, to begin with, fix a *terminus ad quem*. It is given us in the passage frequently referred to already, in Josephus (*c. 1.5*) and 4 Esdras (chap. 14), where the entire corpus of the OT Scriptures, in twenty-two or twenty-four books, is set apart from all other writings. As to the extent of the canon, unanimity had been reached by at least somewhere about the year 100 A.D.

For a superior limit we shall have to begin where our investigation as to the prophetic canon ended—viz.,

49. Superior limit.

as the son of Sirach. In his hymn he commemorates, as the last of the heroes of Israel, Zerubbabel and Joshua as well as Nehemiah, thereby conclusively showing that he was acquainted with the work of the Chronicler (*19.11 ff.*). Moreover, he makes use of passages from the Psalms. Neither fact proves anything for a third canon; the fact that he found his ideal and pattern in the prophets is rather against this (*21.33*: $\text{ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλῶν ὡς προφηταὶ ἐκχρῶ}$). The prologue of his descendant (after than 132 B.C.) shows still more unmistakably that no definite third canon was then in existence, even although already a certain number of books had begun to attach themselves to the Law and the Prophets. Three times he designates the whole aggregate of the literature which had been handed down, to which also his ancestor had sought to add his quota, as $\text{ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτοῖς ἠκολούθησαν}$; $\text{ὁ ν. κ. οἱ πρ. κ. τὰ ἄλλα πατρια βιβλία}$; $\text{ὁ ν. κ. αἱ προφητίαι οἱ προφῆται}$ (C); $\text{κ. τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων}$. What is thus designated by three different indeterminate expressions cannot have been a definite collection. That of these books, in whole or in part, there were already Greek translations we can gather from the Prologue; but we get no help either from this or from the LXX generally.

¹ Some found their way in, others not, on grounds of taste or the taste of the period, says Wellhausen (*U. 2. 146*), *c.* 1. 1. ed. 512). No doubt considerations of taste must have had influence on the decision whether the books in question came up to the standard; but it was the doctrine that formally decided.

² As to Ecclesiasticus note the expression *ἡ ἐκκλησία* of Eusebius and Gemara (above, § 44).

¹ The 'wise' are the (post-canonical) scribes; cp Weber, *127 ff.*

² Cp. copious proofs for this point, already more than once mentioned above, in *Mat. 23* (see below, § 75), 53; n. 4.

³ cp CHRONICLES, § 2 and EZRA § 8.

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In 1 Macc. 7:16 f. we find Ps. 79:2 f. cited with the formula *κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὅτι (τοῖς λόγοις οὖν) ἐγραψέ*. In other words, as Holy Scripture. In 259 f. Daniel and his three friends are named as patterns in immediate connection with Elijah, David, Caleb, and others; 1:54 seems to quote Daniel's prediction (Dan. 9:27). We here see, somewhere about the close of the second or the beginning of the last century B.C., the Book of Daniel for the first time coming into evidence as a fully accredited authority—we could not possibly have expected so to find it at any earlier date.

Unfortunately these testimonies, such as they are, are followed by a very wide hiatus. Philo (*op. cit.* 50

60. Philo. A.D.) is our next resort; but, great as is the extent of his writings (all proceeding uncompromisingly on the allegorical method of biblical interpretation), they do not yield us much that is satisfactory in our present inquiry.¹ Nowhere do we find a witness to a tripartite canon.² Of the canonical books he nowhere quotes Ezekiel, any of the five Megilloth, Daniel, or Chronicles.³ The blank is a great one. Still we may find some compensation in the fact that at least the Book of Ezra is cited with the solemn formula applicable to a divinely inspired writing.⁴ A certain conclusion as to the incompleteness of the canon cannot be drawn from this silence regarding many books. On the other hand, real importance attaches to the following piece of negative evidence: Philo, although (as an Alexandrian) he must have been acquainted with many non-canonical books, and indeed actually betrays such acquaintance, in no instance uses them in the same way as the canonical. This allows as probable the inference that a definitely closed canon was known to him; only we are not able to say from any data supplied by him what was the extent of that canon in its third part.

Our next witness is the NT. In Lk. 24:44 we have evidence of the tripartite division, for 'the psalms' probably stands *a priori* for the whole of the

61. NT. third canon. Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and Ezra are not referred to at all. Of course here again nothing certain is to be inferred from the silence; but, if other considerations came into play, this fact also ought to be taken into account. On the other side, the certain reference to Chronicles in Mt. 23:35, Lk. 11:51⁵ is entitled to have weight. The quotation of Dan. 7:22 in 1 Cor. 6:2 also must be referred to.⁶

There thus remains a space of something like two centuries—say from the end of the second century B.C.

¹ Cp Hornemann (*Observationes ad illustrationem doctrinae de canone V.T. ex Philone*, 1775, copious extracts from which are given in Eichhorn's *Einl.* (4) 123 ff.). Till the appearance of Prof. H. E. Ryle's *Philo and the Holy Scripture* (1855), the statements of Hornemann had never been verified with sufficient care; though, on the other hand, they had not in any point been shown to be inaccurate. Prof. Ryle's results do not, however, differ much from those of Hornemann.

² Apart from *De Vit. Contempl.* § 3, probably a work of a much later time. Cp Lucian, *The Theraputen*, 1870, and Schreier's review of Cyprian's *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, *TLZ*, 20th July 1895.

³ That 1 Ch. 7:14 is quoted in the tract *De Congr. quor. erud. gratia*, 8, is asserted by Hirschfeld (*GT* 13:36 [1857]); but cp also Richter's edition of Philo, 1828, and has been taken over from him by all subsequent writers; but it is rather B's enlargement (enlarged perhaps from Ch.) of Gen. 40:20, which varies from Ch. Ryle (*Philo*, etc., p. 283) finds 1 Ch. 9:14 quoted (*De Prim. et Pen.* § 13, ii. 420); but there is very little likeness between the two passages (see, however, the next note). Of the minor prophets only Hosea, Jonah, and Zechariah are made use of; but this guarantees the entire Book of prophecy.

⁴ Unless here (*De cont. Linguarum*, § 23, 17) the whole of 1 Ch. 8 be intended, rather than (as is universally assumed) Ezra 8 (see in 1 Ch. 3:22 the one descendant of David now mentioned in Ezra 8:2). (Cp the plur. *οἱ ἀκουσάτες* *εἰς τὰ* and *ἐν βασιλικαῖς βιβλίαις*.)

⁵ By many the expression 'from . . . to' here used is actually taken to mean 'from the first book to the last book of the OT.' Then the passage would prove the use of the canon with the Book of Chronicles, and in fact, its close altogether; but the expression may refer to the sacrifice implied in the history of Zechariah's murder.

⁶ Cp Ryle, p. 143 ff.

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to about 100 A.D.—within which we are unable to point out any sure indications of the close of the third canon.

62. No decision. Ryle (p. 173 ff.) thinks it can be made out with a very high degree of probability that the close took place as early as the second century B.C., between 106 and 105, the year of the death of John Hyrcanus II. His one positive reason¹ is that the civil wars and scholastic controversies of the last century B.C. must have withdrawn interest from such things and made impossible any union of schools or any public step that could alter the *status quo*. That there ever was a union of schools, however, we have every reason to deny; the extension of the canon was in all probability only one of the internal affairs of the Pharisaic school (cp above, § 37). From this it necessarily follows that there is no question about any public step being taken—say a deliberate decision, reached once for all, or a decree of any authoritative assembly.

We actually have express information, however, of such a decision at a much later time. It is obvious

63. Mishna. that no such thing would have been necessary if a binding decision had already been long in existence. We refer at present to the controversy of which we read in the Mishna (*Tract. Shab.* 35; cp *1. Shab.*, 51).

The general proposition there laid down runs as follows: 'All holy scripture (*תנ"ך*) defile the hands' (cp above, § 9); next follows the particular: 'Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands.' Then we have the controversy. 'R. Juda said: Canticles indeed defile the hands; as regards Ecclesiastes opinion is divided.' R. Jose said: 'Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, but as regards Canticles opinion is divided.' R. Simon said: 'About Ecclesiastes the school of Shammai gives the laver, the school of Hillel the severer decision; therefore compare the elucidation in *1. Shab.*, 51, that according to the latter [Shammai] Ecclesiastes does not defile the hands, according to the latter it does.' R. Simon b. Azai said: 'To me it has been handed down from the mouth of the seventy-two elders that, on the day on which R. Elizer b. Azai was made supreme head, it was decided that (both) Canticles and Ecclesiastes defile the hands.' R. Akiba said: 'God forbid that there should ever have been difference of opinion in Israel about Canticles, as if it did not defile the hands; for the entire world, from the beginning until now, does not outweigh the day in which Canticles was given to Israel.' For *1. Shab.* (2) all Scriptures (*כ"ת*) are holy (*קדש*), but Canticles is holy of holies (*קדש קדש*). If people were divided in opinion, it was as to Ecclesiastes alone. R. Johanan b. Johanan, the son of R. Akiba's father-in-law, said: 'As the son of Azai says, people were thus divided in opinion, and it is thus that the matter has been decided.'

It has been contended that the dispute here was not about the question of canonicity, both books being clearly

64. Meaning of dispute. included in the opening sentences under the category of holy, and that the word

קדש, 'to preserve, lay aside, hide,' the technical expression for the treatment with which the books in question were threatened, does not mean 'to pronounce apocryphal' but only something like 'to exclude from public reading.'² Both contentions are incorrect. The word in question is not used with reference to Ecclesiastes or other apocryphal works, simply because no one had ever spoken of canonizing them, and thus there could not possibly be any question about doing away with them or removing them. And that our passage certainly is discussing the question whether the two books are Holy Scripture or not, is

¹ A good argument advanced by Ryle, that obtained by reasoning backwards from the position in 1. Ephes. is based down by Ryle (p. 27) to the more important passage in the third part . . . had already received its canonical completion before the Christian era.

² By this we are certainly, in accordance with § 2, to understand the entire canon. On the other hand, the *כ"ת* mentioned later on may mean in reality the Hagit gratia.

³ One easily perceives that a part of 1. Shab. is also the stricter school of Shammai remained true to its reputation, and no less so the laxer school of Hillel.

⁴ The tract, *1. Shab. de R. Nathan* (chap. 1, as we saw above (§ 18), takes this decision back, as also in the case of Proverbs, to the time of the Great Synagogue.

⁵ Cp especially Philo, 7:52, and Ryle, 107 f. On the other hand, Chyene (*OT*, 457) acknowledges that the question is that of canonicity.

made unmistakably evident by the words of R. 'Akiba. In this final stage of the development the question cannot possibly be whether perhaps, though integral parts of Holy Scripture, they nevertheless do not defile the hands: it is established that 'all Holy Scriptures defile the hands.' Then follows the Mishmic decision that the books of Canticles and Ecclesiastes also belong to this class; after this, the discussion which preceded the decision, and the grounds on which it was reached, are given.

In this connection the precise fixing of the day on which this decision was arrived at is important: the day 55, 100 A.D. on which at Jamnia (Yabna) R. Gamaliel II. was incidentally deposed from his place as president of the court of justice, an incident for which we have also other early testimonies.¹ This event certainly falls within the decades that immediately followed the destruction of Jerusalem—whether so early as 90 A.D. (the usual assumption) is questionable, but 100 A.D. will not in any case be very wide of the mark. This period, then, saw the settlement of a twofold controversy, which, as regards one half of it at least, had already occupied the schools of Hillel and Shammai about a century before. This last point is conceded even by a zealot like R. 'Akiba: his unrestrained exaggeration as regards Canticles is only a veil to cover the weakness of his position.² We hear nothing of any decision of the question preceding that of Jamnia. That, after the proceedings of that stormy day, the question should have been discussed again some decades later (R. 'Akiba *ib.* 135), need not surprise us. No new decision is arrived at: the question is answered by a confirmation of that of Jamnia.³

Thus, then, about the year 100 A.D. there was still, as an unsettled controversy, the same question as to the canonicity of two books, which as regards one of them (Ecclesiastes; see ECCLESIASTES, § 3) had been a notorious point of difference between the two great schools of the Pharisees.⁴ By that time, however,

¹ For brevity's sake it will be enough to refer to the exceedingly careful history of the activity of the scribes, with copious proofs, given in Schärer (230 ff.).

² The remark has a wider application to rabbinical Judaism generally and the other Megillah: cp We. *Int.* 554, 6th ed. 514.

³ The reader is referred to Buhl (28 ff.), Willeboer (38 ff.), Kyle (192 ff.), and the articles PERIM and NUSKOR for the later and less amply attested disputes about Esther, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Jonah (mentioned in the order of the degree of their attestation). It is only in the case of the Book of ESTHER (277, § 12) that such disputes can have been really serious. In the case of Ezekiel, there may be a genuine reminiscence of the embarrassment caused to the scribes by the discrepancies between the Law and Ezek. 40-48, perhaps also of the objections raised by the Sadducees on this account. In part at least, we must admit the truth of Strack's remark (p. 429) that 'in many cases the discussions leave one with the impression that the objections were raised merely that they might be refuted.' This impression, however, in no way impairs that of the real seriousness of the decision of Jamnia. That the four books mentioned above are not named in *Int.* 35 proves in any case that at that time serious objections to them were no longer entertained, and as we are here dealing only with the close of the canon, not with the individual books of which it was composed, this fact must suffice for us.

⁴ This is not inconsistent with the fact (which we learn from various sources) that Simon b. Shetah (who belonged to the third of the five 'pairs' in the first half of the first century B.C.) quotes Eccles. 12 as Holy Scripture (for details see Buhl, p. 157).

He represents the one side of the case. The subject is one that belongs to 'special introduction'; but, in passing, the present writer may be allowed to express the view that, in the present text of Ecclesiastes, traces are to be clearly found of the assistance which it was found necessary to give, in order to secure for this book a place in the canon. In 12 it is testified of the preacher (288) that he was a well-meaning and respectable man (of course otherwise unknown). The contradiction to 17, where he is represented as being 'the son of David,' king in Jerusalem, is glaring. These words, as also 112 (v), a good deal in 247, and perhaps also 713a and certainly 1213-14 are interpolations, by means of which, alone the reception of the book into the canon was rendered possible. It is self-evident that Canticles also was a part of the canon, only by virtue of its super-cription which ascribes it to Solomon. A valuable light is thrown on R. 'Akiba's assertion that Canticles had never been disputed, and at the same time a trustworthy evidence,

the question had long been (substantially) a settled one as is shown by the passages quoted from Josephus 4 Esdras; settled, however, not by any single decision but only by the gradual clearing up of public opinion. Of other books in addition to the twenty-four there is no question whatever, and as regards those two at which alone any difficulty is possible, common opinion came to be so decidedly in favour of what claimed to be the stricter but in reality was the looser opinion that the zealot R. 'Akiba comes forward fanatically to the side of Hillel.

We may now venture to figure to ourselves what the probable course of the development, and what attitude assumed by various sections of the community towards the decisive question.

56. Result. It is probable that among the Sopherim (professional students of Scripture) of the last century B.C., without the co-operation of the Sadducean priesthood, there was gradually formulated a scholarly doctrine as to which of the many religious writings then current could establish a just claim to a sacred character. We have already seen by what standard the writings were judged. As this doctrine gradually to shine, unanimity was reached on every point except on a dispute with reference to two minor books in which, as was natural, the victory was ultimately gained by the more liberal view. This doctrine of the Sopherim, as being the view of those who were the unqualified judges on the special subject, readily gained admission amongst such as were in doubt and sought to inform themselves.¹ Thus the learned Philo, though living in Alexandria, takes very good care not to contravene the stricter practice; what we know about the opposition offered to the books of Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Esther, even suggests the possibility (unacceptable course of proof) that his silence about certain books (cp above, § 50) really arises from a still greater shyness. As a convert to Pharisaism, Josephus probably shared the true of his teachers with an emphasis on the greater because his own personal leanings were (perhaps) against such exclusiveness. On the other hand, though the doctrine made way, yet the majority of the people betook themselves quite naturally to the mass of apocalyptic and legendary literature, which in the century immediately before and after the birth of Jesus, exercised a very great influence, and did much to prepare the way for Christianity. The formulated theory possessed obvious advantages, however, and the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem left the Pharisees in sole possession of the leadership of Israel. This is shown most clearly by 4 Esdras. Against his will, the author of that book is constrained to acknowledge the divine authority of the canon with its twenty-four constituent parts. Being, however, a thoroughgoing partisan of the apocalyptic literature, he outdoes the Pharisees. To the seventy books² which they exclude he attributes a still higher authority, placing them in an esoteric as distinguished from an exoteric canon.

By the end of the first century the scribes had settled the last of the questions controverted in the schools, and not long after the beginning of the second century (R. 'Akiba *ib.* 135), to refer to the decision of Jamnia is decisive. Later, following in 'Akiba's footsteps, the scribes succeeded, not only in obliterating every trace

showing how long its true character still continued to be, but is conveyed by the information that R. 'Akiba himself had an anathema against those who sang the Song of Songs in a wanton voice in houses of public entertainment (100 *Sanh.* chap. 12; cp WBS, *Int.* 276).

¹ To this period, and not to the fourth or the third century B.C., belongs the complaint, expressed in the epilogue of Ecclesiastes (Eccles. 12 12), as to the 'making of many books.'

² If, as we have conjectured, the Sadducees were not opposed to, or suspicious of, the resurrection of the dead, and besides the Law, there would be an additional reason for a view like that of the Pharisees, which took a much more endless multiplication of religious literature.

³ In round numbers of course.

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of variations in the text, but also in driving from circulation the whole body of extra-canonical literature.¹

Christianity, however, in the vigour of its youth, emancipated from the authority of the scribes, continued to pursue the old ways. In the rejected literature it discovered prophecies of the appearing of Jesus, and what the Pharisees destroyed in the original language it eagerly handed down in translations and revisions to succeeding generations. The NT writers show no scruple in quoting extra-canonical books as sacred, and we find ascribed to Jesus some expressions quoted as Holy Writ (Lk. 11.17, Jn. 7.38) which are not contained in the OT.²

What is more, examples of this form of Jewish literature used with Christian elements, or worked over from the Christian point of view, have found their way into the canon of the NT itself—a fact which only lately has begun to receive the attention it deserves.³

This independent drift of tendency within the Christian Church greatly increases the difficulty of estimating the so-called 'canon of the Alexandrians'.⁴

As is well known, even the oldest extant MSS of the LXX contain, in addition to the canonical books, a greatly varying number of writings which are not recognised in the canon of the synagogue, and indeed in some cases were not even originally written in Hebrew. On the other hand, the oldest of these MSS are several centuries later than the Christian era, and are the work of Christian copyists. It becomes a question, therefore, which is the earlier: the finer gravis of the Alexandrian Jews or that of primitive Christianity; whether the greater compass of the LXX canon of the Alexandrians influenced the view of the Christian communities or whether the influence flowed the other way.⁵

The probability is that, in fact, the influence worked both ways. What principally concerns us here, however, is this. About the middle of the first century A.D., when the Greek-speaking Christian community began to break entirely with Judaism, the narrow Pharisaic doctrine of the canon had certainly not as yet penetrated into the domain of Hellenistic Judaism so deeply as to delete completely, or to exclude from the MSS of the LXX, all the books that Pharisaism refused to recognise. The vacillation in individual MSS must at that time have been even greater than it is in those which have reached us; although on this point definite knowledge is unobtainable. It is certain, however, that to some extent precisely those books belonging to this category which lay nearest to the heart of the Christian community in its most primitive days (especially Enoch and 4 Esdras) have come down to us in no Greek MS. The conclusion is that the additions to the LXX are for the most part older than Christianity.

The doctrine of the Pharisees, however, ultimately won the day also in its proper home. Not only did

1 Indeed it was supposed, until the recovery in 1866 of part of the Peshitta, that they had actually succeeded in extirpating it so far, that is, as it was not able to hide itself under the veil of exegesis in the Haggada, Midrash, and Talmud (We. 190, 192, 200 and ed. 287).

2 Even Ecclesiastes would be no exception if we could admit the mention of D. S. Margolin (The Origin of the 'Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiastes, 1890). In his opinion the 'Original Hebrew' is a bad translation from the Syriac version and a Persian translation of the Greek made after 1000 A.D. by an Arian-speaking Jew for Christians who were taught Hebrew by a Jew with a pronunciation similar to that of the Christians of Urmia. The reader will probably hesitate to accept this theory; still it cannot be denied that Margolin has availed himself with great skill of many weak points of the Hebrew text, which in any case need a thorough revision.

3 See, for example, A. V. 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

4 In fact, the book strictly, there never was such a canon. The Alexandrian Canon (H. 1) books never underwent that revision in regard to the Pharisaic conception of 'definitive canon' which finally fixed the Hebrew canon.

5 In this point there seems to be some well-founded opinion in that if we compare pp. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

6 See Cheyne, *Hebrews* 12, 342, and cp preceding p. 12.

7 The... were a singular passage in the sixth of the Anglican Articles of Religion affirming 'Holy Scripture' to 'those canonical books of the Old and the New Testaments, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church, which I have West-... 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 4

certain of these documents or upon others peculiar to themselves.

Meanwhile a similar process had been going on in regard to other writings of the apostolic age. These

62. Epistles. were for the most part letters, written in many instances to particular churches, and designed to meet special needs. The writers betray no consciousness that their words would come to be regarded as a permanent standard of doctrine or of action in the Christian Church: they write for an immediate purpose, and just as they would wish to speak, were they able to be present with those whom they address. In their absence, and still more after their death, their letters were cherished and read up and again by the churches which had first received

and by others who naturally welcomed such precepts as relics of the apostolic age. For the apostles were the authorised instructors of the Christian Church. In the age which succeeded them, 'the Lord and the apostles' became the natural standard of appeal to which reference was to be made in all matters of faith and practice. For some time 'the tradition of the apostles,' as handed down in the churches of their foundation, was regarded as the test of orthodoxy. Oral tradition, however, is necessarily variable and uncertain. It was natural that, when actual disciples of the apostles were no longer living, appeal should more and more be made to their written words, and that these should be set side by side with the Gospels as the primary documents of the Christian faith. Here again the same elements as before come into play, though probably at a slightly later period—viz., the liturgical use of the epistles, and the necessity of maintaining them intact against the mutilations or rejections of heretical sects.

In the collection which was thus gradually being formed by the pressure of various circumstances and with no distinct consciousness of the creation

63. Other books. of a canon, a place was found beside the Gospels and the epistles for two other books. The Apocalypse of John opened with the salutation of an epistle, and, even apart from this, its apocalyptic character claimed for it a special and abiding sacredness; moreover it contained an express blessing for those who should read and listen to it, and a warning against any who should presume to alter or add to it. The Acts of the Apostles would find an easy entrance, partly as an authorised account of the deeds of apostles written by one who had contemporaneous knowledge of them, and still more as being in form the second part of the Third Gospel and properly inseparable from the earlier book.

Thus side by side with the old Jewish canon, and without in any way displacing it, there had sprung up a new Christian canon. Although its exact limits were not yet precisely defined, and local variations of opinion were to be observed with regard to the acceptance of particular books, the idea of such a new canon

64. A new canon. was in full play in the writings of great representative men of the period from 180 to 200 A.D.—of Irenaeus speaking for Asia Minor and Gaul, of Tertullian in N. Africa, and of Clement in Alexandria. The Church is by this time fully conscious that she is in possession of written documents of the apostolic age; documents to which reference must be universally made, as to a final court of appeal, in questions of right faith and right action. The authority of Jesus and his apostles is, in the main, embodied for her in writings which she reads together with the OT in her public services, quotes as Scripture, and regards as the inspired revelation of divine truth. Of the stages by which this result has been reached the writers referred to have nothing to tell us. It was, as we have seen, the issue of an unconscious growth, natural and for the most part unchallenged, and so leaving no recorded history behind it. If the Church was awakened to a consciousness of

her great possession, and to the importance of maintaining its integrity, by the attempts made by heretics to debrand her of portions of it there is no evidence of deliberate efforts on her part to build up the concept of a new canon in opposition to them; much less any formal declarations, such as those of later times defining what books should or should not be included in it. In the stress of controversy she fell back on treasures which she possessed, and realised that in books which she was accustomed to read for the instruction of her children she had, on the one hand, full and harmonious expression of all those positive truths whose isolation or exaggeration formed the groundwork of the several heretical systems; and, on the other hand, the decisive contradiction of negations in which their capricious selections involved those who rejected any part of the common heritage.

2. That the sketch given above of the gradual growth of a new canon with its twofold contents, in the period anterior to Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement, is justified not only by intrinsic probability but also by references of early Christian writers to books of the NT, may be seen by consulting the collections of such references assembled in modern treatises upon the canon. Here a brief outline of the evidence must suffice.

65. Evidence of orthodox writers: Clement, etc.

In the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (*circa* 95) we have two precepts introduced by a command to 'remember the words of our Lord Jesus' (Acts 20:35); in neither case do they exactly agree with the language of our Gospels; they may be a result of a fusion due to citation from memory, or they may possibly be derived from oral tradition. The epistle is saturated with the phraseology of the Pauline Epistles (Rom., 1 Cor., Eph.; less certainly 1 Tim. and others) and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but these are not directly cited, and the expressions 'Scripture' and 'it is written' are applied to the OT alone.

In the genuine Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (shortly after 110 A.D., Lightfoot) the direct citation of words of Jesus ('I lay hold on handle me and see that I am not a spirit *δαιμόνιον* without body,' *Ad Smyrn.* 3) is possibly derived from an apocryphal book or from an oral tradition. The language of these Epistles shows traces of acquaintance with Mt. and Jn. and with several of the Pauline Epistles. The Epistle of Polycarp (*circa* 110 A.D., Lightfoot) is largely composed of quotations from NT books (especially Mt., Lk., 1 and 2 Jn., 1 Pet., and the Pauline Epistles). There is but one (somewhat uncertain) instance of the citation of NT words as Scripture.

The Epistle of Barnabas (*circa* 98 A.D., Lightfoot) though most scholars place it later) prefixes to the saying 'Many called but few chosen,' the formula 'it is written.' If this be cited from Mt. 22:14—and a later reference makes it not improbable—then we have here the earliest use of this formula in reference to a book of the NT.

The *Teaching of the Apostles* (date uncertain; perhaps 110-130) introduces a form of the Lord's Prayer, which has variants both from Mt. and Lk., by the words, 'as the Lord commanded in his Gospel, so pray ye' (chap. 8, cp. chap. 11, 15). It clearly presupposes a written Gospel, and shows acquaintance with Mt. and Lk. It has embodied an ancient (perhaps Jewish) maxim, 'The Two Ways' (used also in *Ep. Barn.* and elsewhere), and also certain early Christian prayers which incorporate the language of Jn.

The *Apology of Aristides*, the Athenian philosopher (*circa* 125-130 A.D.), addressed to the emperor Hadrian (acc. to Euseb. and the title of Arin. vers.; the title of the Syr. vers. would place it a few years later, under Antoninus Pius), twice refers expressly to writings of the Christians; in the first instance, after enumerating the

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main events of the life of Jesus—including his birth 'from a Hebrew virgin' and his ascension—distinctly appeals to the written Gospel for corroboration. It also embodies language from the Epistle to the Romans.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* (date uncertain: 110-140) betrays a close acquaintance with many NT books, though it makes no direct citations either from OT or from NT. The language of our four Gospels (even of the Appendix to Mk.) of the Pauline Epistles including the Pastoral Epistles, of 1 Pe., Acts, Apoc., and above all of Jas., is adopted by the writer; and even 2 Pe. seems to have been used.

Before we come to the fuller testimonies of Justin Martyr and subsequent writers it is necessary to examine the evidence to be derived from Papias.

66. Papias. His date and the interpretation to be placed on his fragmentary remains have been the subject of much criticism (see esp. Lightfoot, *Notes on Supernatural Religion*, 142-216). He was the hearer of at least two personal disciples of Jesus, and his great work may be placed about 130-140. It was entitled *Λόγια ἀποστόλων ἐξηγήσεις*, 'Expositions of the Oracles of (or 'concerning') the Lord'. As *Λόγια* is a term used in the NT of the OT writings, the title of the book naturally suggests some kind of commentary on the writings relating to Jesus; i.e., on written Gospels which held a recognised position of sacredness in the Christian Church. It is probable that similar commentaries on one or more of the Gospels had already been composed by Gnostic writers; thus Basilides is said to have written twenty-four books on 'the Gospel' (*ibid.* 117-138). Such books are disparaged by Papias as wordy and misleading; he prefers to fall back on the testimonies of the living disciples of those who had seen the Lord. He gives accounts, not free from difficulties, of the composition of Gospels by Matthew and Mark. On the whole, the facts seem to be most readily accounted for if we suppose that Papias in his five books expounded and illustrated by traditional stories the four Gospels as we at present know them. Eusebius further expressly informs us that Papias used 1 Jn. and 1 Pe. There can be little doubt that his chiliastic views were based on the Apocalypse.

Justin Martyr (*circa* 152), when mentioning the words of the institution of the Eucharist, says: 'So the apostles handed down in the Memoirs made by them, which are called Gospels' (*ibid.* 166).

67. Justin. In describing the Sunday worship, too, he refers to 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' (*ibid.* 167; see Lord's Day), and these Memoirs (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) are placed on a level with the 'Writings of the Prophets' as an alternative means of edification in the gatherings of the Christian Church. Justin's use of them, here and in his *Dialogue* with the Jew Trypho, is conditioned by the necessities of his argument. In themselves they would have no weight with heathen or Jewish opponents. The OT prophecies, however, could be freely appealed to in either case, as the argument rested on their fulfilment rather than on their sacredness. Justin accordingly uses 'The Memoirs of the Apostles' as historical documents in proof of the fulfilment of Messianic predictions in the recorded events of the life of Jesus. Twelve times he refers to them directly in the *Dialogue*—all the instances being in connection with his exposition of Ps. 22. In every case, both here and in the *Apology*, the reference is fully accounted for by the supposition that these 'Memoirs' were our four Gospels, the phraseology of each of which can be traced in his writings. Where he most carefully describes them, after referring to an event recorded only by Lk., he says that 'they were compiled by Christ's apostles and those who companied with them.' This exactly agrees with the traditional authorship of our Gospels, as written two by apostles (Mt., Jn.), and two by followers of apostles (Mk., Lk.). Justin likewise refers

for corroboration of his statements to official *Acta Pilati*; he may perhaps have been acquainted with a more primitive form of the apocryphal materials still surviving under that designation. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence that he used any apocryphal Gospel (unless perhaps a Protevangel or Gospel of the Infancy). He refers directly to the Apocalypse as written by the apostle John (*ibid.* 81), and shows acquaintance with most of the Pauline Epistles.

From Justin we pass to his pupil Tatian (*circa* 150-160 A.D.), who helps to confirm our conclusions as to

68. Tatian. Justin himself by his use of our four Gospels and no other in his *Diatriakon*.

This remarkable book, which for a long period must have been the only Gospel of many Syrian churches, is known to us mainly through a commentary upon it written by Ephraim, and preserved to us in an Armenian translation, and also through an Arabic version of the *Diatriakon* itself—made, however, after the later text of the Peshitta Syriac had been substituted for Tatian's own text, which had many interesting variants of an early type. The two sources of evidence supplement each other, and make it certain that Tatian's Gospels were none other than our own. There is some reason for thinking that Tatian also introduced into Syria a collection of the Pauline Epistles.

Although Tatian adopted heretical opinions after the death of his master, his great work on the Gospels appears to be quite independent of these

69. Unorthodox: Basilides, etc. and was accepted without question by the Syrian Church. It will be well, however, to notice at this point the evidence to be derived from other heretical leaders in regard to the estimation in which various books of the NT were held by those who were dissatisfied with the teaching of the main body of the Church. It will suffice to take three writers of whom we have a considerable amount of information preserved to us. Basilides of Alexandria flourished in the reign of Hadrian. His Expositions on the Gospel, in twenty-four books, have already been mentioned. Accepting, with Hort, the account preserved in the *Refutation of Heresies* (generally ascribed to Hippolytus) as representing portions of this work, we meet with the striking fact that quotations from the NT introduced with the words 'The Scripture saith,' and 'as it is written,' are found in a heretical writer at a period at which they cannot with certainty be said to be so introduced by any writer within the Church. Several passages from the Pauline Epistles are so cited by Basilides. He also used Mt., Lk., Jn., and apparently 1 Pe.

Marion (*circa* 140) undertook to restore the simplicity of Christianity on the basis of Paul, whom he regarded as the only true apostle. He rejected the OT and retained of the NT only Lk. in a mutilated form, and ten Epistles of Paul; the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews not being included in his canon. There is no indication that he applied any other standard than that of correspondence with his own dogmatic position, in making what must be considered the earliest attempt at the conscious definition of a NT canon.

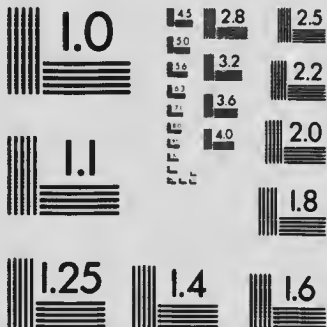
Heracleon (*circa* 170, or earlier), a disciple of Valentinus, wrote a Commentary on Jn., of which considerable fragments are preserved by Origen. His system of interpretation shows that he held the exact words of the Evangelist in the highest veneration, as distinct with spiritual meaning. He also commented on Lk., and shows acquaintance with Mt., Heb., and the Pauline Epistles including 2 Tim.

Thus the first certain citations of NT writings with the formula familiarly used of the OT, the first attempt at defining a NT canon, and the first commentary on a NT book, come to us not from within but from without the Church. These are striking evidences of the authority generally accorded to the NT writings; in



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the words of Irenaeus (iii. 27): 'So strong is the position of our Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each must start from these to prove his own doctrine.'

4. The early history of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions is wrapped in obscurity; but there is

70. Early versions.

reason for believing that the translation of parts at least of both these versions must be placed not much later than the middle of the second century (see *Text*, §§ 20, 32). The Old Latin version seems to have been made in N. Africa, and to have included, probably before the time of Tertullian, all the books of the later canon, excepting Jas., 2 Pe., and possibly Heb. When the Scillitan Martyrs (N. Africa, 180 A.D.) were examined as to what was contained in their book-chest, their brief recorded reply was 'Books and Epistles of Paul, a just man.' Such was their description of the writings which, doubtless, were used by them in their services. It is conditioned by the circumstance of its utterance before heathen judges; it would be wrong to conclude from it that the Pauline Epistles were placed by them on a different level from the other sacred writings. The Old Syriac of the Gospels has till lately been known only from Cureton's imperfect MS; but the palimpsest recently found at Mt. Sinai enables us to reconstruct this version for the most part with approximate certainty. A selection of comments by Ephraim on the Acts of the Apostles, and his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, preserved in Armenian translations, point to an Old Syriac version of these books also. The older MSS of the revised Syriac version (the Peshitta) do not contain 2 and 3 Jn., 2 Pe., Jude, and Apoc.

We have been concerned hitherto with tracing the growth of the conception of a NT canon, without considering, except incidentally, the range of writings included in it. The influence of the main body of the NT

71. General traces of NT.

literature upon the writers of the period with which we have been dealing cannot be at all fully appreciated from our scanty analysis. Their writings must themselves be studied line by line, if we are to understand the debt which they owed, as regards both ideas and phraseology, to the documents of the apostolic age. In that age new conceptions had been given to the world, and a new terminology had been formed for their expression. The next age reproduced these; but it was not itself creative. This is seen, for instance, in the technical terms of even the boldest of the Gnostic speculations. Whatever may have been men's conscious attitude towards the NT writings, it is clear that they are dominated by them from the very first. Gradually they come to recognise them more and more as their masters; and then, both within the Church and outside it, we find them definitely declaring the limits of the canon to which they owe this allegiance.

Marcion's list of sacred books has already been noticed. The next list of which we have any knowledge is unfortunately a fragment, and tells us neither its date nor its author's name or locality. It was published in 1740

72. Muratorian canon.

by Lodovico Antonio Muratori, the librarian at Milan. Hence it is known as the Muratorian canon. It is in barbarous Latin, in a seventh or eighth century MS; but its original must have been Greek, and it is generally agreed that it was written in the West (perhaps at Rome) towards the close of the second century. Lightfoot conjectured that it was a portion of the 'Verses on all the Scriptures' assigned to Hippolytus. The fragment commences with the end of a description of Mark; it goes on to speak of Luke and John, and refers to the different beginnings of the four books of the Gospel. After Acts come the Epistles of Paul; the seven churches to which he wrote being paralleled with the seven of the Apocalypse, and enumerated in the following order—Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., Gal., Thess.,

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Rom. Then come four private letters—Philemon and the Pastoral epistles. Two other epistles are declared forgeries—viz., those to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians. Then we have Jude, two epistles of John (1 Jn. has been quoted from at an earlier point, so that these may perhaps be 2 and 3 Jn.), and the Wisdom of Solomon, 'written in his honour.' Then the 'Apocalypses of John and Peter alone receive, which (sing.) some among us will not have read in the church.' The *Shepherd of Hermas* 'ought to be read,' but not reckoned either with the prophets or with the apostles. After a few more lines, as rejected books, the text being very corrupt, the fragment suddenly closes. The omissions are deserving of notice: nothing is said of 1 and 2 Peter, James, and Hebrews; but the omitted epistles were undoubtedly (if we except 2 Peter) known at this time in the Roman church. It is difficult, therefore, to draw conclusions from this omission in a fragment of whose history so little can be ascertained and whose text is so obviously corrupt. The Muratorian canon is fully discussed by Zahn, *History of the Canon* (1900) 214; quite recently Dom Amelli of Monte Cassino has published fragments of it from other MSS (*Misc. Cassin.*, 1897).

5. The inclusion (though with an expression of variance of opinion) of the Apocryphal Peter in the 'Muratorian Fragment' leads us to say something of books which for a time claimed a place in the canon, but were ultimately excluded.

The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and the *Homily*, mis-called his 'Second Epistle,' are contained after the Apocalypse, in Cod. A (the great Greek Bible of the 5th cent. in the Vat. Mus.). The Epistle of Barnabas and the *Shepherd of Hermas* hold a similar place in the Sinaitic Bible (N. 4th cent.). The latter books are occasionally cited as Scripture in patristic writings, and this is the case also with the *Teaching of the Apostles*.

Of apocryphal Gospels two deserve special notice. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* is known only by a few fragments, which show that it bore a close relation to our First Gospel. Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote from it, although they insist on its sole authority of our four Gospels. The *Gospel according to Peter*, a considerable fragment of which was published in 1892 from a MS found in Egypt, is known to have been used in the church of Rhossus near Antioch. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (190-203), at first permitted its use, but subsequently disallowed it on the ground of Docetic errors. The extant portion embodies the language of all our four Gospels, though it often perverts their statements. There is no trace of the use of any other Gospel in its composition, though certain phrases may possibly be borrowed from some earlier apocryphal book. Its composition may with probability be assigned to circa 105. Its testimony to the canon is thus somewhat parallel in date and extent to that of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

The *Apocalypse of Peter*, of which a fragment was recovered at the same time, was an early book which powerfully influenced subsequent literature of a similar kind—e.g., the *Apocalypse of Paul*. It seems to be responsible for much of the medieval conception of heaven and hell. It presents curious coincidences with 2 Peter. It is quoted as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria; and as late as the fifth century it was read on Good Friday in certain churches of Palestine.

6. Our inquiry has revealed to us that towards the close of the second century, by the time of Irenaeus,

74. Result. Tertullian, and Clement—writers whose testimonies are so abundant that we need not dwell upon them here—the Church had attained to a conscious recognition of a canon of the New Testament. Three classes of books have come into view: (1) the main bulk of the NT books, as to which (1)

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doubt; at all is expressed by writers within the Church; (2) books whose position in the canon was challenged in certain quarters, although they ultimately were included; (3) books which were read in certain churches, but were ultimately classed as non-canonical. With regard to books of the second of these classes the later history of their reception will be found under the special articles devoted to them, and in the works to which reference is made below. With regard to the third it may suffice to say that the verdict of the Church has been fully justified by the fact that no serious effort has ever been made to restate them.

J. A. R.

Literature of the Subject. i. *OT Canon*.—The following works dealing with the OT canon may be mentioned. The authors are arranged in alphabetical order.

75. Bibliography: OT. W. J. Beecher, 'The alleged Triple Canon of the OT,' *JBL*, 1896; C. A. Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, 1897; Buhl, *Kanon u. Text d. ATs*, 1897; The Weiss-Schrader, *Einl. in d. AT*, 2nd ed. 1897; Duhn, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 1899; Die Entstehung des AT, 1897; Fürst, *Der Kanon des AT*, 1898; Graetz, *Kohleth*, 1897; Holtzmann, *Einl. in d. NT*, 2nd ed. 1897; Koenig, *Essai sur la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament*, 1894; Marx, *Traditio Rabbinica veteriora*, etc. 1894; WKS, *OTC*, 1892; Ryke, *The Canon of the OT*, 1892; Schurer, *OTC*, 1896; Strack, art. 'Kanon des AT' in *FRLZ*, 7; Weber, *System der alttest. bibl. Theologie*, 1890; We. 'Die Sammlung der Schriften des AT' in Biele, *Einl.* (78) and *Einl.* (75); Wiedebach, *Die Entstehung des AT-lichen Kanons*, 1891 (ET '95); C.H.H. Wright, *The Book of Kohleth*, 1893; Anna, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed. 1892. Moreover, Wiedebach in his valuable article, 'De voor-Thamudische Joodsche Canon' (*Theologische Studien*, 1892) cites the following books and articles, written, with the exception of the first, by Roman Catholics: T. Mullen, *The Canon of the OT*, 1893; A. Loisy, *Histoire du Canon de l'AT*, 1890; Magnier, *Étude sur la Canonisation des Saintes Écritures*, 1. 1892; R. Poirier, *Die Autorität der deuterokanonischen Bücher des ATs*, 1891; J. P. van Kasteren, *De Joodsche Canon (Stud. op. godsch. en letterk. gebied)*, xviii, 1895.

K. B.

ii. *NT Canon*.—A brief outline of a subject of the highest importance, which bristles with points of controversy, has necessarily passed over in silence a large portion of the evidence, and needs to be supplemented by a list of books in which the various topics are treated in detail and, in some cases, from a different point of view. The following will prove most useful to the modern student:—

Westcott *On the Canon of the NT* (7th ed. 1896), a mine of information on the early Christian writings; Lightfoot's *Essays on Supernatural Religion* (republished 1896), specially important for Papias and other early writers; Salmon's *Historical Introduction to the NT* (5th ed. 1897), a vigorous examination of adverse criticism; Sanday's *Hampton Lectures on Inspiration*, a careful and sympathetic account of the present position of controversy; Weiss's *Introduct. to the NT* (1886; ET, 1882), a clear exposition of the NT history; Zahn's *Gesch. d. NT Kanons* (1888-92), together with his *Forschungen* (a five parts, 1883), by far the most exhaustive treatise that has appeared; Harnack's examination of vol. i. pt. 1 of this work in *Das NT im Jahr 200* (80), a severe criticism; his own position is stated positively in his *Dogmengesch.* (1885; 2nd ed. 1888, pp. 10-32); Jülicher's *Einl. in das NT* (90), an able statement of a position intermediate between Weiss and Harnack. Harnack's preface to his *Chronologie der altchr. Literatur* (97) is a noteworthy interlude, indicating the abandonment of the Füllgen positions in regard to the dating of NT documents.

Holtzmann may also be mentioned as an eminently fair-minded guide, and abundant in literary references (*Einl. in das NT*, 1894). Among older books, see Credner, *Zur Gesch. des Kanons* (47), and his *Gesch. des NT Kanons*; edited by Volkmar (70), important for the history of the study of the canon; also Hilgenfeld's *Einl. in das NT*, 1875.1

J. A. R.

§§ 1-59, 75; K. B.; §§ 60-74, 76, J. A. R.

CANOPY (קנף), Is. 43 RV, AV 'defence'; see TENT, § 4.

CANTICLES. We have before us a book which has suggested as many problems as Shakespeare's Sonnets. The name which we give to it, therefore, should not be a question-begging name. We will call it in this article neither 'Canticles' nor 'Song of Solomon,' but, following the best interpretation of 11, 'Song of Songs'—the

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choicest of all songs (like 'servant of servants,' Gen. 9.25 *i.e.*, 'lowest of servants').

The first difficulty arises when we seek to determine precisely the subject of the Song (§§ 2-4); the next, when we investigate its poetical form (§§ 5-11), and seek to fix its date (§§ 13-15). We will consider these difficulties in order; but the first cannot be treated completely (§§ 16-17) until we have overcome the second.

1. *Subject* (preliminary). Jewish tradition had down very positively that, both as a whole and in its several parts, the Song describes the phases of a spiritual (not merely an earthly) love. The bride was the symbol of Israel, the bridegroom that of its divine king; and by the labours of countless homilists the Song became a lyric record of the intercourse between the Lord and his people from the Exodus (Jer. 2.2) to the Messianic time. Of those exalted labours, or rather poetical broodings, we have a summary in the *Mishnah* (*Shir* (transl. Wünsche, *Biblioth. Kabbala*, 1. f. 66), with which the not less fervently-written Targum (ed. post Talmudic origin) may be compared.¹

This theory was introduced in a modified form into the Christian Church mainly through the influence of Origen, of whom Jerome says that, 'while on the other books he surpassed all others, on the Song of Songs he surpassed himself' (Origen, *Op.* 3.11). This theologian treated the bride as being either the Church or (an important variation) the soul of the believer. The boldly avowed heterodoxy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who interpreted the Song solely as relating to the Egyptian marriage of Solomon, was fruitless. Its condemnation at the second council of Constantinople (553 A.D.) postponed the acceptance of the literal interpretation in the Church for a thousand years. The great St. Bernard wrote eighty-six sermons on Song 1 and 2 alone, and his example fostered similar mystical studies in the Latin Church. Only among Jewish commentators was a natural exegesis not wholly unrepresented.² Ibn Ezra, in particular, is so thorough in his literal exegesis that it is doubtful whether he is serious when he proceeds to allegorise. Though Luther was moving in this direction, no Christian scholar before Sebastian Castellio (1544) ventured to maintain the purely secular character of the poem, and all that medieval mysticism could do was to exercise its right of selection from the two allegoric views. The idea that the bride was the Christian soul became the favourite; partly because it seemed to promote edification, and partly because it commended itself to the romantic spirit of the young western nations. Thus, Dante surprises us when (*Convivio*, 2. 15, end) he identifies the bride with Heavenly Wisdom.³

Even in the time of the Reformation we find the evangelical 'Horace of the cloister,' Fray Luis de Leon, translating the Song mystically in 'ottava rima'; and in our own day Bishop Alexander, though a Hebraist, has made an earnest poetic protest in favour of a mystic and against a dramatic theory (*Poems*, 1886, pp. 26-51). Grammatical exegesis, however, destroys the basis of the old verse-by-verse allegorical interpretation. The only question possible is, whether a general allegory of subject may have been intended by the poet—whether he considered the earthly love that he described to have a true symbolic resemblance to the spiritual love.⁴ The answer is, that

1 On the Jewish interpreters see S. Salfeld, *Das Hohelied Salomons bei den jüd. u. christl. Auslegern* (70); on both the Jewish and the Christian, W. Kiehl, *Die Auslegung des Hoheliedes in der jüd. Gemeinde u. der griech. Kirche* (92).

2 See Salfeld, 52; Graetz, *Schir ha-Shirim*, 116f., and cp. Mathews, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Canticles* (73), Preface.

3 Dante's Jewish friend, Immanuel ben Sh'monah, identified the bride with the 'material intellect' (Salfeld, 91). The biblical point of contact is Prov. 8.

4 Ep. Louth is one of the chief defenders of a secondary and general allegorical sense. He appeals not only to 'the most

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such a symbolic resemblance is inconsistent with the spirit of Hebraism. It is true that the relation between Yahwe and his people is described in the prophets by the symbolism of wedlock (Hos. 1-3; Jer. 2-3; Ezek. 16; Is. 50; 51-56). It is true, also, that the phrase 'to love' (אהב) Yahwe occurs frequently in Deuteronomy and (less often) in the Psalter, and that the word אהב (used in the Song) is applied once by Isaiah (51) to Yahwe. Still, the notion implied by the prophetic allegory of wedlock, as well as by the phrase 'to love God,' is not that of free inclination on Israel's part towards the All-beautiful One, but rather of an obedience which is in the first instance the condition of divine protection, though, as favours multiply and the essential goodness of the divine commands appears, it becomes a habit and a passion. In Deuteronomy, therefore, the love of Yahwe is prescribed as a duty not invited or presupposed; and even in the Psalter, where devotional feeling finds the freest expression, there are only three passages in which the phrase 'to love Yahwe' occurs (Ps. 31:23, 97:10(12), 115:2), and in the first of these it occurs in the imperative mood. It is in harmony with this that three other passages (Ps. 51:6, 69:6, 119:132) contain the fuller phrase 'to love Yahwe's name,' which appears to mean (see Is. 56:6) the performance of religious duties with a certain fervour. Such a conception of the love of God we find in the Koran (Sur. 3:29; cp. 19:6). It was one of the Jewish elements in Mohammed's teaching, and failed to satisfy later generations of Moslems. In Syria and in Egypt, and still more in Persia, arose a mystic type of devotion, which sought by contemplation to lift the veil between man and God. The mystic love-songs of the Cairo dervishes, and the fine love-poems of the Sati-poet Hafiz, have been compared by Orientalists with the Song of Songs; but it has been forgotten that, fervid as the love of God became among the later Jews, it never divested itself of the chastening restraints of legalism, and that, in Persia at least, mystic poetry is one of the fruits of a national reaction against the aridity of Islam. It is still stranger that Sir William Jones and Sir Edwin Arnold have compared the Gitagovinda of the admired Indian poet Jayadeva (14th cent. A.D.), in which it would appear (but may we not suspect an afterthought of the poet?), 'from the few stanzas scattered through the poem where the author speaks in his own person, that he means his verses to be taken' in a mystic sense—Krishna symbolising the human soul, the shepherdesses the allurements of sense, and Rādhā the knowledge of, or meditation on, divine things. Surely the pantheistic atmosphere in which Jayadeva lived, and the excessive imaginative fervour of the Indian genius, are altogether unlike the conditions under which the Song of Songs must have been penned.

How came it, then, it may be asked, that the Jews of a later time, in their exegesis of the Song, adopted a theory which is, strictly, contrary to the spirit of Hebraism? Probably thus. We know from the Mishna (*Taanith*, 4a) that, before the destruction of the temple, passages from the Song were sung at certain popular yearly festivals. We know, too, that after the great catastrophe all expression of exuberant joy was forbidden. Now, what in those gloomy days was to be

4. Origin of allegorical interpretation.

but also to the analogy of Ps. 45 and (more safely) to passages in the prophets. Such a position, however, was tenable only provisionally. The Bishop expressly rejects the most poetic form of the allegorical theory, for which alone most Christians have cared—it was defended by Bossuet—that which explains the Song of the loving intercourse between Christ and the soul. Surely the election of a Gentile Church ('dark but comely') might have been fore-shadowed at a less expenditure of poetry. Rightly, therefore, did J. D. Michaelis and the acute Hn. Warburton criticise Lowth for not going further. Lowth answered that without allegory the place of the Song in the canon could not be justified. All his literary taste could not dissolve his narrow notion of the authority of the canon.

done with the Song, which tradition already ascribed to Solomon? The answer was ready:—Consecrate it by allegorical interpretation. This course corresponded to the change which had passed upon the national character. The enthusiastic element in Jewish piety was becoming, in adversity, more intense. This element needed the expression which it found in the Song of Songs (see *Berachoth* 57b, where אהבה is ascribed to the Megilla of the Song of Songs as well as to the Book of Psalms). It should be added, however, that even after 70 A.D. the natural interpretation found some supporters. At the synod of Jamnia (90 A.D.) R. Akiba had still to defend the sacredness of the Song of Songs (Mishna, *Adarayim*, 35), and in *Sanhedrin*, 101a, we find a *sol' ann* anathema on those who treat the Song ha-Shirim as a secular song (שיר עממי). The grounds on which this secular character was asserted may be guessed from the *Aboth de R. Nathan*, chap. 1, which states that 'formerly' some counted the Song 'apocryphal' (אפוקריפ), quoting in support of this, not 7:1-6, but 7:11 f.

It is about, or soon after, 90 A.D. that we find the first traces of the allegorical view (see 4 Esdras 5:24-26, 7:1-2, and R. Simeon ben Gamliel's allegorical interpretation of Song 3:11 in *Taanith* 48). Before that time Jewish teachers seem to have shrunk from quoting the Song, even Philo neglects it. Nor is any use made of it (not of Köheleth) in the NT. Eph. 5:27 alludes perhaps to Ps. 45:1, but certainly not to Song 4:7; and the parallelism between Rev. 3:20 and Song 5:2-6 (Trench, *Sacred Churches*, 225 f.) is incomplete. This silence on the part of early Jewish and Christian writers shows the weakness of the argument from tradition adduced by the allegorists.

11. *Poetical form.* Is the Song of Songs a drama or a bundle of loosely connected songs? The earliest advocate of a definite dramatic theory was the learned Jesuit, Cornelius a Lapide († 1637), who, like Ewald, divided the poem into five acts. Our own Bishop Lowth takes up a middle position. He finds no trace of a regular plot, and only one thing in which the Song closely resembles the Greek dramatic models—the chorus. He allows, however, that the Song may be classed with imperfect dramatic poems, such as the Eclogues of Virgil and some of the Idylls of Theocritus. The first scholar to adopt the second solution of the problem was Richard Simon; but the first to make it plausible was Herder.¹ Influenced partly by the disintegrating tendency of the newer criticism, but still more by an irresistible impulse to search for traces of old popular poetry, he boldly denied the continuity of the poem, dividing it into about twenty-one independent songs (with a fragmentary conversation for an appendix), threaded like so many pearls on a necklace. These songs are sometimes very short; but brevity, Herder thinks, is the soul of a love-song; nor is it important to determine the exact number of songs.

Herder does not deny a certain pleasing appearance of unity, but ascribes this to the collector, who wished to show the gradual growth of true love in its various *nuances* and stages, till it finds its consummation in wedlock. In its present form the Song may be taken to consist of six 'scenes'; but the critic apologises for the term, and insists that the poem was intended to be read, and, as it stands, is neither a theatrical piece nor a cantata. Herder's 'exquisite little treatise'² could not fail to make an impression. It gained the approval of Eichhorn and Goethe; but, without a more

¹ *Lieder der Liebe. Die ältesten und schönsten aus den Morgenlande* (1778). See Herder's *Werke* by Suphan, Bb. 5, and cp. Hayn's *Herder*, 217, where it is shown that it was really Bishop Percy's *Reliques* which opened Herder's eyes to the element of folk-song in the OT. Herder, however, came to recognise that this element was somewhat modified in the Bible by a certain inherent and distinctive sanctity.

² We have borrowed this and a few other characteristic phrases from the *EB* article 'Canticles' by Robertson Smith for the pleasure of quoting from such a fine piece of critical exposition.

thorough justification than Eichhorn gave, it could not permanently subvert the rival theory. Apart from its eloquent defence of the literal interpretation, its chief contribution to biblical study is perhaps this: that it has unintentionally proved the impossibility of recovering the original songs (if songs there were) and of retracing the plan (if plan he had) of the hypothetical collector. Goethe appears to have felt this. Tempted himself, as he tells us in the *Hesiodischer Dorian*, to select and arrange some of 'these few leaves,' he took warning from the failure of previous efforts, and left the poem in its hopeless but lovely confusion.

A first step in the criticism of the Song was taken by Ewald in his early commentary (1826). He did not as yet venture to suppose that the 'cantata' was really acted on the stage; but from the first he asserted its genuinely dramatic character, and in 1830 he repaired his original omission (*Die poet. Bücher des AT*, Bb. i.). Was this a step backward? Only in appearance. Until the necessity of disintegration had been convincingly proved, Ewald was always on principle opposed to it. The cleverness and moderation of his critical theory, aided by his growing reputation for broad and deep scholarship, led to a very general adoption of the dramatic hypothesis, though the names of De Wette, Gesenius, Bleek, and Magnus may be quoted on the other side. The last-named scholar, however, did not effect much for his cause. His theory 'involved the assumption that the editor often displaced part of a song, sacrificing the unity of the original lyrics to an artificial composition of the whole.' It is only fair to add that in 1850 Bottecher did his best to make the opposite view absurd by introducing into the supposed Hebrew drama 'the complexities and stage effects of a modern operetta.' In 1860 Renan observed, with truth, that the dramatic theory had become 'almost classic,' and in 1891 and 1893 it was put forward as correct in the *Introductions* of Driver and König. Other eminent defenders of this theory are Hitzig (1855), Ginsburg (1857), Kuenen (1865), Delitzsch (1875), Robertson Smith¹ (1876), Kaenpf (1877), Kohler (1878), Stöckel (1888), Oettli (1889), Bruston (1891), Martineau (1892), and Rothstein (1893).

By degrees, however, the theory of the separatists recovered from the effects of Magnus's imprudence. It began to pass into a new phase, and to exercise a stronger attraction. Diestel (art. 'Hohes Lied,' *Schenkel's Bib. Lex.* iii. [71]); Reuss ('70, in *La Bible*, etc., also *Gesch. der Schriften des AT* 2^e [90], 231-230; Stade (*GIT*, 2107 [88]); Cornill (*Einl.* [91], pp. 236-240); Budde (*New York*, March '94, pp. 56-77); Kautzsch (*HS*, '94; *Lit. of the OT*, 148-151), and Siegfried (*Hohes Lied*, '98) have done much to show that the view of Heider had not yet been adequately considered. Among these Budde deserves prominence for being the first to utilise adequately the information respecting Syrian marriage customs given by Consul Wetzstein in 1873.

Before reviewing this theory ourselves, we shall do well to examine the dramatic hypothesis more attentively.

(1) The forms which it has taken are by no means unanimous.² According to Reuss, this wide divergence is fatal to the hypothesis. It seems fairer to admit that if it could be made out (1) that there is a plot, and (2) that there is any reason to

¹ Of this lamented scholar's later views we have, unfortunately, no record.

² The dramatic schemes of Ew. and Del. are given in full by Dr. *Introd.* 438-444. Delitzsch finds only two chief characters, Solomon and the Shulammitte. Passages like 2:10-15 and 4:8-15, which seem to speak of a shepherd-lover, really refer, he thinks, to Solomon, who adopts the circle of ideas and images familiar to his rustic love. Against this absurd view, see Oettli, 157. Martineau, on the other hand, eliminates the king altogether. So too Castelli, who describes the poem as an idyll in dialogue, the chief personages of which are the Shulammitte and her lover.

expect a drama among a Semitic people, we might excuse this divergence as an unfortunate consequence of the absence of stage directions.

i. First, then, is there any plot? The dramatists (as we may call the defenders of this theory) answer that there is. Stöckel even discovers two plots, developed by distinct pairs of lovers: the Shulammitte (who is a vine-dresser) and her 'friend' (17:7), and a shepherd and shepherdess of Lebanon (besides the royal suitor, Solomon). The two latter are introduced in three scenes, 1:7-8 1:15-4 1:7-5 1:1. They know nothing about the Shulammitte and her 'friend.' The poet has interwoven the two movements to amuse the audience and produce a pleasing contrast between the different fortunes of the two pairs of lovers. All very conceivable! Double musical themes can be treated in figures; why not also in Hebrew drama, granting that a regular Hebrew drama ever existed, and that Stöckel's view of the text is justified? However, all that this critic has shown is that 1:7, 15 and 1:1, 17 are out of connection with the previous verses; and in the case of the latter passage an easy emendation¹ enables us to recognise a continuous speech of the bride in 1:12-21.

Most critics, on the other hand, are content with one plot, and approach more or less closely to the dramatic scheme of Ewald, according to which the heroine is a maiden of Shulen or Shinnim in Issachar (see *Sin. St. M.*, who has two lovers, the one at a distance, the other (till he finally disappears) near at hand; the one poor but favoured, the other royal but treated with disdain. In chap. 14*f.* we find the maiden, who makes no secret of her country origin, in the 'chambers' of the king among the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (the ladies of the palace); but in 8:5 she suddenly appears, approaching her mountain home on the arm of her betrothed. From the context it is thought to be clear that the suitor whose riches are contemned (8:7, cp. 11*f.*) is King Solomon, to whom the flattering compliments offered to the maiden in previous chapters must be assigned. How, then, came 'the Shulammitte' to exchange her free country life for the irksome splendour of the court? It is inferred, from 6:11*f.*, that she had been surprised by Solomon's courtiers (who had often been employed, no doubt, in similar abductions) on a royal progress in N. Israel. She 'had gone down into the nut-garden to look at the green things of the valley,' when 'suddenly,' she says, 'my desire brought me to the chariots of my noble people' (Ewald). It is some excuse for Solomon that, if Ewald may be followed, 'the Shulammitte' had not even been betrothed to the shepherd when she was carried off. (R. Martineau, however, thinks that between the third and the fourth scene—i.e., between the 36-11 and 1:7-16—the Shulammitte and the shepherd lover have been formally betrothed.) Then, how came the girl to be delivered from her royal captor? Renan has offered a very modern solution of the problem; but it is one which has no basis in the text, and may be safely neglected. Most have supposed (cp. 8:9*f.*) that the escape of 'the Shulammitte' was due, not to any favourable combination of circumstances, but to the effect produced upon Solomon by her own frank and loyal character; 'all the actors,' says Ewald, 'recognise the restraints of the true religion.' Will this view hold? Is it conceivable that the luxurious Solomon should have been represented by any popular poet as releasing one of the 'maidens innumerable' in his 'chambers'?² Is it probable that such a maiden would have had, in the poet's fancy, the liberty implied in the early scenes of the 'drama,' or that she would have met Solomon's advances in that extra-

¹ 1:15 has evidently been interpolated from 1:1, and the opening word of 2:16 has been put in to match the first word of 2:15. An address of the heroine to her lover is out of place in this context (Bickell).

² Stöckel quotes an example of such magnanimity from the life of the Caliph Mahdi (K. *Mier*, *Culturegesch. des Orient*, 2:127); but can we compare the characters of the two sovereigns?

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ordinarily absent manner which Ewald's view of 10-26 supposes? Why should the recurring phrase 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp. 'daughters of Zion', 311) have such a limited reference as the dramatic theory requires? Then, as to the Shulammitte and her abduction. Theory apart, what right have we to assume that the intercourse implied in the poem between the girl and her lover was prior to marriage? To this point we shall have to return. Can we safely infer from the title that Shulem or Shunem was the girl's home? The title occurs in a single passage (611 [71]); but there is no allusion elsewhere to confirm this supposition. Next, how can Ewald base such a romantic story simply on the very obscure passage, 611 f.? Lastly, how do we know that the Solomon of history or legend plays any part in the poem? As Castelli, himself one of the dramatisers, has well pointed out, Solomon is mentioned by name only in some simile or figurative contrast.¹ Thus in 15 the heroine likens herself for comeliness to the curtains of the pavilions of Solomon (but we should rather read with Brüll, We., and Wl., שִׁמְשֹׁן, the name of a nomad Arabian tribe; see SALMUT, 2). In 37-11 Solomon's litter is spoken of jestingly; and so, in 811, 'to the costly vineyard of Solomon the heroine prefers her own symbolic one, which does not require the anxious supervision of others.' There is a fourth passage in which, according to an extremely probable correction of the text, Solomon is named, — 63 f.:

'Sixty queens had Solomon, and eight concubines, and maidens innumerable. One is my dove, my spotless one.'

Here again there is a contrast between Solomon's large harem and the speaker's single incomparable bride.

Can we, then, be sure that where the phrase 'the king' occurs alone, it is not a honorific designation of the bridegroom? And this suggests the question, which Castelli, however, does not raise, whether the term 'the Shulammitte' is not as purely figurative as 'the king'? Several writers (e.g., Klostermann) have conjectured that the story of Abishag the Shunammite (1 K. 13 f.) supplied the plot of the supposed drama; but considering the difficulty of making out any plot at all, and the fact that 'the Shulammitte' is referred to only in one passage, we may ask whether it is not more probable that the term is applied metaphorically, and is equivalent to 'the fairest of women' (18 59 61)? If we omit 611 f. as misplaced (doubtless a correct view), and read 610 and 13 [71] together, we shall see how natural it was for the poet to seek out some striking variation on the rather hackneyed purport just mentioned. The passage will run thus:

'Who is she that looketh down as the dawn, fair as the moon, clear as the sun? Turn, turn, thou Shulammitte, that we may look upon thee.'

It is usual to assume that the spectators, being ignorant of the heroine's name, address her with blunt directness as a girl of Shunem, and that she answers by the modest question, 'What do you see in the simple Shulammitte girl?' It is much more natural to suppose that 'the Shulammitte' (Shunammite) is a term not less complimentary than 'fair as the moon' in 1: 10, and points back to the Abishag of tradition.² And should it be asked why Abishag's name is not mentioned, we may venture to express the opinion that when the song was written there was probably in the Hebrew text of 1 K. 13 15, 1 Sam. etc., not שִׁמְשֹׁן, but a very different word (see SHULAMMITTE).

There are many other difficulties of interpretation which might be mentioned. For example, how are we to understand the movements of 'the beloved'? Are

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all the meetings of the lovers, except the final reunion, in reminiscence or in sleeping or waking imagination only? Can we conceive of a drama in which each of the actors seems almost if not quite uninfluenced by the speeches of the other? Not so did the Yahwist and the Elohist and the author of the Prologue of Job manage their dialogues. Less important is the difficulty which arises from the changes of scene, a weakness which need not surprise us in primitive plays. We must be careful, however, not to attach too much importance to European parallels. Renan, for example, goes too far when he refers to the comparatively elaborate pastoral play called *Le Gueux de Robin et de Marion*, or *Le Jeu du Berger et de la Bergère*, composed in 12. by Adam de la Halle for the diversions of the court.³ It would be more natural, with R. Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), to compare the simple pastorals of the Troubadours; but even that might be misleading.

ii. We have now to ask, further, Have we a right to expect a Semitic drama, however primitive in form?

7. No Semitic drama. That Semitic nations are not at all devoid of general dramatic capacity may be granted. In Mohammedan

countries the *na'at* ('recreation') still displays all the faculties of an actor, and stirs his hearers to the depths as he tells the story of 'Antar or the tales of the Arabian Nights; and there is an unmistakably strong dramatic element in Arabic works such as the 'Sessions' of Hariri. It cannot have been otherwise with the Israelites. They too must have laughed and wept as they listened to their story-tellers. At all events, the relics of their literature contain genuinely dramatic passages; see, for example, the stories of Jacob and Samson (evidently of traditional origin), of Ruth and Job. Even in the psalms and prophecies we have pieces like Ps. 2 21 7-10 Is. 63 1-6 28 8-11 Mic. 6 6-8, and the colloquies in the Book of Job have at least a distant affinity to the drama of character. Still, there is no evidence that the transition to a drama was ever made by a Semitic people. We have an Assyrian epic, but no Assyrian drama. Least of all can we reasonably expect to find one in the OT. Theatrical performances were not known at Jerusalem before the time of Herod, and to all good Jews such heathenish practices were detestable (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 81; cp. *BJ* i. 27 8). Hence the dramatic theory of the Song is plausible only if the composition of the poem be placed at *Alexandria* (during the Greek period). Why, upon this supposition, did not the dramatist write in Greek, as did Ezekiel, the author of the drama on the Exodus called 'Ἐξάγωγῆς? In a word, the difficulties of the dramatic theory are insuperable.

(b) The Israelites, however, had a still more characteristic gift — that of lyric poetry. Singing and dancing formed essential parts of their festivities, as they still do among the Bedouins; and when these festivities were occasioned by some great local or national event, a dramatic element would naturally infuse itself into the popular songs, and this all the more easily because the custom of alternate song, which is in its nature dramatic, was very ancient (cp. Ex. 15 21 1 S. 21 11). I would think that the Song (which is, according to him, a cantata) was originally intended for a festival of the independence of the N. kingdom, and that it was performed in five days, an act in a day. This view suits his theory of the 'plot' of the Song; but it is no longer tenable — we have seen that the references to 'Solomon' are figurative, and that 'the Shulammitte' is also a mere eulogistic term.

Why should not we take up again the suggestive idea of Bossuet and Lowth that the Song was intended for use on the seven days of the marriage festival (cp.

¹ *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, par Monmerqué et Michol, 102-135. (Renan's account differs.)

¹ Castron, *Della poesia biblica*, 311.

² This view was proposed by Stade in 1887 (*GLT* 1882), and adopted by Bu. in his excellent essay, *Neu Weltl. Mar.* 1224, pp. 62-4. Budd desiderates an OT analogy. Perhaps 'Zimri' in 2 K. 9 31 (see RV) is such.

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Gen. 29:27 Judg. 14:12 Tob. 11:17)? On such occasions there would, of course, be alternate songs by the bridegroom and the bride, and to this Jeremiah refers when, describing the calamities of invasion, he says that God will 'cause to cease from the cities of Judah and from the streets of Jerusalem the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride' (Jer. 7:34 25:10). There is also an allusive passage in the Mishna (*Ta'mith* 42, already referred to), and the strangeness of the notice affords the best guarantee of its truth. It was customary at the 'Wood Festival' (ἑρκοφῆρα) on the 15th of Ab (August) and at the close of the Day of Atonement¹ for the 'daughters of Jerusalem' (cp Song 1:5, etc.) to go out and dance in the vineyards, and whoever had no wife went thither also. (Was it a relic of marriage by capture? Cp Judg. 21:21.) There was also alternate singing, and the youths were wont to use the words of Song 3:11. See DAVIS, § 6.

It is from Syria, where so many odd customs have survived, that we get the fullest confirmation of Bossuet's idea. Let us turn to Song 36-41 (translated by the present writer in *JQR*, July 1899), where the words referred to so strangely in the Mishna occur.

9. Syrian wedding festivities.

Solomon is here introduced riding in his palanquin 'with the crown with which his mother crowned him on his wedding-day,' escorted by sixty warriors 'with the hand on the sword.' What this means we can tell from von Krieger's account of the marriage processions in Moslem villages in the Lebanon.² The procession goes from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, and in it there is a band of youths armed with long poles, which they keep striking together, and hold in such a way as to form a kind of roof over them. The poles were probably in olden times lances; the open country was not secure from bandits (Hos. 6:6; cp Ps. 103:1).³ The 'crown' is, of course, that of the bridegroom (cp Ps. 68:10); 'in the war with Vespasian,' says the Mishna (*Sota*, 31a), 'the crowns of bridegrooms were forbidden.' The Solomon of 3:11, then, is not the Solomon who made himself a state-litter, but a happier though a humbler mortal. It is, in sooth, a pretty jest to liken the bridegroom to his nuptial crown and the sixty 'companions' (Judg. 1:11) who rode him over with their poles to the luxurious Solomon in his gorgeous palanquin with his martial bodyguard around him; and the jest has a wholesome moral.

A much fuller account of the customs of the Syrian peasants in the month of weddings (March) is given by Wetzstein.⁴ During the seven days after a wedding, high festivity, with scarcely interrupted singing and dancing, prevails. The bridegroom and the bride play the parts of king and queen (hence the week is called the 'king's week'), and receive the homage of their neighbours; the crown, however, is at present in Syria (as in Greece) confined to the bride (contrast Song 3:11). The bridegroom has his train of 'companions' (to borrow the ancient term, Judg. 14:11), and the grander the wedding the more of these there are. The bride too has her friends (cp 'daughters of Jerusalem,' Song 1:5, etc.), the maidens of the place, who take an important part in the reception of the bridegroom (cp Ps. 15:14 Mt. 25:1-13). In the evening of the great day a sword-dance is performed. In the Arabian desert it is the young

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men of the tribe who thus display their agility (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2:117); but in the Syrian wedding it is the sword-dancer is the bride. When taken in connection with another Syrian custom and with the passage of the Mishna mentioned above, this may be thought a relic of primitive 'marriage by capture.' The connected custom referred to is this: that when, on the morning after the wedding, the road-seat has been erected, a crier comes forward declaring that the 'king'—the bridegroom—has made a campaign against a hitherto impregnable fortress, and calls upon him to say whether he has succeeded or not. The 'king' answers in the affirmative, and upon this the seven days of rejoicing begin.⁵ However this may be, the sword-dance at the Syrian weddings has a significance of its own. It not only displays the physical gifts and capacities of the bride, but also symbolises her womanly self-respect, which keeps all intruders afar off (cp Song 8:6). 'The figure of the dancer, her dark waving hair, her serious noble bearing, her downcast eyes, her graceful movements, the quick and secure step of her small naked feet, the lightning-like flashing of the blade, the skilful movements of her left hand, in which she holds a handkerchief, the exact keeping of time,' form a scene which contrivances not a little to make the 'king's week' the happiest in a Syrian peasant's life. The description throws a bright light on Song 6:1-6 (which forms a connected passage).⁶

The opening verse is probably spoken by the chorus of neighbours on the approach of the bride with the sword; it abounds with respectful compliments suitable to the occasion. 'The *ṭawf* also belongs to the neighbours, who call to the bride to turn that they may see her better. Then, to draw out their admiration further, the bridegroom asks them why they are gazing as fixly at this paragon of beauty—this second Shulamite—at the dance of warlike hosts,' i.e. at the war-dance, or sword-dance (שִׁיר הַמִּלְחָמָה; ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παραμάχων; so Budde). It often happens in the Syrian desert, says Wetzstein, that when a woman performs this dance on occasion of a victory of one tribe over another, and some young man shows special admiration of the dancer, he is called upon to fight unarmed, according to certain rules, with the dancer, and may chance to pay for his boldness with his life. To this the question in Song 6:13⁷ may allude. Song 7:1-9 (which is in a different metre from 6:1-13) exactly answers to the Syrian *ṭawf* (i.e., 'laudatory description') sung during the sword-dance by the leader of the chorus. We must not criticise it too severely. The tone is that which popular taste required and (to judge from the *ṭawf* quoted by Wetzstein) still requires in Syria.

On the day after the wedding, when the 'king' has announced his 'victory' over the 'fortress,' another *ṭawf* is sung. This time the attractions of the lady are described with less reserve, in deference to wily dignity. Such a *ṭawf* we seem to have in Song 4:1-7. Is the bridegroom, then, exempt from laudation? Not in modern Syria, nor in the Song. True, in Song 36-41, sung (it would seem) during the procession from the bridegroom's house to that of the bride, flattery goes no further than to liken the crowned bridegroom to Solomon. The young wife naturally goes further. The *ṭawf* itself is found in Song 5:1-16. Prefixed to it is a speech of the bride describing a weird dream that she has had, in which she believes so firmly that she begs for the help of the 'daughters of Jerusalem' in restoring her to her beloved. These are the chief songs of this class; but in Song 6:4-7 we have at least a fragment of a laudatory description of the bride, part of which is an ill-connected quotation from 4:1-7. Wetzstein assures us that the *ṭawf*-passages are the weakest part of the wedding-songs, and accordingly, he adds, the *ṭawf*-portion of the Song of Songs is much inferior poetically to the rest. Certainly the most striking part

¹ On 6:11f., see above, § 10. Reuss despairs of 6:10-13 with-out reason.

¹ The tenth of Tisri must antiently have had a festive character, and it have been a prelude to the joyous Feast of Booths (8:10-12).

² *Mithras und Dionysos* (1875), p. 123.

³ Wetzstein says that the bridegroom's friends are really armed. He thinks that 'by reason of fear in the night' (Song 3:3) they allude to the insecurity of the villages.

⁴ Appendix to Delitzsch's *Hebräisch* (1875), 165-167, 170-171; cp Wetzstein in *Zeits. für Ethnologie*, 1875, pp. 207-214. Even among the *fellahin* of Palestine there seems to be a vestige of the sword-dance. The bride on her camel is conducted to the house of the bridegroom holding a drawn sword, *PAF* (April 1894), p. 136.

of the Song of Songs is the passage which contains 711-87 (excepting the interpolated verses 83-84). It is a song such as might have been sung on the evening of the wedding-day. The opening description is true in idea, though imaginary in its incidents. It is true in idea; for every marriage, according to the poet, should arise from the free affection of one man and one woman. It is imaginary in its details, for the incidents are inconsistent with what was allowable in courtship. For real songs of courtship such as an Israelite might have used, see Ruckert's *Hamans*, bk. iv. 1. The closing eulogy of love as 'strong as death, nuxible as Shool, whose flashes are flashes of fire, [whose flame is] a flame from heaven'² (85), is noble.

The poetical form, and therefore also the origin, of the Song of Songs seems to be no longer doubtful.

Fully twenty years ago (1879) the present writer rejected the interpretation of Song 6:11, but still thought it possible, by omitting interpolations and transposing certain misplaced passages, to restore something like the original sequence, and to recognise a more imperfect plot such as quick-witted hearers and spectators might have divined. He saw also that the poem was based on popular songs,³ and admitted the critical significance of the information furnished by Wetzstein. 'When we consider,' he then wrote, 'that processions and the choral performance of lyric poems were familiar to the Israelites from Sammel downwards, it becomes a highly probable conjecture that this custom of the Syrian peasants was already in vogue in the times of the Old writers. This is confirmed by the remarkable coincidence between the time when the incidents of the Song are supposed to take place (see Song 2:11-13) and the time of the peasants' weddings in Syria (March is the most beautiful time of the Syrian year). He farther noticed 140 or three of the *wayf*-passages in the Song, and (after Kohler) the implied reference to the sword-dance in Song 6:10-11 (75, 117, being misplaced). He was far, however, from realising the extent to which the Hebrew songs were analogous to the traditional Syrian, and thought that a part of the Song related to the happy courtship of the rustic lovers; nor did he understand the reference to Solomon or the meaning of 'the Shulammité.' To Budge he owes it that he has adopted a more consistent theory.⁴

The book is an anthology of songs used at marriage festivals in or near Jerusalem, revised and loosely connected by an editor without regard to temporal sequence; in saying which, we do not deny that the kernel of the work may have been brought from some other part of the country, perhaps in the north.

What of the supposed indications of unity? These are found partly in the phraseology ('Solomon,' 'the king,' 'daughters of Jerusalem,' 'my beloved,' 'my friend,' the seeming refrains in 27:35-84; as well as in 2:17a 46a; and in 2:17b 8:14b), partly in the poetical colour, partly in the feeling or spirit, and of course in the circumstances. This agreement between the several parts of the poem is not as great as has been supposed. As Bickell observes, 'Generatim omnia verbotenus repetita series inserta sunt'; in *G* such repetitions are even more plentiful than in MT. The genuine points of phraseological agreement are quite accounted for by the traditional conventions of these love songs. That the feeling, the poetical colour, and the circumstances are the same, harmonises with the assumed origin of the songs. The prominence of the mother (16:34 82:5) is to be explained not (with Ewald, 334) by 'the Shulammité's' supposed loss of her father, but as a vestige of the matriarchate (*Mutterrecht*). With regard to Song 14 and Song 8:10, which, taken together, may seem to show that the heroine had been placed in a royal palace but had 'compelled her assailant to leave her in peace'

1 These verses are not in the metre of the rest of the passage; the two former come from 26:5 (cp 3:5), while the last has been suggested by 3:5.

2 Or, 'a most vehement flame.' The final *ay* may be simply an affirmative (*Jäger, Jastrow*).

3 See *Daughters of Ophrah* (1893), 750.

4 Budge's attempt (*New World*, March 1894) to show that some of the less poetical passages are due to the collector and reviser of the songs, who now and then misunderstood the texts, cannot here be considered.

13. **Present writer's relation to Wetzstein.** based on popular songs,³ and admitted the critical significance of the information furnished by Wetzstein. 'When we consider,' he then wrote, 'that processions and the choral performance of lyric poems were familiar to the Israelites from Sammel downwards, it becomes a highly probable conjecture that this custom of the Syrian peasants was already in vogue in the times of the Old writers. This is confirmed by the remarkable coincidence between the time when the incidents of the Song are supposed to take place (see Song 2:11-13) and the time of the peasants' weddings in Syria (March is the most beautiful time of the Syrian year). He farther noticed 140 or three of the *wayf*-passages in the Song, and (after Kohler) the implied reference to the sword-dance in Song 6:10-11 (75, 117, being misplaced). He was far, however, from realising the extent to which the Hebrew songs were analogous to the traditional Syrian, and thought that a part of the Song related to the happy courtship of the rustic lovers; nor did he understand the reference to Solomon or the meaning of 'the Shulammité.' To Budge he owes it that he has adopted a more consistent theory.⁴

14. **Not pre-exilic.** is of course not more trustworthy than the headings of the 'Solomonic' psalms.

15. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

16. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

17. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

18. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

19. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

20. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

21. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

22. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

(Robertson Smith's paraphrase of 8:10), we should hold that the 'chambers' of 14 are those of the crowned bridegroom, and that the 'peace' of 8:10 belongs to the characteristic figure of the 'fortress' (see above).

Historically, the Song would gain, could it be shown to be pre-exilic. What would not one give for the light hitings of ancient Hebrew maidens?

13. **Date.** and for a noble popular protest against the doubtful innovations of the impatriotic Solomon? Robertson Smith in 1876 held that the Song of Songs was just such a protest. 'The conservative revolution of Jeroboam was,' he remarks, 'in great measure the work of the prophets, and must therefore have carried with it the religious and moral convictions of the people. An important element in these convictions, which still claims our fullest sympathy, is powerfully set forth in the Canticles, and the deletion of the book from the Canon . . . would leave us without a most necessary complement to the Judean view of the conduct of the ten tribes which we get in the historical books.' The reference to the harem life of Solomon, however, is confined to two verses (Song 6:8 f.); it is rather sportive than polemical, and, attractive as the protest-theory is, it is opposed to a sound exegesis (see above).

For a pre-exilic date there is no solid argument, (a) The title, which is not by the author (note *שיר השירים*).

14. **Not pre-exilic.** is of course not more trustworthy than the headings of the 'Solomonic' psalms.

(b) The points of contact with Hosea (cp Song 2:13 4:11 6:11 with Hos. 14:6-9) and Prov. 1:9 (cp Song 4:11 14 f. with Prov. 5:3 7:17 5:13-17) prove only that different poets used similar (conventional) images. Moreover, recent criticism tends to show that Hos. 14:2-10 and Prov. 1:9 are post-exilic. (c) The phrase *שיר השירים* 'going down) straight,' used of wine, in Song 7:9 Prov. 23:1, is indecisive, whether Prov. 23:1 is early or late. (d) The mention of Tirzah beside Jerusalem (Song 6:4) need not point to 'the brief period when that city was the capital of the dynasty of Baasha' (but see TIRZATH, for (if MT is correct) it is the beauty of the site of Tirzah that is referred to—a beauty which could not pass away with a dynasty. Most probably, however, we should emend the text thus, 'Thou art beautiful as the narcissus, comely as the lily of the valleys' (cp 2:1). If so, Tirzah is not mentioned. (e) That the references to Solomon prove nothing, we have seen already. It will, therefore, be absurd to base an argument on the comparison of the lady in Song 1:9 with one of Pharaoh's maids. If the bridegroom could be likened to Solomon, the bride could be likened to one of Solomon's finest Egyptian horses, especially if the songs were written while Palestine formed part of the Greco-Egyptian empire (cp Theocr. *Id.* 15:52 f.). Whether Solomon really obtained horses from Egypt, is a question which need not be discussed here (see MIZRATH, § 2a).

For a post-exilic date the main arguments are these:

(a) The position of the book among the Hagiographa.

(b) The beauty of Jerusalem is mentioned late (Ps. 132 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

15. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

16. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

17. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

18. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

19. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

20. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

21. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

22. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

23. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

24. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

25. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

26. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

27. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

28. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

29. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

30. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

31. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

32. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

33. **Post-exilic.** 502 Lam. 2:15). (c) The absence of striking archaisms of thought and expression. (d) The importance attached to rare exotic plants and to garden-cultivation points to Babylonian influence (see GARDEN). See Song 4:12-15, where the following plant-names, which are of foreign origin, and very possibly late, deserve attention.

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לֵךְ), נֵד (also לֵד), and, following Grätz, נָדִים (for the tautological נָדִים), new Heb. for 'roses.'¹

The foolishness of the post-Canticles for spices led the ancient scribes into some very strange textual errors—viz., (1) *l₁*, (1) 16, 'the mountains of myrrh (רִמְמוֹת) and the hill of frankincense' (רִמְמוֹת), where רִמְמוֹת should be רִמְמוֹת, 'Hermion', and רִמְמוֹת should be רִמְמוֹת (רִמְמוֹת); very probably, also, the correct reading in *l₁*, 8 is 'from the hills of the cedars, from the mountains of the cypruses' (רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת); (2) 8, 14, in the 'mountains of spices' (רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת), to which, if We's view of *רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת*, 'mountains of malolabron' (*We, Procl. (2) 4, 2*), was that of the early scribes, we may add 27 where we should read רִמְמוֹת רִמְמוֹת, 'mountains of cypruses' (see BETHUR).

Add **park**=new Heb. **פארק**, 6 in, and perhaps **כפר**=*ai'pos*, 1 in 4 in (plur.). Last, not least, we have the Persian loan-word for plantation or park, **פארק**, 4 in; elsewhere only Noh. 28 Eccl. 25, though the exact history of the form is doubtful.

One Greek loan-word has been found in פֶּזֶן, 'palanquin,' 39. *šupin* (see 30; but see LITTER). In the Midrash 'ק' is explained by פֶּזֶן, i.e., *šupina*. In *Sota* par. it is said that the use of the bridal litter (פֶּזֶן) was forbidden by the Jewish authorities during the Bar-Cochba war. On the gorgeous *šupina* of the Syrian ladies under Antiochus Epiphanes, see Polybius (op. Athn., 522). The only doubt can be whether 'ק' is not a gloss. Metrical reasons suggest its exclusion (the

(c) Among the distinctly late words are **חֶסֶד** 31a 76⁴ (for Judg. 8:22-27 is not, as it stands, ancient; see Budde); **חֶסֶד** 5:15 Esth. 16; **חֶסֶד** (plur.), 6:11 Job 8:12; **חֶסֶד**, 4:1 6:5; **חֶסֶד**, 1:18 3:5 11:1; **חֶסֶד**, 1:18 (Aram. and new Heb.); **חֶסֶד**, 'to glance,' 2:9; **חֶסֶד**, 1:12; **חֶסֶד**, 'snack-holes,' 2:9; **חֶסֶד**, 1:12; **חֶסֶד**, 2:14 Esth. 38:25 (Aram. **חֶסֶד** 'a stop'; **חֶסֶד**, 2:13 15 7:12 and perhaps Is. 16:3 (for **חֶסֶד** see *SHOT*, *ad loc.*); cp Duval, *RAE* 11:277); **חֶסֶד**, 'winter,' 2:11; **חֶסֶד**, 5:11; **חֶסֶד**, 5:2; **חֶסֶד** (plur.), 3:2 Prov. 7:8 Eccl. 12:45 (cp Gratz, 49); **חֶסֶד** (Phel), 5:3; **חֶסֶד** (to spring), 2:8; **חֶסֶד**, 'to keep,' 1:6 8:11; **חֶסֶד**, 'enclosed,' 7:3. (g) Grammatical forms. Note **חֶסֶד**, 1:15, etc.; **חֶסֶד**, 1:17; **חֶסֶד**, 'where,' 1:7 (cp **חֶסֶד**, Dan. 7:28); **חֶסֶד**, 'how?' 5:3, Esth. 8:6. Also **חֶסֶד** 22 times. **חֶסֶד**, 1:7, like **חֶסֶד**, Jon. 1:7, and **חֶסֶד**, Eccl. 8:17, **חֶסֶד**, Dan. 1:10. **חֶסֶד**, 1:6 8:12; **חֶסֶד**, 3:7 (exactly the Mishna usage). (g) **חֶסֶד**, 4:4, for **חֶסֶד**, may perhaps point to the post-exilic period (see Bond, *ZATW* 11:277).

The preceding list of arguments, though not exhaustive, should be sufficient. Linguists, such as Greenius among Christians and M. Sachs among Jews, long ago recognised the modern character of the Hebrew. The question, however, was a complicated one, and ingenuity did its best to save an early date, and with it (it appeared) the historical value of the Song. It is time for critical students to look at the facts more frankly. We can now show that this anthology of songs is post-exilic, and may conjecture that it is nearly contemporary with that 'song of love' (and of spices), Ps. 45. It is not easy to find a period more suitable to all the data than one of the early and fortunate reigns of the Ptolemies (cp. *Founders*, 353). A still later date is suggested by Winkler (*Alt.-Forschungen*, 295).

16. **Text.** Like the other poetical books, the Song of Songs suffers from many, often most unfortunate, corruptions of the text; some dislocations of passages have added to the difficulties of the inter-

¹ The first mention of roses elsewhere is in Eccles., (see ROSE). This would allow us to date the song in 300-250 B.C. There were roses in Babylon in Herodotus's time (*Herod.* 1.195).

² He was anticipated by Field (*Orig. Her.* 2:45), who gives the rendering of Sexta as $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha(\beta\alpha)\theta\rho(\nu)$. 'Dat et malobathron Syria' says Pl. (*H.N.* 12:1).

³ Another of the supposed Greek words arises from a corruption of the text. See ARMOURY.

⁴ אֶרְבֵּן in 76, however, is corrupt.

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preter. Gratz was the first to recognise the bad state of the text. Among recent scholars Bickell and Biddle have done most; Bickell's chief results have been incorporated in Biddle's excellent commentary. Perles, in his *Anleitung* (95), has considered about ten passages, and the present writer has endeavoured to correct some of the chief errors (*UW* and *Usp Times* for 1898-99 and *Uspcher*, Feb. 1899, 145 ff.). Among these corrections it may be mentioned that, according to Bickell, 'the Shulammite' in 71 is due to corruption; against this view, however, see Biddle, who points out that, since the phrase 'the Shulammite is not tantamount to a declaration that the bride is a Shulammite damsel, and only means 'one who is as far as Abishag the Shulammite,' it is urgent to the adherents of the dramatic or idyllic theory to have the correctness of ~~שולמית~~ assured to them. Contrary to Perles (who on this point is an adherent of Gratz), Bickell further thinks that שולמית in 612 (see AMINATING also) is not the true reading. The correct reading is שולמית.

The regulars **לִבְיָדָם** **בְּיָדָם** derived from **לִבְיָדָם** in **לִבְיָדָם** (which is corrupt) as a doublet of **לִבְיָדָם** in **לִבְיָדָם**, and renders 'my noble kinswoman'; humble prefers to wait for more light. Bibles has pointed the way to a better solution by grouping 612 and 72 with 77. Here, the present writer thinks, we should read **לִבְיָדָם** **לִבְיָדָם**, 'loved one, Shulamite himself,' and, consequently, makes the same restoration in 612 and 72—**לִבְיָדָם** **לִבְיָדָם**. Certainly Bickell is right in refusing to have anything to do with the 'chariots' of which MT and therefore also EV speak in 612. The whole story of the Shulamite's having been surprised in the nut-orchard by the king's retinue (cp Driver, *Introd.*, 412, 416) breaks down, when strict criticism is applied to the text. On Cant. 30-11, which is disfigured by curious corruptions (one of which is the famous **פָּאָרָה**, RV 'palaujan'), see LETTER.

We must now endeavour to estimate the value of the Song. We shall not be ungrateful for the material

17. **Value.** which it supplies to students of numbers,¹ but it is much more important that it opens a window into the heart of ordinary Israelites. (a) The Song reveals a very pure conception of true love, as springing out of a free inclination of one man and one woman,² and rising into a passionate and indestructible union of hearts. If the songs were written (or even if they were only edited, revised, and supplemented) in the early Greek period, what a contrast they offer to much that was current at the luxurious court of the Ptolemies! (b) The Song shows also a genuine love of nature. The writer inspires us with his own delicate joys. The breath of spring still breathes through his words. Its scents, its fresh moist greenness, the old hopeful spring notes heard in the woods, again are all here.³ There is nothing more lovely than the spring of Palestine, and this old poet felt it. Where the images are bi-arré, we need not put it down to him. The *tyzif*-songs were, and still are, governed by strict convention (cp Wetz. in *Del.* 174-177). Ovid and Theocritus are not without some of these strange love images.⁴ (c) 'Race-psychology' also may gather something. Twice the heroine falls into a perplexing confusion between dreamland and reality (Song 3:1-4 5-7). This can be paralleled from Arabic love poetry, in which the dream-form of the beloved receives an objective existence, and lovers even give their respective apparitions a rendezvous (see *Hamasa*, Froytag, 22; Iyall, *Translations*, 12).⁵ (d) If the poem is post-exilic, it shows us that there were times and seasons (cp Eccl. 3:4) of which legalism could not overshadow the joyousness.

¹ It reminds us of the fine love-sentiment of the Arabic *Hamisa*.

² W. G. Forbes, *Sermons* ('85), p. 147.

³ Cp especially Song 19 with Theuer. *Id.* 18 30.

⁴ See *Hamisa*, 612, and cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1838, p. 375, etc.

In this and in other respects our notion of the post-exilic period may perhaps need revision.

Is this, then, the whole worth of the Song for us? Being a musical, must it not have some subtle religious value which has been overlooked?¹

The answer is (1) that we have no right to assume that R. Akiba's well-known saying about the Song at the Synod of Jamnia (see *CANON*, § 53) represents the point of view of those who first admitted this popular and supposed Solomonic work among the Ketubim; and (2) that the mistake of a Jewish Synod cannot be perpetually endorsed by Christian common-sense and scholarship. We have therefore to revise our conception of the word 'canonical' in its application to the OT writings.

Besides the commentaries of Ew., Hitz., Gätz, Del., Stükel, Oettli (*ATC*, 193), etc., consult WRS, art. 'Canticles,' *1870*, Brüll's review of Kaempfer, *Jahrb. f. jud. arch. u. L.* 1877, p. 148 ff.; Brüll's review of Stükel, *ThZ*, 24th March 1878, 150; also *New World*, March 1894, and his fine commentary, 1893; also R. Martinum, *Amer. Journ. of Philology*, 1892, pp. 127-128; Bickell, *Carmina I.T. metrica* (82); Siegfried, *Co. Procl. in Hebraeo* (63); Riehl, *Die Sprache der Hebraeischen in der jud. Gemeinde u. der christl. Kirche* (92). T. K. C.

CAP (ΠΕΤΑΧΙΟ [AV]); according to one view it has been borrowed in Aramaic under the form ܥܦܪܢܐܘܡ Dan. 3:21; but see BREECHES, 2; TURBAN, 2; and *cp Journ. Phil.* 26 (1897), the Greek broad-brimmed dr. πετάριον felt hat which Jason made the Jewish youth wear (2 Macc. 1:12 RV; AV 'hat'). It was worn (originally) chiefly by shepherds and hunters, was an attribute of Herms,² and so became the badge of the palestra.

This assumes that the text is genuine (note that ἐπιταχισσών in 2A precedes). The Syr. reads ܥܦܪܢܐܘܡ (cp 2S. 12:31 (Pesh.), where MT has ܥܦܪܢܐܘܡ). Did the translator think of ἐπιταχισσών? Equally obscure is the origin of the Vg. in *hymenibus*, though the intimacy and vice of the later gynasia, the fact that the *Epheia* were celebrations of a more or less free and unrestrained character, and the allusion to vicious practices in 2 Macc. 1:12 make it possible that a genuine tradition has been followed.

CAPER-BERRY (קַפְרִי, ΚΑΠΠΑΡΙΟ [BNAC]), Eccles. 12:5f RV. That the Hyssop (*g. r.*) is the caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*, L.) is a favourite theory. Still more prevalent is the view that the word rendered 'desire' in AV RV^{mg} of Eccles. 12:5 ('the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail') denotes the berry of the caper-plant.³ The difficulties of translation are as great in the third of these clauses as in the others (ALMOND, GRASSHOPPER). The Revisers of OT changed 'desire' into 'the caper-berry,' but could not determine on a satisfactory verb; 'fail' therefore remains, with 'Or, burst' in the margin. Thus much at any rate is plain: the noun in this clause must denote some object in the physical world.

The rendering 'the caper-berry' (G. Ap. Vg.)⁴ has been adopted by nearly all moderns, among whom G. F. Moore⁵ deserves special mention because of the fresh light which he has brought from Mishnic and Talmudic sources. The rendering 'desire' (Abulwalid; Parchon) is a worthless modern guess.

In spite of the agreement of scholars, the clause remains obscure, mainly from the difficulty of interpreting the predicate קַפְרִי. (1) Plutarch (*Symp.* 62) speaks of the caper being used as a relish to induce appetite for food; medieval Arabic writers mention its effects

¹ Even Herder fell into this error; see Haym, *Herder*, 287.

² In middle and low Latin *petasum* becomes the winged shoe of Mercury (Dufresne, ed. Favre).

³ That this fruit, and not the berry-like bud familiar in modern times, is intended appears clearly from the Talmudic references (see Löw, *Flora*, 294), and the exhaustive discussion in Moore's art. referred to below.

⁴ Pesh. has a double rendering: (1) the caper, (2) misery—the latter seemingly based on a supposed (but impossible) abstract use of the fem. of קַפְרִי; cp Sym. ἡ ἐμπίνορος and Field, *Hex.* 2401.

⁵ See his article, *JBL* 10:55-64 (191).

in stimulating sexual impulse (Wetz. in Del. *Abh.* 452);¹ and it was in traditional use (especially the fruit) in the middle ages as a stimulant in senile disorder. It has been sought, accordingly, to explain קַפְרִי as meaning 'fail of effect' (so RV text), and this will do as a makeshift, when even the caper fails, nothing is left to try. Unfortunately, it is difficult to believe that the Heb. verb can have this meaning. Dehitch's explanation of it as a case of internal Hiphil ('produces failure'—i.e., 'fails') is most unlikely.

(2) Others have thought of the bursting of the ripe berry and the scattering of its seeds as a synonym for death (so RV^{mg}); but this is quite untenable, (a) because of the fact that the root קַפְרִי is nowhere used in a physical sense in Hebrew,² (b) because the context requires a phrase descriptive of old age rather than of death, and (c) because of the botanical impossibility of the interpretation, there being no evidence that the fruit of *Capparis spinosa* is dehiscens.

Unless, therefore, we give the Heb. verb the very unusual sense of 'fail' we can only say that probably, as in the other clauses, the metaphor indicates some feature in the old man's appearance or physical state, and Moore's suggestion, to emend קַפְרִי into some derivative of קַפְרִי appears a good one.

S. M.—W. T. T.—D.

CAPERNAUM is the transliteration of the Text. Rec. ΚΑΠΕΡΝΑΟΥΜ; but NHM, followed by Tisch.

1. Name. Treg., WH, etc., read ΚΑΦΑΡΝΑΟΥΜ (so Pesh. and Jos.). The original was, therefore, כַּפְרִי נָחֻם, village of Nahum. It is not mentioned before the NT, and this, coupled with the fact that קַפְרִי prevails in the composition only of comparatively late names, is proof of an origin shortly before the time of Jesus. Whether by Nahum is meant the prophet, we do not know. In Jerome's time it was another Galilean town that was associated with him (GASM, *Trist. de Proph.* 279).

Capernaum became the home of Jesus (ἐν οἴκῳ ἑστίν, Mk. 2:1) and 'his own city' (Mt. 9:1) after his rejection by the townsfolk of Nazareth.

2. References. Here he preached (Mt. 8:5 Mk. 1:21 Jn. 6 etc.); did many wonderful works, healing Peter's mother-in-law and many others (Mk. 1:31-41), a paralytic (Mt. 9 Mk. 2 Lk. 5:1-13), a centurion's servant (Mt. 8:5 Lk. 7:1), a man with an unclean spirit (Mk. 1:21 Lk. 1:13), and (by a word from Cana) a nobleman's servant (Jn. 4:46); and called the fishermen Peter and Andrew (Mk. 1:16), and Matthew or Levi, who sat to receive toll (Mt. 9:8 Mk. 2:14 Lk. 5:27). In spite of all this, the body of citizens remained unmoved, and Jesus pronounced woe upon the place (Mt. 11:23 Lk. 10:13, RV). These passages imply that Capernaum was a πόλις, with a Roman garrison, a synagogue (built by the centurion), and a customs-station; and that it lay down in the basin of the lake (Jn. 2:12 Lk. 1:13), and on the lake shore (Mt. 1:13), and (presumably from the customs station) on the great high road from Damascus past the N. end of the lake to the Levant (cp *topog. of the sea quoted* in Mt. 1:15 f. from Is. 9:1 [23]). A comparison of Jn. 6:17 with Mt. 11:34 would seem also to imply that it lay on or near the plain of Gennesaret at the NW. corner of the lake.

The name has entirely disappeared, and amid the scattered evidence of writers since the NT and the

3. Suggested identifications. various groups of ruin which strew the lake shore between Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, diversity of tradition and of modern opinion has naturally arisen. Two sites divide the authorities—Khirbet el-Minyeh (several mounds with indistinguishable ruins and an old Khān also called Minyeh on the N. corner of Gennesaret); and Tell-Hifm, a heap of black basalt ruins.

¹ It should, however, be noted that neither Dioscorides (2:24) nor Pliny (13:127 20:165 ff.) mentions either of these effects.

² So Tragus (*De Stirp. Hist. Comm.* 1552, 360) writes of the effect that, cooked, and taken with oil and vinegar, it is used with benefit in cases of psys, gout, 'phlegm,' 'spleen,' sciatia, in urinary troubles, and as an emmenagogue.

³ Even if it were, the Hiphil would not mean 'to burst.'

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with the remains of a white marble edifice and a curious tomb two miles and a half further west, and two miles and a half from the mouth of the Jordan. Between these two the evidence is not quite conclusive.

For Tell-Him there is usually quoted the evidence of Josephus, who says that, having been thrown from his horse in a skirmish with the Roman forces

4. Josephus. in Jordan, he was carried to a village called *Κεφαρναῦν* (*ibid.* 72), and thence to Taricheae. Even if this reading were correct, Josephus, with injuries so slight as he reports, might as easily have been carried the 5 m. to Gennesaret as the two and a half to Tell-Him, especially as his desire seems to have been to get to Taricheae. It is suspicious, however, that he calls the place a village (*κωμή*), and Niese fixes the proper reading as *κεφαρναῦν*. The only other evidence Josephus gives favours Khān Minyeh. He describes (*R* in 108) the plain of Gennesaret as watered by 'a most copious fountain' called by the people of the country Capernaum. This Robinson believes to be the 'Am et-Tin, close by Khān Minyeh; more probably it was the 'Am et-Talagāh, whose waters were conveyed in an aqueduct past the site of Khān Minyeh into the plain. Tell-Him, on the other hand, has neither fountain nor spring.

The Christian and the Jewish traditions are divided. Jerome places Capernaum 2 R. m. from Chorazin, a

5. Christian and Jewish traditions. datum which, if Chorazin be Korazeh, agrees with Tell-Him. So do the data of Theodosius (*it* 530), who, working from Magdala round the N. end of the Lake,

places Capernaum 2 R. m. on the other side of Heptapogon, presumably 'Am et-Talagāh. Isaac Chilo in 1334 (*Carmoly Itinéraires*, etc., *la Terre Sainte des chrétiens*, 260) came to Kefar Nachum from Irlud, and found it in ruins with the tomb of Nahum. In 1561 the *Itinerarium ha-Padikim* (*ib.* 385) mentions Tanchum with the tombs of Nahum and Rabbi Tanchum (cp *Itinerarium ha-Padikim* *ib.* 418). Taking Kefar Nachum and Tanchum as identical, some find in 'Tell-Him' a corruption of 'Tanchum'. This is the case for Tell-Him. It really rests on the evidence of Jerome and Theodosius (for it is not certain either that Kefar Nachum and Tanchum were identical or that 'Tell-Him' is derived from 'Tanchum'); and it is opposed to the evidence of Josephus. Yet in recent times it has received a large increase of support (Dr. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, 219-149; Thomson, *Land and Book*, ed. 1877, 352-356; Sir C. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 375-387; Guérin, *Galilée*, 1227 ff.; Schaff, *ZDP* 124 ff.; Furrer, *ib.* 263 ff., and in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.* 3495; Frei, *ZDP* 2115; van Kasteren, *ib.* 11210 ff.; Schürer's *Hist.* 171; Fulst, *Pal.* 224 ff.).

On the other hand, Arenulf's description of Capernaum (670 A.D.), as being on 'a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake' suits Khān Minyeh, but not Tell-Him. Arenulf adds that it lay on the shore *non longo circuitu* from the traditional spot on Gennesaret where the loaves were blessed. He did not visit it, but saw from a distance that it had no walls. Willibald's data (722 A.D.) suit any point between Mejeel and Bethsaida, and equally indefinite are all other references till Isaac Chilo in 1334 states that the town is now in ruins, but was formerly inhabited by Minim—i.e., Jews who had become Christians—all sorcerers (cp Neubauer, *Géog. du Tabu.* 221). Many find Minim in Minyeh. In answer to objections to this (Furrer, *ZDP* 233 ff.), another derivation has been suggested through the older Arabic spelling *el-munya*, common in Egypt and Spain for 'villa,' 'steading,' 'hamlet,' etc.—Lat. *mansio*, Gr. *μονή*—from which it is said to be derived (Gildemeister, *ZDP* 4194 ff.). In any case, a place lay here in the eleventh century called Manyat Hishāmī (Kazwini's *Lexicon*), and in 1430 El-Munya, a village so large that the whole lake was called after it. (Tristram gives the

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form 'Minyeh,' which Dehtsch derives from *Minch*, harbour). And Quatremere in 1806 26 (*Hand. Jour. Sin.* 290) says that by the site of Capernaum there was in his time a Khan called by the Arabs Minyeh. Ruins have been found both on the plain, by Robinson (*ibid.* 348-358) and Merrill (*ib.* of *London*, 301 f.), who found a city wall, and on the hill by Schumacher (*ib.* 1374).

On the whole, the balance of opinion is in favour of Khān Minyeh. So Robinson, Conder, Henderson

6. Probably Khān Minyeh. (*Pal.* 158 f.), Keim (*ibid.*, Engl. ed., 297 ff.), Stanley (*ibid.* 384), G. A. Smith (*ibid.* 605, 156 f.), Fwing (in Hastings, *ibid.*). The site suits the biblical data, is required by the data of Josephus, and has tradition in its favour from the seventh century onward.

G. A. S.

CAPHARSALAMA (CAPHARSALAMA [N.V.]; so SVT, KAF, [Jos.], ΦΑΡC, [N.], CAPHARSALAMA [V]), the scene of Nicomachus' unsuccessful attack upon Judas, 1 Mac. 7:1 (cp Jos. *ibid.* xii 104). The name is obviously *כפר סלמא*, which is met with in the Talmud also. Most commentators (Michaëlis, Grimm, Keil) seek the site somewhere to the S. of Jerusalem, on the ground that Nicomachus' subsequent movements were first to Jerusalem and then further northwards to Beth-leonai. Ewald and Schürer, however, prefer to identify it with the Carva Salim mentioned in a pilgrimage of the year 1095 as near Ramleh and not far from Lydda (cp *ibid.* 524, Schür. *GIP* 190 n., cp Le Strange, *Pal. under Moslems*, 471 f.). In the time of the crusaders 'Caparsala' is again mentioned as a casale of the Knights Hospitallers. Mikaddasi's location of it 'in the district of Casirea on the high road from Ramleh northwards' agrees with the data in 1 Maccabees. In that region we find at the present day a village Selmei 3 m. E. of Joppa and Khirbet es-Salimiyeh 6 m. farther N. across the 'Aijeh. Kh. Der Sella, 12½ m. W. of Jerusalem and 1 m. S. of the present high road to Joppa, suits the Maccabean, but not the medieval data. The same remark applies to the other Kh. Der Sella 4 m. N. of Jerusalem. Cp also the important W. Selman up which runs one of the main roads from the Maritime Plain to Jerusalem.

G. A. S.

CAPHENATHA, RV CAPHENATHA (CAPHENATHA [ANV], *כפרנאטה* [Lag.], but *כפרנאטה* [Walton]), a locality on the E. of Jerusalem, which Jonathan the Maccabee repaired (*ἐπεσκεύασεν*), 1 Mac. 12:17. The reading is uncertain, and the etymologists' attempts of the older Lightfoot and others (*καφες*, 'unripe dates,' *καπες*, from silversmiths or some treasure house) are best avoided. Sepp and Furrer (*FLZ*, 1899, col. 470) identify the place with the Taborion valley (see JERUSALEM), in which case *ἐπεσκεύασεν* (*ἐπεσκεύασαν* [V]) will have to be emended.

CAPHIRA (CAPHIRAC [A]), 1 Esd. 5:19 = Ezra 2:25, CAPHIRAC.

CAPHTOR (כַּפְתּוֹר; Dt. 2:23 Am. 9:7, CAPHTHOR ΔΟΚΙΑC [BAQL], CAPH, [I]; Jer. 17 [C] 29) 41, om.

1. Not Crete. *כַּפְתּוֹר* occurring in plural form *Caphtorim* (*כַּפְתּוֹרִים*; CAPHTHORIM [L], om. B; Gen. 10:14 [C] AE) = 1 Ch. 1:10 W. *Caphthorim*; CAPHOR [A]; Dt. 2:23 (AV *Caphthorims*, CAPHTHORIM [BAFL]); the land and properly the people whence came the Philistines. In Gen. 10:14 (see below)¹ and Dt. 2:23 *Caphthorim* is a synonym for Philistines. *Caphthor* is now generally identified with Crete, an important island of which the mention is perhaps to be expected; see GEOGRAPHY.

¹ The words, 'whence came the Philistines,' in Gen. 10:14 should follow 'Caphthorim.' Probably they are a misplaced (incorrect) gloss from the margin.

§ 15(7). In Jer. 47 it is expressly called an 'island' (יְבֵלָהּ), and the Philistines (פְּלִשְׁתִּים) are sometimes called 'Cherethites' (כְּרֵתִים). The Zeno Cretagenes in Gaza may also suggest a connection of the Philistines with Crete. These are Dillmann's arguments. But (1) 'rete' does not appear to be mentioned in the Assyrian or the Egyptian monuments; (2) the sense of 'island' is not to be limited to 'island' (HAB, 'coast, border, region'), and (3) in Jer. 47: 20 gives *τοὺς καταλοιποὺς τῶν ῥήτων*—i.e., the text which it followed was without 'Caphtor', the 'lands' or 'coast-lands' might be the Phoenician colonies (WMM). As for 'Cherethites', the current explanation, 'Cretans' (so too G. Pesh.), is very uncertain; cp *ῥῆς* probably = Philasati (Pharasati), which is the name of one of the tribes of seapirates from the coasts of Asia Minor which harassed Egypt under Rameses III. The probability is that *ῥῆς* is a slightly modified form of the name of another such tribe. Now, the tribe which is constantly coupled with the *Ph-rs-s-t* in the Egyptian inscriptions is that of the *Ta-k-a-ra* or *Ta-ka-ra-y*. It is reasonable to infer that *ῥῆς* is a form of *Takaray*, which was Hebraised in two ways: (1) by placing the first consonant third instead of first (*ῥῆς*, as if = *ent* off?), and (2) by omitting the first syllable (*ῥῆς*; but see *CARITES*). We look to Egyptology, therefore, for light on this problem.

According to Ebers,¹ Caphtor is the Egyptian *Kaft-ur*, 'Great Kaft'. This scholar held that *Kaft* was the name current in Egypt, first of all for the populous Phoenician colonies in the Delta, and then, more widely, for the Phoenicians of Phoenicia and their colonies. *Kaft-ur* would therefore mean 'Great Phoenicia' (cp Magni Gherard). This view, however, though not without plausible justification, is no longer tenable, as W. M. Müller has fully shown (*U. u. Eur.* 117 ff.).

Keftō is the name of a country which, together with Asi (the *Alašia* of Am. Tab.)—i.e., Cyprus—represents the western quarter of the world in the age of Thothmes III. No doubt it is Cilicia that is meant; hence in Lepsius's *Denkmäler*, 63, it is mentioned with *Mannus* (= *Mallus*, a region of silver mines) as inhabited by the same people. E. Meyer (who himself, however, still inclines to identify Caphtor with Crete) writes thus² of the land of *Kaft* (i.e., Müller's *Keftō*): 'The inhabitants of this land, the *Kafti* (formerly wrongly read *Kafu*) carried on a sea trade, and possessed a richly-developed decorative art which is closely related to the Mycenaean. Upon the Egyptian monuments they present throughout, in contrast with the inhabitants of the Phoenician seaports, a wholly non-Semitic type of features, and appear in the inscriptions as a western people outside the pale of the Semitic world. Rightly, therefore, have Pietschmann, Steindorff, and W. M. Müller rejected the equation *Kaft* = *φωκική* of the bilingual decree of Canopus and sought for *Kaft* in Asia Minor, perhaps in Cilicia.'

Now, when we consider that the sea-pirates called *Purasati* and *Takaray* are stated to have come from the 'islands' (i.e., coast-lands), it is obvious that 'if *Purasati* (at any rate) has been rightly identified in Hebrew literature, Caphtor, whence the *Pēlišṭim* (Philistines) came, must be a name for some part of the sea-board of Asia Minor, and we may expect to find its original in the Egyptian inscriptions. That original must surely be *Keftō* (or *Kaft*), which appears to have been Hebraised as Caphtor. That Caphtorim should be called a son of Mizraim (Gen. 10: 14) is not surprising, for Caphtorim here, as well as in Dt. 23, means, not the people of Caphtor (the coasts of Asia Minor) but the Philistines, who, as Müller has shown, were subject to Egypt in Shishak's time and earlier (cp DAVID, § 7). It is indeed doubtful whether either Amos or the Yahwist (J) can be presumed to have known the true meaning of Caphtor, for

¹ *Ag. u. die BR. Moses*, 130 ff. [63]. So formerly Sayce, (*Crit. Mon.* 136).

² In a special communication for the present work. Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 347 ff.

as early as the fourteenth century the name *Keftō* had passed out of general use. As a name for Cilicia it was superseded by *Hilakku* (see *CILICIA*, § 2). Hence the false tradition, identifying Caphtor with Cappadocia, could easily arise, just as another incorrect tradition identifying the Cherethites with the Cretans (on the other side see *CHERETHITES*) arose. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 347, 399, to whom this (probably) right explanation of Caphtor is due. That the final *r* in Caphtor still needs to be accounted for is admitted.

T. K. C.

CAPPADOCIA (ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑ [T. WH] Acts 2: 9, 1 Pet. 1: 1). Cappadocia, from a similarity of sound, was wrongly identified by the translators of G with CAPHTOR (see readings in previous article). It is allowable, however, to find it in the Gomer (see *GEOGRAPHY*, § 20, 1) of Gen. 10: 2; certainly the region called Gimir by the Assyrians was in or near Cappadocia. A still older name for Cappadocia seems to have been *Tahad* (see *TIBAL*); the *Talutians* were scattered abroad on the invasion of their lands by the Gimirai. The connection of Cappadocia with the early Hittites can only be mentioned here (see *HITTITES*).

Cappadocia is mentioned twice in the NT: Cappadocian Jews listened to Peter's sermon (Acts 2: 9), and his first epistle is addressed to Christian residents in the province (1 Pet. 1: 1). Jews must early have found their way into this part of Asia Minor, which is intersected by the commercial highways leading to Amisus on the Euxine and to Ephesus on the Aegean.

Strabo (534) sketches the area included under the name of Cappadocia. In the earliest times it embraced the entire neck of the Anatolian peninsula. Subsequently it was split up into the two independent monarchies of Cappadocia Proper (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ, ἡ μεγίστη) and Pontus (ἡ πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Κ.), separated from each other by the broad irregular elevation of the *Tchamlı Bel* and *Ak Dagh* (Strabo, 540; Rams. *Hitt. Geogr.* 315). In the south the Pyle Cilicic and the ridge of Taurus marked the frontier against Cilicia. Lake Tatta was part of the western boundary. In the SW, Cappadocia merged into the vast level plains of Lyconia and South Galatia; eastwards it extended to the Euphrates. The frontier varied greatly, however, at different epochs, especially towards the N and the E. Cappadocia is a cold elevated table-land, intersected by mountains, deficient in timber, but excellent for grain and grazing (Str. 73, 539). Its chief export seems to have been slaves (Hör. *Ep.* 1, 639: *Mancipii locuples eget ante Cappadocum rex*); but they were not of much account (Cic. *Post Red.* 614). Red ochre (Σαρωπία μίτρος; Str. 540) of good quality was exported: the emporium was Ephesus—not Tarsus, as we might have expected. Several monarchs of Cappadocia Proper bore the name *Armarathes* (cp 1 Macc. 15: 22). Its last king, Archelaus, was deposed by Tiberius, who reduced the country to the form of a province, in 17 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 2: 42; Jos. *Ant.* xvi, 46).

In Imperial times the Cappadocian roads fall into three groups:—(1) those on the north, and (2) those on the south, of the river Halys, in both cases leading eastwards to the *heads* of the upper Euphrates; (3) transverse roads leading northwards from the Cilician Gates: one of the chief among these last was that which afterwards became the pilgrims' route to the Holy Land (Rams. *op. cit.* 255). The capital, *Mazaca* (Μαζακα, from *Mosch*, the ancestor of the Cappadocians; Jos. *Ant.* 1, 61, Gen. 10: 2), occupied a central position actually upon the Euphrates trade-route, at the northern foot of Mt. Argæus. It was refounded by Claudius, who gave it the name *Cæsarea*, about 41 A.D. Because of the strength of the new religion in it, Julian expunged it from the list of cities. By his time the whole town had been christianized (ἡ πόλις Χριστιανισμένη) and its great temples of Zeus Polichius and Apollo Patroüs had long been destroyed (Sozom. *HE* 5: 4; Rams. *op. cit.* 303). This is the more remarkable as southern Cappadocia was the stronghold of the worship of Ma (Enyo), whose priest rivalled the king himself in power (Str. 535). At the time of Strabo's visit the Hieroduli of the temple numbered over six thousand, and

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goddess ATARGATIS (7.17). G. Smith's words are (see Del. *Par.* 266 f.). 'Grand site [i.e. vast walls and palaces—monads 8000 feet round], many sculptures and monoliths with inscriptions [i.e. site of Carchemish]'. Some of the sculptures and inscriptions are now in the British Museum. The ruins extend half a mile from N. to S. by a quarter of a mile from W. to E. (Pococke, *LC* 1).

Carchemish was the northern capital of the Hittite empire, the Assyrian mat Hatti, clearly a great trade centre, and seems to have been a fortress-city commanding the principal ford of the Euphrates on the trade route from the Mesopotamian plains into Syria. As the mounds lie between Berejik and the junction of the Sajur with the Euphrates, it is certain that a strong force at Carchemish could block the route of an Egyptian army into Assyria. About 1600 B.C. the army of Thutmose III. had to meet the people of Kar-ka-ma(2)-Sa (WMM, *Isin*, 263); and the Egyptian captain Amenemheb took some of the inhabitants prisoners. Tiglath-pileser I. (c. 1100 B.C.) says that he defeated and plundered people belonging to the city of Carchemish, and when the rest fled and crossed the Euphrates he sent his troops across on floats of inflated skins and burnt six cities at the foot of Mount Bišn (*KBI* 10, I. 49 ff.). It is clear that his victory did not give command of the ford and that he did not take the city itself. Ash-nāsir-pal (c. 880 B.C.) received from Sangara, king of (mat Hatti) the Hittites, in the neighbourhood of Carchemish, tribute, the magnitude and variety of which attest the wealth and prosperity of the land (*KBI* 160, I. 65 ff.). Shalmaneser II. about 825 B.C. defeated an alliance of Sangara with his neighbours and received an enormous tribute from him (*KBI* 162, I. 27 ff.). On the bronze gates of Balawat a picture of the fortress is twice given in relief. Sargon II. in 717 B.C. totally captured the city, took its king Pishris prisoner, deported its people, and settled Assyrians in it (*KBI* 18, II. 10, 22; *Wi. Sarg.*, *passim*). From this time it was the capital of a regular province of Assyria, and had its own *saknu* or governor, who took his place among the Eponyms (702 B.C.). A strong proof of its commercial importance is afforded by the fact that by far the most common unit of monetary value in Assyria down to the last was the *maneh* of Carchemish. On the battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C., see EGYPT, § 68; ISRAEL, § 40.

See further HITTITES, and *cp* Maspero, *Le Carchemis oppidi situ*, etc., *Struggle of Nations*, 144 f.; Schr. *KGF* (78), p. 221 ff.; G. Hoffmann, *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* (D. M. 15), VII. 1904, p. 161; Del. *Par.* 265, 268; Wiedt, *PSB* 1, 1880-81, pp. 53 f.; Meunier, *Kar-Kamis, sa position*, etc., 1891. C. H. W. J.

CAREAH (καρηά [BA]) 2 K. 25.23 AV. RV KAREAH.

CARIA (τὴν καρίαν [NV], τ. -ιδά [V]), the southern part of the Roman province of Asia, mentioned as one of the countries to which a Roman note in favour of the Jews was sent in 130 B.C. (1 Macc. 15.23); see MACCABEES, FIRST, § 9. At that date Caria was autonomous. Previously the greater portion had been assigned to Rhodes (in 189 B.C.), but after the war with Persens (198 B.C., *cp* 1 Macc. 8.5 Pal. 79c) it was declared free. After 129 B.C. Caria was part of the province of Asia (*Cic. Pro. Flac.* 65). Jews were settled in many Carian towns—Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Myndus, Miletus—and in the islands off the coast—Cos, Rhodes, etc.

W. J. W.

CARITES (קרית), used thrice in RV of the royal body-guard, 2 K. 11.4.10; AV CAPTAINS; τὸν κορπ[ε]λ [BA], κορπε; [V. 19] and 2 S. 20.23 mg. (so KL, Kr. קרית, EV CHERITHITES [7.17], χελεθθαι [B], χερε, [V], τοῦ πλινθίου [L, see BEN MAM]). Perhaps the Carians, the famous mercenary folk (*cp. e.g.*, Herod. 2.152), are meant (see Dr. *ad loc.*, CARIA, above, and *cp* CHIRI, *ibid.*). Even so, we must not infer a real

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acquaintance with the western part of Asia Minor. The name may have meant little more than foreigners. (For another view see CAPHTOR, § 2.) I. B.

CARMANIAN, RV Carmonians (*Carmonii* [ed. Bently], *mint* [A*], *-ne* [A**]), for which some MSS read Armeni, on the principle of substituting the unknown for the known, a people, mentioned in the 'vision horrible' (4 Esd. 15.40), who were to go forth 'as the wild boars of the wood' and 'waste a portion of the land of the Assyrians with their teeth' (so RV); see SWINE. They are probably the inhabitants of Kerman, a province on the N. shore of the Persian gulf, lying to the W. of Gedrosia. Kerman is now the name of a province in the SE. of Persia.

In language and customs they were akin to the Persians. They were not unknown to ancient classical authors (*cp.* Nearctus, *Arrian Ind.* 10; Strabo, *Ec* 27, the latter of whom gives a very gruesome account of some of their customs).

The events hinted at in the vision probably refer to the conquests of the Sassanides, more especially of Shapur or Sapor I. (242-273 A.D.), and to their expeditions against 'Alerian (258 A.D.) and other generals. We may thus see in the wasting of a 'portion of the land of the Assyrians' (v. 30) Sapor's expedition towards the NW. where he overran Syria and destroyed Antioch. The dragons of Arabia (v. 29; *cp.* the 'fiery flying serpents' of 1s. 30e) would then be the Arabian forces of Odenathus and Zenobia, who drove him back beyond the Euphrates; and the retaliation described in v. 33 would refer to the repulse of the Palmyrene troops, their dislodgment from the banks of the Orontes, and the fall of Zenobia at the hands of Aurelian (272 A.D.).

See ESDRAS, FOURTH BOOK OF, § 5 (B). [For the history of this period *cp* WRS, 'Palmyra', and No. 'Persia', *FB* 30.]

CARME (χαρμη [BA]) 1 Esd. 5.25, AV = Ezra 2.1, HARM, 1.

CARMEL (קרמל or הרמל — i.e., 'the garden-land', καρμηλός [BA], 1. (Sometimes also קרמל, 2.

1. Name and position. *opoc* to καρμηλίων.) The name Carmel, which is properly a common noun meaning a plantation of choice trees (*cp* Span. *carmen*), is employed both with and (Josh. 19.26 Jer. 46.18 Nah. 1.4) without the article as the proper name of a mountain. The reference is to the richly wooded character which Mt. Carmel had anciently and possesses still in a large degree (*cp* 'The Black Forest').

It is convenient to distinguish three separate applications of the name: (1) as denoting the range of hills extending for some 12 or 13 miles from the sea coast in the NW. to the W. el-Milhi in the SE.; (2) as including also the farther prolongation (called er-Ruhah) of this range for other 12 or 13 miles in a south-easterly direction, as far as to the neighbourhood of Jeon; (3) as designating the promontory or head-land in which the range ends at its northern extremity, leaving only a narrow passage between the mountain and the sea. The range and the promontory combine to form a striking feature in the configuration of Palestine. The symmetrical arrangement by which the country as a whole falls into longitudinal sections, running north and south, distinguished as the littoral zone, the hill-country, and the zone of the Ghôr (see PALESTINE, § 9. f.), is broken by Carmel alone, intruding into the Mediterranean plain, and interrupting the continuity of the mountain zone so as to form the plain of Jeon. Topographically it is thus important; and, though Carmel is not often expressly named, the presence of this natural barrier and the adjoining plain had a considerable influence on the course of immigrations or invasions from the time of the Philistines and Phoenicians down to that of Bonaparte.

The eastern slope of Carmel falls sharply towards the plain of Esdraelon; but westward its declivity

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towards the Mediterranean is gentle. On this side its configuration presents a series of divergent buttresses separated by valleys and opening up like

2. Nature. a fan towards the coast. This western region, properly, belongs to the *massif* of Carmel, and Conder says, quite rightly, 'Carmel is best described as a triangular block of mountains.' From the summit of the main range and, indeed, from almost every point along the ridge extensive views to south and north are obtained, and Carmel in turn is visible and conspicuous from a great variety of distant points. The range reaches a maximum elevation of 18 to feet a little to the south of the village of 'Ishiyeh.

Geologically it is a tuffaceous and micaceous limestone, containing fossil echinoderms and 'geodes'. The siliceous concretions known as *apophyses* or vulgarly as 'cat heads', called by the ancient pilgrims *kapdes yodan* or Elisha's melons (Loet, *La Vie de S. Elie*, 172). There are many caves, and some volcanic rocks. The fauna includes the roebuck, the leopard, and the wild cat. The flora, which is luxuriant, is wholly wild. The most common trees are the pine, oak, lentisk, carob, olive; traces of modern agriculture are to be found only in the neighbourhood of the villages and of the sea-coast. It was otherwise in ancient times, as is shown by the very name (*phor*, § 1). At various points in the range ancient vine and oil presses have been discovered, and traces of Roman roads have been pointed out to the present writer by Dr. Schumacher.

There is every ground for believing that formerly Carmel was covered much more luxuriantly than it is now. Hence the comparison in Cant. 7 (6)

3. OT ref. ('thine head is like Carmel'), and the allusion to the 'splendour of Carmel' in Is. 35:2. Its prominence is related to in Jer. 46:18, where it is said that the king of Babylon will come 'like Labor among the mountains and like Carmel by the sea'. In conjunction with Sharon, Lebanon, and Bashan, Carmel serves as a type for a land that has been singularly blessed by God (Jer. 50:10 Mic. 7:14). The devastation of Carmel implies the severest chastisement for Israel (Is. 33:9 Jer. 1:6 Am. 1:2 Nah. 1:4). Its thick woods offered shelter to the fugitive, as Amos (9:1) indicates in an allusion that admits of explanation without supposing that the mountain was held to give protection against Yahweh (for the Deut. Ps. 139:7-14). The passages which assign to Elisha an abode on Carmel do not necessarily mean that he was compelled to seek an asylum there (2 K. 2:25-26). In the time of Strabo Carmel was still a place of refuge for the persecuted (16730).

We cannot say with certainty to which tribe Carmel belonged.

The one reference in this connection (Josh. 19:26) in the delineation of Asher is somewhat enigmatical (see Asm. n. § 3), and in any case can relate only to the extreme headland. The tribes of Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun must all have touched on Carmel. Doubtless the tribal limits varied from age to age, and there must have been periods of Phoenician ascendancy.

In later times Carmel belonged now to Samaria, now to Galilee, sometimes even to the province of Tyre.

In Ahab's time it certainly formed part of the dominions of that monarch, and it became the scene of the memorable contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal.

Tradition places the scene, and the altar of Yahweh which Elijah repaired, at a point called El-Mohraka ('place of burning'), where there is a Roman Catholic sanctuary 1700 feet above the sea-level, two hours south from 'Ishiyeh. Beneath this spot, at the base of the mountain, near the Kishon, there is a hillback, the so-called Tell-el-Kissis ('hill of the priest,' not 'of the priests'), which is pointed to—but, of course, with no historical certainty—as the place where the prophets of Baal were put to death.

There are no data for fixing the scene of 1 K. 18 in one locality more than another, and 773 41-45 leave us as much in the dark as the rest of the narrative. Some interpreters take the 'mountain' in 2 K. 19:15 to be Carmel; but it is natural to look for it somewhere on the coast between Samaria and Ekron. It has also been supposed to be intended in Dt. 33:14 ('Issachar and Zebulun . . . shall call the peoples unto the mountain'); but 'what mountain is meant is quite indeterminate. There may have been more than one mountain sanctuary in Zebulun and Issachar; and the reference may be to these generally' (Dr. *ad loc.*).

CARMI

Carmel had a widespread reputation for sanctity. Thotmes III. has been quoted as a witness. Maspero, in fact, thinks that he can recognise

4. Other ref. the 'holy headland' (277 288) of Carmel in the name Ru-si-kds, no. 48 in the Palestinian place-list of Thotmes III. (A. P. 275 47); but this is uncertain.¹

Jaubert (*U. P. 179*, 3) asserts that Pythagoras sojourned on Carmel. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2:7) speaks of it as a place consecrated by the presence of an oracle, beside an altar that was unadorned by any image of the deity. Suetonius (*Cl. 68*, 5) relates that Vespasian sacrificed at this spot, and so and from the poet is the prophecy of his greatness. Among

5. Later times. Mohammedans the memory of Elijah is indissolubly associated with Carmel, which the Arabs to this day call Jebel Mar Elias, Mount St. Elias, where they have set up ways and mosques in his honour.

Still greater has its importance been in the Christian world. Many anchorites established themselves there from the earliest times. In 1156 St. Berthold of Calabria founded the order of Carmelites and built their first monastery at the north western extremity of the range near 'Ishiyah's grotto.

In 1552 the monastery was visited by St. Louis (Louis IX.) of France, who is sanctified, but wrongly, represented as its founder. Dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel, it has had a very chequered history. The Carmelites were often persecuted; and their house was destroyed or turned into a mosque. In 1799 it was used as a hospital for the sick and wounded of Napoleon's army. In 1830 it was destroyed by Abdallapasha; but a Carmelite friar, Giovanni Battista di Tarsani, successfully undertook to collect funds for its restoration. The present building, erected above the sea-level, is due to his efforts; by its side stands a lighthouse. 'Ishiyah's grotto' forms the crypt of the church; another grotto near, which formerly belonged to the Christians but has now been taken by the Moslems, is represented as having harboured a school of the prophets in Elijah's time, and as having given shelter to the Holy Family on their return from Egypt.

A little way above the monastery, on the crest of the hill, a large sanatorium (*Lufkurhaus*) has been built by the German colony in Haifa.

These colonists pursue agriculture on the slopes of Mount Carmel, and, by their success in vine-culture especially, have demonstrated the possibility of bringing back to the scene of their labours some portion of its ancient prosperity.

Besides papers in *PEEQ.*, see especially A. Schimbert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, 3 202-220; Guérin, *Palästina*, 3 Samaria, 2 240-250, 250-273; Finck, *Wanderungen durch das heil. Land*, 2 177-207; Conder, *Tent-Work*, 88-95; G. Asm. *ibid.* 337-347.

6. Literature. 1. Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre Sainte*, 2 227-243. 17. G.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15:55) (*קָרְמִי* [BAAL]), the scene of incidents in the life of Saul (1 S. 15:32) and David (1 S. 25:2 ff.).² The gentile

קָרְמִי, *Carmelite* (*καρμιελίτης*), is applied to David's wife Abigail (2 S. 1:1) (2 S. 2:2 *καρμιελίτης* [A], etc.) and to HIZRO (1 Ch. 11:37). The town is mentioned (*קָרְמִי*, *Carmeli*) by Eus. and Jer. (OS 110, 127270 f.) as situated 10 m. from Hebron, and as having a Roman garrison. It is the modern *Karmel*, 2887 ft. above the sea-level, about 8 R.m. SE. from Hebron (according to Robinson, who thinks Eusebius and Jerome have exaggerated the distance; see also Palestine Survey map, sheet xxiv). Robinson speaks of the ruins as 'extensive'; the principal ruin is that of the castle, which he assigns to Herod or the Romans, but Conder to 12th century A.D. The site is upon the edge of the wilderness of Judaea; but to the west the land is broad and fertile, not unlike scenes of upland agriculture in Scotland. The name *Carmel* is therefore suitable. There are many remains of vineyard terraces, and a reservoir.

G. A. S.

CARMI (כַּרְמִי, § 701 קָרְמִי [BAAL]), apparently shortened from Beth-hae-cerem³ or Beth-hae-carmi [see FAUCHI MONTH], and note in Josh. 15:59 the name *Carmi* (*קָרְמִי* [BAAL]).

¹ More precisely, Maspero places the town of Rosh Kodshim on the slope of the promontory (*Struggle of the Nations*, 170; Z. 1, 172, p. 55). W. M. Miller (*Is. n. Pro.*, 193), however, points out that the grouping of the names proves that Rosh Kodshim cannot have been far from Carmel.

² Carmel ought also to be read for Rachal in 1 S. 30:29; so

³ See RAHAL.

⁴ In that case it cannot be compared with the Nab. n. pr.

CARMONIAN

1. Father of ACHAN (?); Josh. 7:18 [D. om.] 1 Ch. 2:7†. In 1 Ch. 4:1 Carmi, elsewhere called son of Zabdi (or 1 Ch. 2:6 of Zimri), is made son of Judah; but we should rather read CHELEBI (cp 29) with We.

2. b. Benben, supposed ancestor of the Carmites (כרמית), Gen. 46:9 Ex. 6:14 Nu. 26:1 Ch. 5:3†.

CARMONIAN (*Carmonii* [ed. Bensly]), 4 Esd. 15:30, AV CARMANIAN.

CARNAIM (ΚΑΡΝΑΙΝ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 5:43 f.; and **Carnion** (ΚΑΡΝΙΟΝ [AV]), 2 Macc. 12:21. See ASHTAROTH.

CAROB TREE (TO KERATION [Ti. WH]), Lk. 15:16 RV^{mg}. See HUSKS.

CARPENTER (כרפי, 2 Sam. 5:11; ΤΕΚΤΩΝ, Mt. 13:55). See HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

CARPUS (ΚΑΡΠΟΣ [Ti. WH]) appears to have been Paul's host at Troas; it was with him that the apostle left the cloak and books mentioned in 2 Tim. 4:13. He is named in the lists of 'the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (see DISCIPLE, § 3) as bishop of Berœa in Thrace.

CARRIAGE. This English word, which has elsewhere in EV, with various special applications as indicated by the context, the obsolete sense of 'something carried,' is found in the sense of 'vehicle' in Lev. 15:9, RV^{mg} (see SADDLE), and perhaps in 1 S. 17:20 2 S. 7, AV^{mg} (see CAMP, § 1, WAR).

CARSHENA (כרשנה) in Esth. 1:14 MT, one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. G's equivalent seems to be ἀρκισαίος [BN^{ca}-ALB], -σαος [N*], whence Marq. (Fund. 67) would restore ורשנה; cp O. Pers. *warakaīni*, 'wolfish.' See ADMATHA.

CART (כרית) 1 S. 67. See CHARIOT, § 2.

CARVING, CARVED WORK. See HANDICRAFTS.

CASEMENT (כרמית), Prov. 7:6, RV LATTICE (§ 2(2)).

CASIPHIA (כרספיה). An unknown place, near AHAVA and Babylon, whence Ezra obtained IDDO (i.), the chief man there, and his brethren¹ the Nethinim, Ezra 8:17 (Μασφεν τοῦ τόπου [L]) = 1 Esd. 8:45 [47] (see below).

The other renderings are based on the connection of כרספ with כסף 'silver, money,' Ezra 8:17 (ἀργυρίω τοῦ τόπου [BA]) = 1 Esd. 8:45 [47]. EV 'the place of the treasury' (τῷ τόπῳ [τοῦ] γασφραλαίου [BA], τ. τ. τῶν κίων [L], τ. τοῖς ἐν τ. τ. γασφραλαίῳ [BA]). It is perhaps possible that this place was no town, but merely a college, or a locality where Levites were educated (cp Be.-Ry. *Asr.* ad loc.).

CASLEU (ΧΑΣΕΛΕΥ [AN^{ca}]) 1 Macc. 1:54 AV. See CHISLEU.

CASLUHIM (כרלחם), Gen. 10:14 1 Ch. 1:12†. See GEOGRAPHY, § 15 (3).

CASPHOR, in 1 Macc. 5:36 AV **Casphon** (ΧΑΣΦΩΝ [N]; ΚΑ. [V]; ΧΑΣΦΩΘ [A], but in τ. 26 ΚΑΣΦΩΡ [AN^{ca}], ΚΑΙ ΚΑΣΦΩ [V], ΚΑΣΦΩ [N*]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 83, ΧΑΣΦΟΜΑΚΗ, etc., where ΜΑΚΗ = the name Maked), a town of Gilead (see under BOSOR), taken by Judas the Maccabee in his campaign beyond Jordan (1 Macc. 5:36). It is doubtless the same as the **Caspis**. RV **Caspin** (see GEPHYRON), of 2 Macc. 12:13 (ΚΑΠΠΙΝ [VA], *Καππία* [Syr.]), a fortress described as strong and fenced about with w.f., and near a lake 2 stadia broad. These data suit the present el-Muqairib, the great station on the Hajj road, which is not identified with any other OT name (but see ASHTAROTH, § 2), and in antiquity must have been a place of importance; its ancient name has not been recovered.

The identification of Casphon with Khisfin (see Furrer, in Richm's *HB* 1:24 A) is philologically improbable, and has no

¹ For כרשנה '(to) his brother,' we must read כרשנה, 'and (to) his brethren,' with Vg. and 1 Esd. 8:45, G^{AL}.

CASTOR AND POLLUX

special recommendation. With Khisfin cp Talm. *Hasfiya*. On *Muzerib* see Schumacher, *Jordan*, 157 ff. There is another large lake, el *Khaṣṣ*, 10 m. N. of Muzerib. G. A. S.

CASSIA represents two Hebrew words. 1. קסיה (Ex. 30:24 Ezek. 27:19†) appears, along with myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and olive oil, as an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. It is mentioned, along with bright iron and calamus, among the wares brought into the Tyrian market. The origin of the word is unknown, nor is it found in any of the cognate languages; some have thought that it reappears in the קיטו spoken of by Dioscorides (112) as one species of cassia.

G^{AL} renders קסיה in Ex. 30:24, where קסיה, קסיה, and קסוס are mentioned in other MSS as alternative renderings; in Ezek. 27:19, where קסיה omits, Vg. has σπασίον, Sym. σπαστή, and Theod. καδδα. Pesh. and Targ. identify it with the קסיה or 'cassia' of Ps. 45:8 (see below).

Scholars are agreed that probably what is intended is some kind of cassia.

Celsius (2186) notices the mention in Mish. *K'Z* i. § 3 of קסיה, 'white cassia,' as cultivated in Palestine; but this, according to Low (340), must have been quite a different plant.

2. קסיה Ps. 45:8 (9), the word which passed into Greek as *κασία*¹ and thence into other languages, is almost certainly a derivative of the root קסח (= Ar. *kaḥa'a*), to 'scrape'—properly 'to reduce to fine dust' (WRS in *J. Phil.* 1671 f.). A 'powdered fragrant bark' is thus indicated. The word is too general to allow of certain identification with any particular species; but probably what is intended is something akin to the modern 'cassia bark' (i.e., the bark of other kinds of *Cinnamomum* than that which yields the true cinnamon). The use of the Heb. plural to denote a substance of this kind is natural.² The word in the singular is found as a female name; see KEZIAH.

Fl. and Hanb., *Pharm.* (2) 519, say: 'That cinnamon and cassia were extremely analogous is proved by the remark of Galen, that the finest cassia differs so little from the lowest quality of cinnamon that the first may be used for the second, provided a double weight of it be used.'

A very probable source of cassia is *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*, Pl. The *Pharmacopœia indica* says: 'May be used as a substitute for Cinnamon, to which it can hardly be reckoned inferior.' *C. zeylanicum* occurs in S. India and throughout the Malayan region. It yielded the 'cassia bark' once so largely exported from N. Canara. See CINNAMON. N. M.—W. T. T. D.

CASTANETS (כרספיה), 2 S. 6:5† RV. See MUSIC, § 3 (3).

CASTLE. Two buildings are distinguished in AV by this title: (1) the 'city [rather, citadel] of David' in 1 Ch. 11:5 (כרספיה) 7 (כרספיה), where RV harmonizes with 2 S. 5:7 by rendering 'strong hold,' and (2) the barracks (lit. camp) attached to the fort Antonia (Acts 21:34-37; παρεμβολή). See JERUSALEM, TEMPLE.

3. RV also gives the title to the *ḥirsh* (כרספיה) of Susa (AV 'palace'). See PALACE, SHUSHAN; also FORTRESS, TOWER.

4. The word is also used in AV, quite wrongly, for כרספיה, which is rather a nomad 'encampment' (so RV), Gen. 25:16 etc. (distinguished from כרספיה 'villages'). See CAMP, § 1, CAHIL, § 1 D.

CASTOR AND POLLUX. RV The Twin Brothers (Διοσκουροί [Ti. WH]; so RV^{mg}: 'Dioscuri'), the sign (παρασηύον) of the Alexandrian ship in which Paul sailed from Melita to Puteoli (Acts 28:11). Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus and Leda and brothers of Helen, appear in heaven as the constellation Gemini.⁴ See STARS, § 3 f. They were the tutelary deities of sailors, and (it may be interesting to note) were held in especial veneration in the district of Cyrene, near Alexandria (*Schol. Pind. Pyth.* 56). Catullus (127)

¹ The spelling with one *s* is correct in Greek and Latin (Lag. *Metheul.* 2:357).

² For קסיה Herz and Che. (*Ps.* 45) would read קסיה, 'encampment.'

³ A longer form is *ḥirshiyah* (only in plur.), 2 Ch. 17:12 27:4 (coupled with *midim*, 'towers').

⁴ On their mythological forms see more fully *EB* 9:272, and Roscher s.v. 'Dioskuren.'

CAT

speaks of a boat dedicated to the same deities, and for other examples of names of ships see Smith's *Class. Dict.*, s.v. 'Insigne.' It is probable that images of Castor and Pollux were fixed at the bow of Paul's ship, since it was customary for a ship to carry at the bow a representation of the sign which furnished the name (the *insigne*), and at the stern a representation of the tutelary deity (the *tutela*). Herod. (337) makes reference to the *Pataikoi* (origin doubtful), figures of hideous muscular dwarfs which the Phoenicians stuck up on the bows of their galleys (cp PHOENICIA, and see Perr. *Chp. Phoen.* 217 f., and note the illustration of such a galley, *ib.* 19).

CAT. Cats (EV) or rather WILD CATS (αἰγιοῖποι)—for the context requires us to take αἰγ. in this sense—are mentioned in the 'Epistle of Jeremy' (Bar. 622) with hats, swallows, and birds, which alight upon the bodies and heads of idols. Wild cats (קִטָּה) are recognised by the Tg. of Is. 1322 (for קִטָּה, see JACKAL) 3414 (for קִטָּה, see JACKAL [4]), but not of Hos. 96 (where 'קָט' is a faulty reading for קִטָּה, 'thistles'). We must not infer from the lateness of these words that it was only at a late date that the Israelites became acquainted with wild cats. They no doubt knew the *felis maniculata* (the original of our own domestic cat), which to-day is very common on the E. of Jordan (though it is scarce on the W. side), and is found, indeed, throughout Africa, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine (Tristram).

We need not wonder that no reference is made in the OT to the domestic cat. The Egyptians themselves had probably tamed the wild cat only to a certain extent; it accompanies the fowler on his expeditions (see woodcuts in Wilk. *Ant. Eg.* 1236 f.). The stories of Herodotus (266) are absurd. Bastit, the goddess of Bubastus, was 'a cat or a tigress' (Maspero).

The rendering 'wild cats' in Tg. of Is. (see above) is not adopted by modern translators. All that we can be sure of is that the writers of the descriptions referred to had in view some definite wild animals. Wolves, hyenas, jackals, and wild cats (including 'martens') were in their minds; but it is not easy to distribute them among the various Hebrew terms. Many commentators, after Bochart (*Hieroz.* 862), give 'wild cat' for Heb. קִטָּה (Is. 1321 3414 Jer. 5039 Ps. 7414 [text doubted]). Certainly EV's 'wild beasts of the desert' (as if from קִטָּה) is inappropriate; the etymology assumed also is very doubtful. The ancient versions are inconsistent, and the Heb. writers would not have condemned them. See JACKAL, WOLF.

T. R. C.

CATECHISE (קָטַח) Prov. 226 AV¹⁹⁰⁸; EV 'train up,' with which cp Lk. 14 u.g., 'the things which thou wast taught (κατηχήθης) by word of mouth'; Acts 1825 nig. 'taught by word of mouth (κατηχήμενος) in the way of the Lord.' That oral instruction is meant by κατηχεῖν is undeniable; cp Jos. *Ant.* 65, 'when thou meetest me, καὶ αὐτὸς σε πολλὰ κατηχήσω, 'I will inform thee of many things.'

The Revisers of the OT seem to have thought that such a peculiar word as קָטַח may have had a technical meaning such as κατηχεῖν at length acquired. In MH a derivative of קָטַח (קָטַח) means the 'gradual introduction of children into religious practice'; e.g., 'Wherein consists the child's training (קָטַח), *Yoma* 52a, with reference to the fasting on the Day of Atonement. Certainly the word קָטַח elsewhere always has a technical meaning. It seems to mean religious initiation or dedication, whether of a person (so perhaps קָטַח Gen. 1414) or of a building (see *DEDICATE*; cp קָטַח, *Enoch*). The first part of Prov. 226 is very obscure, and probably corrupt (see *Ch. Exa.* 7: Sept. 1209). Oral instruction there doubtless was in the post-exilic period to which Proverbs seems to belong (see *EDUCATION*, § 1); but קָטַח is not one of the technical words of the wise men for communicating instruction.

CATERPILLER (קָטָה), Ps. 10534, etc. AV, RV CANKERWORM, see LOCUST, § 2 (6), and (קָטָה) 1 K. 87 etc. RV, see LOCUST, § 2 (9).

CATTLE

CATHUA (ΚΟΥΑ [B], ΚΑΘΟΥΑ [A], ΓΕΔΔΗΛΑ [I.]), a family of NETHINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 530, unmentioned in 1 Ezra 247 Neh. 749, unless the name may be identified with GATHAR (גָּתָר for גָּתָר?), or perhaps with GIDUR. [777].

CATTLE ¹ The nomad origin of the Semites is plain from the fact that numerous words relating to the life and associations of nomads (e.g., ox, sheep, etc.) are common to all the dialects. In the case of the Bine Isard, not only idioms and figures of speech, but also old traditional names and even direct statements, confirm the view, which is in itself highly probable. Note, for example, the name KACUEI, 'the ewe' (WRS *Rev. Sem.* 311), and the description of Abram as a 'nomad Aramitean' (רֹמֵם דִּי אֲרָמָא Di. 265). A still earlier ancestor, JABAL (the name is again significant), is called the 'father'—i.e., founder—of nomadic life (Gen. 420; cp CAINITES, § 11).

It is important at the outset to bear in mind the difference between nomads ('tent-dwellers,' Gen. 12c) and those who have settled down as agriculturists. Of the constantly recurring struggle between these two classes a vivid picture is presented in the narrative of Zebul and Zalmunna (Judg. 8), chiefs of the Midianites, a people which, as depicted in the OT, may serve as a good illustration of the nomad class. The difference between the two classes may not be complete; for traces of nomadic origin will continue to be visible, even after the shepherd's tower, or the cattle kraal, with its nucleus of tents, has developed by successive stages into the fortified city (עִיר קְרָאָה; see 2 K. 179 188 and cp Benz. *HA* 125 f.). It is equally important to remember that the state of civilisation of a settled people is not readily assimilated by those on a lower grade. The importance of this in its bearing on the early history of Israel can hardly be exaggerated²; with the Bine Israel the transition from the nomadic to the settled state was a long process. The compilers and expanders of the patriarchal legends shrink from representing their heroes as pure nomads: they feel that, if so represented, these heroes would be grossly inadequate types of their far-off descendants. We have, however, evidence that the later Israelites had, in the more northern parts of their own land, representatives of the old nomadic life in all its simplicity (see REUBENITES).

The words commonly employed in Hebrew to denote cattle in general are:

1. מִקְנֵה, *mikneh* (cp מִקְנֵה, 'property'), EV usually 'cattle' (so *Gen.* 4032), a term denoting 'possession,' comprising, therefore, the things which are the usual and almost peculiar property of nomads.

2. Names for cattle. It is used, accordingly, in a much wider sense than קָרָא (EV 'flock'; but AV 'cattle,' Gen. 3040 etc.), which denotes the small cattle, sheep, and goats, or sheep alone (cp 1 S. 252). *Mikneh* does not include, however, servants; not, as a rule, horses or asses (but see Ex. 93 Job 13).

2. קָרָא, *qara*, includes all the larger domestic animals: in Neh. 212 14 it means a saddle-animal. It is usually contrasted with man, wild beasts (בְּהֵמָה, *behemah*), birds, and crawling things (cp Ps. 14810). The word is not, however, free from vagueness, for it may be applied to wild animals, and even (in plur. form) to an imaginary animal (see *BEHEMOT*, §§ 1, 3).

3. בְּהֵמָה, *behemah* ('cattle' Nu. 204 Ps. 7848), 'beast,' used

¹ In the present article will be found what requires to be said about large cattle. Small cattle also are included in treating of pasturing, tending, breeding, etc.; but their species and Hebrew names will be considered under SHEEP and GOAT.

² *Gen.* 2516 Ezek. 254.

³ Houbert (*III* 208) remarks on the resistance to Babylonian civilisation displayed by the nomad Aramean tribes mentioned in the Ass. inscriptions of the eighth and seventh centuries. Strong historical evidence would have to be shown to justify the conclusion that the Israhel nomads were essentially different from these.

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of beasts of burden (Gen. 45:17 (p. 44:13) and of cattle generally. The Ar. *ba'ir* is used of both the camel and the ass.

4. מִלְכָּהּ, *milkhah* 'property' (cp Ex. 22:7 [6], 10 [9]), used of cattle in Gen. 33:14 and, as including them, in 1 S. 15:9.

5. מִרְרָה, *mirrah* 'fat cattle,' 1 K. 19 (RV fattening, cp μῆλας στέαρως); generally used with שׁוֹר or צֶמֶד.

6. צֶמֶד, *seh*, rendered 'small cattle' or 'cattle' in Is. 43:23 Ezek. 34:17, is the nom. unitatis to צָמִיד, see SUTHER.

7. אֶלֶפֶת, *alaphim* (pl.), 'oxen'; cp Prov. 14:4 Is. 30:24, etc.

To denote the animals of the bovine kind the Hebrews used:

(a) בָּקָר, *bakar*, a generic word, which frequently occurs in parallelism with אֶמָּה. It is often used individually (cp בָּקָרִים, a single ox or calf; see Gen. 18:7), and frequently employed to define a word more closely—e.g., with שׁוֹר Lev. 9:2, בָּקָר Ex. 20:1. Its usual nom. unit. is בָּקָרָה, *bakar*, used without reference to age or to gender, to denote an ox or cow. It is used of a young calf in Ex. 22:30 [29], Lev. 22:23, and is once collective, Gen. 32:5 [6]. (b) שׁוֹר, *shor*, fem. שׁוֹרָה, *sharah*, bull, cow, defined by בָּקָר Ex. 20:1 and used of a seven-year-old, Judg. 6:25. (c) צֶמֶד, *seh*, fem. צֶמֶדָה, *sehah*, a calf, used of a three-year-old (Gen. 15:9 cp Is. 15:5), and also of a young cow that already gives milk (Is. 7:21); see HENKEL. (d) אֶבְרָה, *abrah* 'mighty,' used poetically of oxen (Is. 34:7), but also of horses (Jer. 8:16, etc.).

With regard to the practices of ancient nomadic pastoral peoples we are but ill-informed. It is probable that formerly (as now in Arabia) the same

3. Breeding. clan would not breed more than one kind of domestic animal. There is still a broad distinction between the camel-breeding tribes of the upland plains and the shepherd tribes of the mountains (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 311). The steppes of Palestine have always been more suitable for sheep and goats, and the northern mountains for oxen. E. of the Jordan, however, cattle were turned loose,¹ and, becoming wild, acquired a name for their ferocity and from their habit of gathering in circles round any object that attracted their attention (Ps. 22:12 [13] f.). At the present day shepherds frequent the cool mountain-heights in the summer, and find late in the autumn an abundant supply of green leaves and twigs for their sheep and goats in the cedars round Lebanon and Baalbek.

The parts of Palestine which were most suitable for the pasturing of herds—the parts which deserve the name of אֶרֶץ בָּקָר (Nu. 32:14)—were those situated to the E. of Jordan (the modern region of Belkā) and in the S. plains of Judah. The enormous tribute paid annually by Meša, 'the shepherd' (22), attests the richness of the country (cp Nu. 32:1). Places specially mentioned in connection with herds and flocks are Carmel (1 S. 25:2), Shechem (Gen. 37:12), Dothan (Gen. 37:17), Shaon (1 Ch. 27:29 Is. 65:10, Tekoa (Am. 1:1), Gedor (1 Ch. 4:30), Bethlehem (1 S. 16:11), Midian (Nu. 31:32 cp 17:8 f.), Edom (Is. 34:6), and Kedar (Ezek. 27:21).

In prehistoric times there were several kinds of oxen, all wild: a European bison, *Bison bonasus*, Linn., still

4. Species. preserved in the forests of SE. Europe; the Urus, *Bos primigenius*, and *Bos longifrons*, now extinct, probably belonging to the same race as our *Bos taurus* or domesticated oxen. Our modern cattle are derived from the last-named. In Palestine

at the present day horned cattle are found only where fresh pastures are easily accessible. In the wilderness S. of Judah horned cattle of a rather undersized kind may be seen in great numbers. Further to the N. there is a larger and better bred race, used for tilling. These, as a rule, belong to the same species as our cattle, the *Bos taurus*. N. of Esdraelon there is a light-coloured and stalwart variety usually known as the Armenian. In the valley of the Jordan, especially towards the N., there is a species of Indian buffalo, *Bos bubalis* (Ar. *gāmus*), a

¹ Each tribe has its own *masm* (see WRS *Kin.* 212 ff.) or special mark (cp perhaps מִסָּמָה, Gen. 4:15 Nu. 2:2, and see CAHN, § 6; CUTTINGS, § 6). With this it was customary to brand the cattle. See, for specimens of such cattle marks, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1:125, and cp Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, 1:341 f.

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clumsy animal with remarkably long horns (generally flattened and angulated). From its size and general appearance the species has been confounded with the ancient *el'ebu* (see UNICORNS); but it belongs to comparatively recent times. It has been introduced into several of the Mediterranean countries—e.g., Egypt, Asia Minor, and Italy. E. of the Jordan horned cattle are rare (Tristram, *Moab*, 251), although the best country for them is said to be there (cp Buhl, *Pal.* 60).

Cattle-breeding holds a large place upon the Egyptian monuments; their evidence goes to show that the so-called *Zebu* was most common, and that several species of it were bred. The long-horned kind generally had their horns bent like a lyre or, less commonly, in the shape of a crescent. Short-horns appear rarely in the Old Empire, but are more frequent in later times. Another kind was hornless, it is never represented as ploughing and threshing, and hence may have been regarded as belonging to a 'fancy' class.

A new kind appears in the New Empire. It has horns somewhat wide apart, and bears a big hump.

We have no means of ascertaining any of the ancient methods of breeding (a certain kind of which is prohibited by the law in Lev. 19:10) or of rendering horned cattle tractable. They were the earliest of domesticated animals. They preceded by a long time the domestication of the sheep.

5. Cattle-rearing. The bones of one species, the *Bos primigenius* or Urus, have been found in the remains of the neolithic Swiss lake-dwellings.

The pastures were probably free to all comers, since in primitive times there was hardly any property in land. A pasture is useless without a watering-place (cp Judg. 1:5, where the importance of the possession of water is clearly shown; see Moore, *ad loc.*), and property in water is doubtless older and of more importance (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 104 f.). The right to a pasture was obtained by digging a well; and, among the Hebrews as among the Arabians, the wayfarer was always allowed to water his beasts so long as he did not hinder the owners of the water.¹ See SPRINGS. The district upon which cattle pastured is called בִּרְקָה, lit.

'place for feeding.' Cp בִּרְקָה 1 K. 4:23 [3]; בִּרְקָה 'a broad pasture' (Is. 30:23) is doubtful (*STR.*); בִּרְקָה (EV 'desert,' 'wilderness') denotes properly a pasturing ground where herds are driven, from דָּרַב 'to drive (herds)'; cp BDB *Lex.* s.v. דָּרַב.²

Other words to denote the pasturing ground are שָׂדֶה, lit. the pastoral abode (gen. rendered 'pasture,' or 'sheep-pen,' once 'stall,' Ezek. 35:5 EV). Similarly שֹׂמְרֵי שָׂדֶה 'sheep-folds' (Jer. 50:6 (17) Prov. 24:15 of an abode of men). To denote more narrowly confined areas, we find מְרִיטָה sheep-folds (1 S. 24:3 Zeph. 2:6, etc.), מְרִיטָה an enclosure (Mi. 2:12), מְרִיטָה (Gen. 33:17) 'booths,' temporary night-shelters (see below).

When required to be specially fattened, cattle were withdrawn from the open pastures and kept in a stable. See Am. 6:4 1 S. 28:24 Jer. 46:21 Mal. 4:2 (3:4); 'stall,' lit. a place for tying up; cp also מְרִיטָה (Hab. 3:17) and מְרִיטָה (Hab. 3:17 Ps. 50:9 78:7) 'fold.'

The pens³ are called מְרִיטָה (Ps. 68:13 [14] RV 'sheep-folds,' AV 'pens'), מְרִיטָה (Judg. 5:16 Gen. 49:14), properly perhaps 'double-pens.' Moore (on Judg. 4:2) and Che. (on Ps. 68:13) prefer the sense 'dung-heaps.'

The manger or epib is אֶמְסָה (Is. 1:3 cp Lk. 27:13 15 φάτνη), whence the denominative אֶמְסָה 'fattened.'

¹ A stricter law is alluded to in Dt. 26:28.
² Similarly, מְרִיטָה, the common-lands of a city (especially a Levitical one), in Nu. 35:2 'suburbs' [EV], is perhaps originally 'place of driving' (BDB); cp RV 'pasture-lands.' Che. doubts the sense of 'driving' and proposes a fresh explanation, making the word practically syn. with מְרִיטָה 'field.' Hence the applied sense 'reserved land'—i.e., belonging to the community or to the sanctuary. See JQR, July 1892, p. 566.
³ מְרִיטָה wall, like the Ar. *galliratum*, denotes the fold. Here may be added מְרִיטָה, which may originally have meant a 'cattle-yard'; cp BDB, s.v.

⁴ מְרִיטָה (cp BDB, s.v.) 'stall' is used generally for horses, but also for other animals; cp 2 Ch. 32:28.

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applied to oxen (Prov. 15:17; and also lards 1 K. 4:23 [5:1]). To eat the 'stalled ox' (which was locked upon as a luxury; cp Prov. 15:17) is termed a reproach by Amos (Am. 6:4)—himself once a herdsmen.

Apart from the ordinary herbage (רֶבֶךְ, Nt. 224 227), cattle had special food (רֶבֶךְ), which was either chopped straw (רֶבֶךְ) or 'mixed fodder' (רֶבֶךְ); cp Job 6:5 made more palatable by the addition of salt, or a salt herb (רֶבֶךְ, Is. 30:24).

From the references in the OT we are able to gain a fairly clear idea as to the duties and customs of those who had charge over cattle.

6. Shepherds, etc.

The usual word to denote such an occupation is רֹעֶה (or רֹעִי, less frequently שֹׂמֵר, and רֹעִי (for the last see Sumer). By the greater number of references deal, as we should naturally expect, with the tending of sheep and goats, and the specific word for a 'cattle-man' (רֹעֶה) occurs only once (Amos 7:14).

The shepherd, clad in a simple garment (Jer. 43:12) like the mod. Ar. *burnus*, goes forth at the head of his flock (רֹעֶה; cp Jn. 10:4), all of which know his voice and respond to the name he gives them (ib. 10:3). He takes with him his shepherd's bag (רֶבֶךְ, Is. 17:49) or wallet (רֶבֶךְ, ib. 1 V. 8:11), staff (רֶבֶךְ, see esp. Gen. 32:10 [11]; and cp רֶבֶךְ, Ps. 23:4), and, as a means of defence, a sling (רֶבֶךְ, Is. 17:49). He 'gently leads' his flocks (רֹעֶה, Is. 40:1 Ps. 23:2) to the best pastures, where he makes them lie down by streams (Ps. 23:2);² though it must be admitted that the reading in Ps. 23:2 is uncertain (see Che. Ps. 23). The dangers from wild beasts³ (e.g., 1 S. 17:34) and nomadic marauders (Job 1:17) were very real. No doubt there was the solace of the pastoral reed⁴ (see Judg. 5:16, and cp Job 21:12 Is. 16:13), and later writers speak of the sheep-dog (Job 30:1 Is. 56:10 f., see Doct. § 1), well known to the Assyrians. By night the shepherd had to keep watch in the open air (Lk. 28, cp Nah. 3:18); but sometimes a temporary shelter was made (Ass. *tarbahu*—רֶבֶךְ and *mayallu* are so explained), whence 'shepherd's tent' (רֶבֶךְ, Is. 38:12; cp קִשְׁתֵּי רֶבֶךְ, Cant. 1:8) becomes the type of an uncertain dwelling-place.⁵ In other cases towers were built for the shepherds (cp Gen. 35:21, and see 2 Ch. 26:10); traces of them are to be found at the present day. The 'duars' in the Sinaitic peninsula consist of stone towers put together without mortar, and bear a striking resemblance to the 'Talayôt' of the Balearic Isles, and to the beehive-shaped houses of Scotland. They are enclosed by low walls of massive rough stones, and are occupied by cattle (cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 352 f.; see also Doughty, *J. R. Des.* 1:13). The sheepfolds also, as their name implies, were surrounded by walls (cp Jn. 10:1).

When the shepherd returned to his master the sheep were carefully counted by being made to pass under the staff (cp Lev. 27:32 Jer. 33:13 Ezek. 20:37)—a representation of the shepherd 'telling his tale' is not infrequent on Egyptian monuments. As for wages, it may be doubted whether the practice described in Gen. 30:28 ff. was usual: possibly the usual reward was the milk of the flocks (see 1 Cor. 9:7—cp, on the other hand, Zech. 11:3, which speaks of a money payment).

¹ From רָבַח 'to pour out'; or, 'to pour over' (so Ass. *balû*); hence 'to mix'. Cp Lat. *farigari*, and see ASINATING, § 1. The denominative occurs in Judg. 19:21.

² Frd. Del. makes רֶבֶךְ = נֶחֱלִי, *nahali* (רֶבֶךְ) in Ass. being a syn. of *nahisu* 'to lie down'. But see Franz Del.'s note.

³ Similarly in Assyria; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 377 f.

⁴ Cp the illustration from Assyria, Maspero, *ib.* The shepherd seated plays upon a reed to the delight of his dog.

⁵ At the present day a sheep-pen is made of boughs. It is called *hazra* (see HAZOR), and the trail of boughs in the sandy desert is always a sign of the nomad *manzil* (encampment); cp Doughty, *J. R. Des.* 2:220 f.

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The status of the shepherd varies according to the society in which he lives. Among primitive pastoral peoples the sheikh himself, or even his daughters, tend the flocks (cp Gen. 29:9 Ex. 2:16 11:642), as is the case at the present day in various parts of the Sinaitic peninsula (see Kn. 10:1, *ad loc.*). The early kings of Israel owned large flocks, and the post of chief shepherd (cp Gen. 47:6, also 1 Ch. 27:20 1 Pet. 5:4, ἀρχιποιῶν, and *magister pecoris*, Lev. 14) was important and full of dignity. Hence the designation 'shepherd' (רֹעֶה) was a noble one and was used of the kings of Israel (Jer. 23:4 cp רֹעֶה 'to rule' 2 S. 5:2) as well as of those of Assyria, and becomes the origin of the beautiful NT phrase 'the good shepherd.' Perhaps it is inevitable that the adoption of a more settled mode of life should be unfavourable to the repute of the shepherd. To the Egyptians, for more than one reason, shepherds were an 'abomination' (Gen. 46:34; cp ABOMINATION, 41; 'Asiatic' (i.e., barbarian) and 'shepherd' were to them synonymous terms (see Egypt, § 31). Similarly in Palestine, as the Jews advanced in prosperity, the prestige of the shepherd's calling diminished. In Rabbinical times a shepherd was precluded from bearing witness, because one who must have fed his flocks upon the pastures of others would naturally be dishonest (cp *Sanh.* 25:2, Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 107).

Besides the use to which cattle were put in ploughing and threshing (see AGRICULTURE, § 8), they were also used as draught animals (cp Is. 67:1). Their MILK (רֶבֶךְ) formed one of the main articles of diet, and their skins were used for clothing (see LEATHER, WOOL). Pastoral life probably meant usually a diet of milk and game; and the use of cattle for food was somewhat restricted (see *Rel. Sem.* 296 f.). The young animal was, however, preferred and considered a special dainty. At the present day, it is said, the sheep is eaten only at festivals, and goat-flesh is not used as food save by the very poor. In sacrifices cattle were frequently used, and huge hecatombs are mentioned in connection with the temple services¹ (cp 1 K. 8:63 2 Ch. 5:6 7:5 29:33 etc.). Cattle, being almost the only property of nomads, become, among primitive people, a medium of exchange. When the first coins were made in Greece, this was commemorated by stamping the head of an ox upon the ingot. Cattle and wealth are, therefore, almost synonymous terms.

Cp רֶבֶךְ 'possession' and Ass. *sugullatu* 'herd'; רֶבֶךְ 'cattle,' and רֶבֶךְ; רֶבֶךְ and Syr. *ܪܥܝܐ*: *raia* orig. an animal for riding (Nestle, *2D.M.G.* 33. 707 [791]; *pecus* and *pecunia*; κτήνος and κτήμα).

The earliest legislation (Ex. 20-23) was intended for a people who, having advanced beyond the pastoral stage, were occupied chiefly in agriculture. The prominence given to the ox, the sheep, and the ass is as noticeable as the absence of all reference to the horse and the camel. Remarkable also is the humanity which characterises these regulations. Cattle are not to be muzzled (רֶבֶךְ, cp רֶבֶךְ while threshing (Dt. 27:4)—a law which holds good to the present day (cp Dr. *ad loc.*), and was in vogue in Egypt, where one sees representations of an ox and an ass threshing unmuzzled (cp Erm. *Eg.* 432, and see AGRICULTURE, § 8). According to another enactment, oxen were not to work upon the sabbath (Ex. 23:12). Notwithstanding the strictness of the sabbath, it was customary to water the cattle on that day (Lk. 13:15). Other laws respecting cattle-stealing and damages caused by oxen are given in Ex. 21:28 ff.; cp *ib.* 22:10 [9] ff. The law dealing with the case in which a beast entrusted to one's care has been maimed or torn (Ex. 22:10 [9] ff.) provides that the pro-

¹ רֶבֶךְ, properly 'slaughterer (of cattle),' is applied to a cook and, strangely, to a member of the royal body-guard. See EXECUTIONER, and cp OT/C¹² 262, n. 1.

duction of the maimed part is to suffice as a guarantee of good faith and that no restitution is to be required (see DEPOSIT). It was, therefore, to the advantage of the shepherd to be able to produce a leg or a piece of an ear as a proof (cp. Am. 3:12). Jacob, however, declares to Laban that instead of producing 'that which was torn of beasts' (עֲרֵב) he has made good the loss himself (Gen. 31:19).

The early Semites, like other pastoral peoples, paid great reverence to cattle, their kinship with whom they long continued to recognise. This gives additional point to Nathan's parable: the ewe lamb was, to a poor man who nourished it, more nearly a daughter¹ than it could be in later times. No doubt the special veneration for cattle was connected with the idea that man owes his food in large measure to them (cp. WRS *L.c.*).

A full treatment of this subject would lead us too far. Nor can we consider here the Israelitish form of the legend of the 'Golden Age' (cp. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109 ff.), and the contrast between J's description of the peace between man and the lower animals (cp. Is. 11:6 f.) and P's representations of man as their lord and master. The worship of the domestic animals is another subject which invites attention. The most ancient evidence for it is supplied by the Babylonian zodiacal mythology.² In Egypt, too, the worship of sacred animals takes us back to an incalculable antiquity. Witness, for example, the bull-worship of Memphis and other cities (see EGYPT, § 14), which has been connected with Israelitish idolatry. Notice, too, the worship of the cow Hathor, the 'lady of heaven,' which reminds us of the cow-headed Ashtoreth of Sidon. See further CALE, GOLDEN; ASHTORETH; AZAZEL; CLEAN, § 17.³

A. R. S.—S. A. C.

CAUDA (καυδά [Ti. WH]), Acts 27:16. See CLAUDA.

CAUL (properly a close-fitting cap or net-work), as applied to an article of dress, occurs as the EV rendering of עֵשֶׂתִּים Is. 3:13 (mg. 'networks,' as though = עֵשֶׂתִּים; cf. εὐπλοκία). To complete the parallelism of the verse, we should read, with Schroeder and others, עֵשֶׂתִּים, 'little suns'; see NECKLACE, n.

In its anatomical sense, 'caul' in Hos. 13:8 (עֵשֶׂתִּים קָרְדִּים; σπλῆγος καρδίας) apparently refers to the pericardium. It is used similarly in Ex. 29:13 Lev. 3:10, 15 etc. to render קָרְדִּים 'lit. excess'; cf. σπλῆγος, an uncertain expression which has occasioned difficulty from the earliest times. It denotes probably 'the fatty mass at the opening of the liver which reaches to the kidneys, and becomes visible upon the removal of the "lesser omentum," or membrane extending from the fissures of the liver to the curve of the stomach' (Dr. Lev. SBOT, ET.). On the Vss., and various interpretations, cp. Di. Rys. on Lev. 3:1; and, on the probable reason of the choice of this particular part on the body for offerings, see LIVER.

CAVES (עֲוֵה, m'ar'ih; σπηλαιον; spelunca). The limestone strata of Syria and Palestine readily lend themselves to the formation of caves and ravines. The springs issuing from limestone rock generally contain carbonate of lime, and most of them yield a large quantity of free carbonic acid upon exposure to the air. To the erosive effect of water charged with this acid, combined with the mechanical action of the sand and stones carried along by the currents, the formation of caves and ravines in such rocks is chiefly to be ascribed.

¹ Cp the Egyptian paintings which represent men talking to cattle, and decking them with fringes.

² On the 'Bull' of the Zodiac, which is the Bab. Gud-an-na (equivalent to our Taurus, or else to Aldebaran), s.e. Jensen, *Kosmos*, 62 ff.

³ J. U. Dursi's *Die Rinder v. Bab. Ass. u. Äg.* (Berlin, '00) a contribution to the history of domestic cattle—appeared after the present article was in type.

⁴ The old view that yārhereth was the greater lobe of the lung has nothing in its favour.

What are now ravines have in many cases originally been subterranean watercourses, which have been unroofed by the degradation of the rock. Some of the Syrian caverns are of great size; Strabo, for example (756), speaks of the σπηλαία παθιστοῦα of Iunana, and mentions one capable of holding 4000 men. Books of travel, from William of Tyre and Quaresmius onward abound with references to such caves and the local traditions respecting them (Favre, Maundrell, Shaw, Robinson). Those of Palestine are frequently mentioned in the Bible as places of refuge and shelter for the terror-stricken (Is. 2:19 Rev. 6:1; cp. Zech. 14:5), the outlawed (David), the oppressed and the persecuted (Judg. 6:2 Is. 13:6 1 K. 18:13 19:13 Ezek. 33:27 2 Macc. 6:11 Heb. 11:38), and the criminal (Jer. 7:11 Mk. 11:17 and 11:18) and as places of sepulture (Gen. 23:16 Jn. 11:38). Whether the word Horite means 'cave-dwellers' has been questioned; yet that in many parts of Palestine the earlier inhabitants continued to use caves not only as storehouses but also as dwelling-places cannot be doubted. Of their connection with worship in pre-Christian times there is little or no direct evidence. Still, it appears safe to hold that the oldest Phœnician temples were natural or artificial grottoes, and that the sacred as well as the profane monuments of Phœnicia, with their marked preference for monolithic forms, point to the rock-hewn cavern as the original type that dominated the architecture of the region' (WRS *R. Sem.* 197), and it is probable that the Greek μέγαρον was borrowed from the Phœnician מֵגָרָה (ib. 200). The association of so many of the Christian sacred sites in Palestine (e.g., Birth of Mary, Annunciation, Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, Birth of the Baptist, Transfiguration and Agony of Christ, Repentance of Peter) with grottoes is the arbitrary invention of legend-mongers. See, further, MASAATH, MEARAH, HEBRON (Machpelah), MAKKEDAH, ETAM, ELEUTHEROPOLIS; also ADULAM (where it is shown that 'cave' ought to be read 'hold'), and (on the grotto of the Nativity) BETHLEHEM, § 4.

CEDAR (עֵדֶן; кедрος [BAL.], *Cedrus Libani* Loud., bears in Heb. a name which is found also in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, and is probably derived from a root signifying 'to be firm' or 'well-rooted,' of which another derivative might be the עֵדֶן² of Job. 27:24. It appears that Aram. 'arad and Ar. 'arz, like кедрос, may denote not only the cedar, but also the juniper (*Juniperus Orientalis*), and, possibly, pines of various sorts.³ It may be, then, that עֵדֶן is not to be strictly confined to *Cedrus Libani*,⁴ but it is highly probable that this tree, which has been associated with Lebanon from early times, is the one usually intended, and in such a passage as Is. 41:19 the cedar is expressly distinguished from other conifers. OT writers employ the cedar as a type of beauty (Nu. 24:6), majesty (2 K. 14:9), strength (Ps. 29:5), and loftiness (2 K. 19:24). The wood, which was much more precious than that of common trees like the sycamore (1 K. 10:27), was largely used in the construction of great buildings like the temple (see also ALTAR, § 8) and Solomon's palace; cedar

¹ Cp עֵדֶן in Job 30:6 1 S. 14:11. See HORITE.

² Best translated 'durable'; certainly not (as EV) 'made of cedar-wood.' [But the text is in disorder.]

³ On this see the Index to Schneider's *Theophrastus*, s.v. кедрос.

⁴ So in modern times we are told of 'el-'Arz—'in the mouth of the uneducated Syrians it designates one of the pines, *Pinus halepensis*, which grows in great numbers on the mountains' (*Journ. Linn. Soc.*, 18247).

⁵ Löw (57) says, 'עֵדֶן seems to have denoted both the cedar and the *Juniperus oxycedrus*, L.' According to the same authority, Aram. 'arad denotes first *Pinus cedrus*, then all conifers.

⁶ Hooker, however, regards it as 'an open question whether the *C. Libani* is one of those which supplied most of the timber employed in building Solomon's temple' (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1875, p. 14), and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the wood used for purification (Lev. 14 Num. 19) was the juniper.

CEDRON

leaves were most highly esteemed for covering interiors (Cant. 1.7 Jer. 22.14). The use made of this wood in the ceremony of cleansing the leper (Lev. 14.4 f.) or the person rendered unclean by contact with a dead body (Nu. 19.6), seems to be due to the esteem in which it was held for durability and incorruptibility (see Th. on Lev. 14. Nowack, *HAL 289*). See **CLEAN**, § 16 f.

Of the existing cedars of Lebanon the first accurate account was that given by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Nat. Hist. Rev.*, 1862, pp. 11-18. The group which he visited was that in the Kadisha valley, N. of Beirut, near the summit of Lebanon (Dahr el Kaddis). He found there about 400 trees, disposed in nine groups — the trees varying from about 18 inches to upwards of 50 feet in girth.

Another interesting account is that of Dr. Leo Anderlind, who visited them in 1881. He speaks of three groups: one at Baruk, a second 4 m. ESE. of Bshre, and the third 13 m. N. of that place. It is the second of these, the same that Hooker visited, which he particularly describes. The greatest height of any of the trees, he says, is about 82 ft.; but the majority are between 46 and 72 ft. The oldest of them were the strongest trees he had ever seen.

According to Tristram (*NHB 344*), 'at least nine distinct localities are now ascertained.'

According to Dr. Post (Hastings' *DB 2364*), it is uncertain what tree is meant by *cedron* in Nu. 24.6. He remarks that 'the cedar of Lebanon does not grow in moist places, but seeks the dry sloping mountain side, where nothing but the moisture in the clefts of the rocks nourishes it.' He concludes, therefore, that 'unless we suppose that the location of the *cedron* is poetic licence, we must suppose some water-loving tree to be intended in this passage.' It was well to bring forward this difficulty, which is overlooked by Dr. The remedy lies close at hand. Usage requires that the 'cedars' should be described as the trees which Yahweh planted. We have to read in **סֵדְרִים** 'like cedars' and in **בְּרִיטִים** 'like poplars' (Che. *L.A.T.* 10.401 b [June '99]).

N. M. — W. T. T. D.

CEDRON (κεδρων [ANV]), 1 Macc. 15.39.41. AV. See **GEDRON**, 1.

CEDRON (τοῦ κεδροῦ [Ti.], τῶν κεδρων [WII]) Jn. 1.11, RV KIDRON.

CEILAN, RV KILAN (κε[ι]λαν [BA, om. L]). The sons of Ceilan and Azetas are a family in the great post-exilic list (see **EZRA**, ii. § 9, § 8 c) 1 Esd. 5.15, not mentioned in **EZRA** (2.16) or **NEH.** (7.21).

CEILING, in modern house-architecture, means the covering of a room which hides the joists of the floor above, or the rafters of the roof. Down to the seventeenth century, however, the word was applied also to the inner lining of the walls of a room, and in modern shipbuilding it still denotes the inside planking of a ship's bottom (see *New Eng. Dict.* s.v.). The Hebrew words (see below) rendered 'ceil,' 'ceiling,' in EV are to be taken in this more extended sense. See further, **CHAMBER**, **HOUSE**, **TEMPLE**.

1. **סֵדִים**, *sippim*, 1 K. 6.15 (δοκός); cp **סִפְיָנִים**, *siphinim*, Jon. 1.5 (the 'sides' or 'innermost parts' of the ship). The verb is used in 1 K. 6.9.37 Jer. 22.14 Hag. 1.4.

2. In 2 Ch. 3.5 **כִּסְיָם עֵץ** means 'he covered' (or panelled) [the greater house] 'with fir.'

3. **סִפְיָן**, *siphon*, Ezek. 41.16, a word otherwise unknown. Co. proposes to emend **עַץ סִפְיָן** to **עַץ עֵץ**; see 2 Ch. 3.5 as above, and cp the **עֵץ** of Nu. 17.3 f. [18.38 f.]; a 'covering' of the altar.

CELLS (תִּכְיֹתִים), Jer. 37.16. AV. AV 'cabins,' a questionable rendering of a Hebrew word which is probably corrupt. The words 'and into the cells' are quite unnecessary after 'into the dungeon house' (אֶתְּחַבֵּא, 'I will hide'), and may be a gloss. See **PRISON**.

AV. RV (cp **συναγωγὴ** [Qng.]) is a guess. In late Heb., Syr., etc. (כְּנִיָּה) denotes 'shop' (cp **ἐργαστήρια** [Aq.], *ergastheria*) or 'lavern.' Moreover the form is difficult (Hevan, *Dan.* 30. n. 1). B's **עֶרְבֵה** (BAQ), **עֶרְבֵה** (BAQ), **עֶרְבֵה** (BAQ) points to the

1 Published in the *Allgem. Forst u. Jagd-Zeitung*, at the end of 1835, and also in the *DDP* 10.89 f.
2 'Cabins' in the sense of 'cell' is now quite obsolete.

CENSER

reading **כֶּסֶף**. Cheyne suggests reading **כֶּסֶף** 'the lowest part (of the pit)'; cp Ps. 85.7 Lam. 3.55.

CELOSYRIA (κοιλὴ κυρία [BAL]), 1 Esd. 2.17, RV CELESYRIA.

CENCHREA, or rather RV, **ΚΕΝΧΡΕΑ** (ΚΕΝΧΡΕΑ [Ti. WII]). A town and harbour on the Saronic gulf, now marked by the village of *Kenchree*. It served as the eastern port of Corinth, which lay about seven miles (Str. 380, says 70 stadia) to the west, just as Lechaion was the port for the Italian trade. Strabo calls Cenchrea a village (αἶμα), which indicates its subordination to Corinth: it was, in fact, merely a landing-place for goods and passengers.

About 4 m. to the north, at Schermis (modern *Kalamaki*), was the **διοκοῖα** or **tanway** upon which vessels of small tonnage made the passage from the one sea to the other (το **στεινωτήριον** τὸν **Ἰσθμὸν**; Str. 315, 392; cp Thuc. 8.7, Pol. 4.1, Dio Cass. 51.3). The idea of substituting for it a canal cut through the Isthmus was very ancient. The scheme was entertained in turn by Periander, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Julius Caesar, Caligula, Nero, and Herodes Atticus. Nero actually began the work in 67 A.D., but the time of Paul's final visit to Corinth, Vespasian sent him six thousand Jewish prisoners from Galilee (Jos. *B.* iii. 10.16). Traces of this cutting were to be seen on the line which has been adopted by the modern engineers who have brought this **χωρὸν** **μετὰ ἀγώνισμα** to completion (1881-1893).

Half a mile to the SW. of the Saronic entrance to the canal are the remains of the Isthmian sanctuaries and Stadium which furnished Paul with the imagery of 1 Cor. 9.24-27.

The pines from which were cut the victor's garlands are mentioned by Strabo (3.5) and Pausanias (ii. 17). The road to Corinth led through groves of pine and cypress, and was bordered with tombs — among them those of the Cyprii Diogenes and the conitrozan Las (Paus. ii. 2.4). Coins of Antoninus Pius give a representation of the harbour of Cenchrea flanked on either side by a temple, and containing a standing bearded colossus of Poseidon (Paus. ii. 2.3) and three ships. Coins of Hadrian show the two harbours, Lechaion and Cenchrea, as nymphs turned opposite ways, each holding a rudder, marked **ΚΕΝΧΡΕΑ** and **ΛΕΧΑΙΟΝ**.

It was from Cenchrea that Paul sailed at the close of his first visit to Achaia (Acts 18.12 cp 20.1). The voyage between Greece and Asia took a fortnight in Cicero's case (*Lp. ad. At.* 5.13.69); but he sailed slowly (cp Thuc. 3.3). Phoebe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, 'carried under the folds of her robe the whole future of Christian theology' (Roman, *Saint Paul*, 219), for to her, on the eve of her departure to Italy on her private affairs, Paul entrusted his letter to the church at Rome (Roma 16.1.2). See **TRISTRAM**, *Pausanias*, 37 f. Good map of the Isthmus in Baedeker's *Greece*, E.F. 229.

CENDEBEUS, RV Cendebeus (ΚΕΝΔΕΒΕΙΟΣ [ANV]; but ΚΕΝΔΕΒΕΙΟΣ [A once], ΔΕΒΕΙΟΣ [N*V once], and ΔΑΙΒΕΙΟΣ [N once]), the general left by Antiochus VII. in command of the sea-coast, who 'provoked the people of Jamnia,' and also fortified Kidron for the purpose of invading Judaea. He and his army were put to flight, near Modin, by Judas and John, the two sons of Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 15.38-16.16). According to Zockler, he is the *condit* of the Arabian legends, a N. Ar. prince hostile to the Jews (cp Blau, *ZDMG* 25.57). Schürer (*GI 1* I, § 7, n. 31), however, derives Cendebeus (as also **καυδὲβας**) from the Lycian town **καυδὲβας**.

CENSER, the utensil used for offering INCENSE.

In EV it represents 1. **כֶּסֶף** the vessel for offering **עֶרְבֵה** 'incense' with; Ezek. 8.12 2 Ch. 24.1 f. (**ἑσθλα**), which is found once in NT—Heb. 9.4 [RVinc. 'altar of incense']]. From the same root is derived **עֶרְבֵה**, 2 Ch. 30.14, 'altars' (RVinc. vessels) for incense. Cp **INCENSE**, § 1.

2. **כֶּסֶף** (cp **σπῆλαι**) Lev. 19.16.12 Nu. 16.6 f. 17.2 f. EV, but AV alone in Nu. 4.14 (**πυρρον**) 1 K. 7.20 (AVinc. 'ash pan'; **πυρρον**) 2 Ch. 4.22 (**πυρρον** and **πυρρον**). 11 these passages RV gives 'firepans,' and both AV and RV in Ex. 27.3

1 [Unless it be held that Rom. 16.1-20 is a letter of introduction given to Phoebe by Paul for the Church at Ephesus. So Julicher, *Einf. in das NT*, 73 (cp **COLOSSIANS**, § 1); McGiffert, *Chr. in Ap. Age*, 275. Cp, however, **ROMANS**, §§ 4, 12.]

CENTURION

383 2 K. 2515 and Jer. 5219 (where AVing. 'censers'). The rendering 'suffragans' occurs in Lx. 253 3721 Nu. 49 (see CANTILENUS, § 2). **C** generally *κατέλιν* which occurs in Ecclus. 509 (EV 'censer'). See FICUS, § 4.
3. *αἰθυσσάτος* (Rev. 815) etymologically 'frankincense' (cp *קָטִיף* in 1 Ch. 929 (2 *αἰθυσσάτος*: here only, but once in A and cp 3 Macc. 5)).

CENTURION (ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗΣ [Ti.] OC [WH]). Mt. 85. See ARMY, § 10.

CEPHAS (ΚΗΦΑΣ [Ti. WH]). Aram. נֶפֶשׁ 'a rock,' cp Ass. *Kāpa*, and Heb. פֶּשֶׁת. Jer. 12 Job 306; see Lag. *Thes.* 58). See PETER.

CERAS (ΚΗΡΑΣ [BA]). 1 Esd. 529. See KEROS.

CETAB, RV ΚΕΤΑΒ (ΚΗΤΑΒ [BA; om. L.]). The b'ne Cetab are a family of NEPHTHIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9) 1 Esd. 539, not mentioned in EZRA (246) or Neh. (715).

CHABRIS (ΧΑΒΡΕΙΣ [BNA]). in Judith 819 *χαβρεν* [BN], *χαβρεν* [A]; in 106 *χαβρεν* [BNA], son of Gathamel, and one of the rulers of Bethulia. (Judith 615 819 106.)

CHADIASAI (AV they of *Chadias*) and AMMIMOI (AV AMMIMOI, two clans in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 80), 1 Esd. 520f *ΧΑΔΙΑΣΑΙ* [B], *ΧΑΔΙΑΣΑΙ* [A¹]; AMMIMOI [B], *ΑΙΜΙΟΙ* [A] [L. om.]), where they occur after the Men of Beeroth (1 Esd. 519 = Ezra 525 = Neh. 729). The names may be identified (though not with confidence) with KEDESH [1] (Josh. 1523), or perhaps Hadashah (*id.* 1: 37) and HUMFATH (*id.* 1: 54).

CHÆREAS (ΧΑΙΡΕΑΣ [A]). 2 Macc. 103237. AV CHÆREAS.

CHAFF (חִבְּ etc.). See AGRICULTURE, §§ 9, 15.

CHAINS is the word used in EV in translating Hebrew terms which signify (1) ornaments and insignia, and (2) means of confinement and punishment. Though chains were no doubt well known to the early Semites, it is chiefly the latter variety that we find depicted upon the monuments; actual remains, moreover, have been found in excavating (Place, *Vineta*, iii. pl. 70). Chains for confinement consisted of rings around each foot joined together by a single link; the arms were similarly treated (see Botta, *Monuments de Ninive*, i. pl. 82).

1. Chains were worn as article of adornment upon the foot (חֲבִיטָה, see ANKLETS, BRACELET, 5. arm (חֲבִיטָה, see BRACELET, 4), and neck (חֲבִיטָה, see NECKLACE). For chains such as were worn by Joseph and Daniel, as expressive of rank (חֲבִיטָה, and Bibl. Aram. חֲבִיטָה, see NECKLACE. To denote some kind of architectural ornamentation we find חֲבִיטָה, 1 K. 621 (Kr. 727; Ezek. 723, doubtful), and חֲבִיטָה, 1 K. 717 2 Ch. 316cp 2 Ch. 35), see PILLAR, TEMPLE. Of these Heb. words the former is used in Is. 4019 (חֲבִיטָה, text doubtful) of the chains fastening an idol, the latter denotes the chain worn upon the high-priest's ephod (חֲבִיטָה, Ex. 2822, חֲבִיטָה, 3015; *κροσός* [BAF], *κροσός* [L]; also Ex. 2814 *κροσός* [BAF], see BREASTPLATE, II, EPHOD, OUCHES. For chain-armour see BREASTPLATE, I.

2. As a means of confinement, ropes or cords were perhaps more commonly employed. For chains the general term is חֲבִיטָה Nah. 319, etc., or, with closer reference to the material, חֲבִיטָה 'fetters of iron' (Ps. 1498)—both, in parallelism, in Ps. 10518. Other terms are חֲבִיטָה (COLLAR, 3) and חֲבִיטָה 'brass' (Lam. 37). The use of the latter in the dual (חֲבִיטָה, Judg. 1621 2 S. 234, etc.) does not necessarily imply the binding of both hands and feet by these bronze fetters. The Greek words are *δεσμός* (Jul. 6), *σφαίρα* (2 Pet. 24), *πέδη* and *αλυσίς* (in parallelism, Mk. 54 Lk. 829); the last-mentioned term is used in Acts 126, where the Roman custom of chaining a prisoner to two wailers is exemplified. See PRISON.

CHALCEDONY. What the ancients understood by

¹ The Aramaic form of this word (חֲבִיטָה) is represented also in the new Hebrew חֲבִיטָה, which became a regular word for chain, and meant also a chain for measuring.

² The RV 'chains' for חֲבִיטָה 2 Ch. 3311 is too bold. See MANASSEH.

CHALDEA, CHALDEAN

the word is uncertain. 1. It is met with only once in the Bible (Rev. 2119; *ΧΑΛΚΕΔΩΝ* [Ti.], *ΧΑΛΚΕΔΩΝ* [WH]; others, *ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ*; *carphadonia*). In modern mineralogy chalcedony is a variety of amorphous quartz 'semi-transparent or translucent; white, gray, blue, green, yellow, or brown; stalactitic, reniform, or botryoidal, and in pseudomorphs or petrifications' (*Encyc. Brit.* 16380). The word chalcedony is usually applied to the white or gray variety, the brown chalcedony being known as the sard (*SARDIUS*), the red as the carnelian (see *SARDIUS*). The chalcedony also occurs in striated forms; when white layers alternate with black it is called onyx (see *ONYX*). When the white alternate with others of red or brown colour it is called sardonxy (see *SARDONYX*). Pliny, who lived not far from the time when the Apocalypse took shape, does not speak of the chalcedony as a distinct stone, but only of 'Calchedonum [or 'carched'] smaraghi' as an inferior kind of emerald, mentioning that the mountain in Chalcedon where these stones were gathered was in his day known by the name of 'Smaragdites' (*HN* 37273). Symmachus, on the other hand (*circa* 200 A.D.), gives *καρχηδόνιον* for חֲבִיטָה in Is. 5112 (AV 'agates,' RV 'rubies'). This rendering suggests an original חֲבִיטָה (cp the reading *καρχος* [B], *καρχος* [A] for חֲבִיטָה in Ezek. 2719 (AV 'agate,' mg. 'chrysoprase,' RV 'rubies'). See PRECIOUS STONES, RUBIES.

2. Chalcedony (*carphadonia*) is the usual Fesh. rendering of חֲבִיטָה (*āḥārṭān*, *achates*, 'agate' of Ex. 2811 3912). Notwithstanding the reference in Ezek. 2722 to the precious stones imported from Sheba² we can hardly connect the stone חֲבִיטָה with the country called Sheba. As Friedl. Del. points out (*Heb. Lang.* 36) it is the Ass. *ṭabu*—i.e., the shining or precious stone *ṭabnu nishṭar* (*akru*), *κατ'ἔξοχον*. This stone occurs among others in a list of stones encased in gold for the royal breastplate. On Delitzsch's suggested identification with the diamond (*Prot.* 84 ff.)³ or the topaz (*Heb. Lang.* 36) cp what is said under PRECIOUS STONES, DIAMOND, TOPAZ. Tradition is in favour of the rendering 'agate'. Agate, so named, according to Theophrastus, from the river Achates, in Sicily, is one of the numerous modifications of form under which silica presents itself, almost in a state of purity, forming 68 per cent of the entire mineral. The silica particles are not so arranged as to produce the transparency of rock-crystal, but a semi-pellucid, sometimes almost opaque substance, with a resinous or waxy fracture; and the various shades of colour arise from minute quantities of iron. The same stone sometimes contains parts of different degrees of transparency, and of various shades of colour; and the endless combination of which, together with the high polish they are capable of receiving, agates acquire their value as precious stones. Agates are usually found in detached rounded nodules in that variety of trap rock called amygdaloid or mandelstein, and occasionally in other rocks. The varieties of the agate are numerous, and are now, as in the time of Pliny, arranged according to the colour of their ground.

3. It is not apparent why RV^{ms} should suggest 'chalcedony' for חֲבִיטָה in Ex. 2820 (EV 'beryl'). See TARSHISH, STONE OF.

CHALCOL (ΧΑΛΚΑΛ [A], *ΧΑΛΚΑΛ* [L]). 1 K. 411 [511]. RV CALCOL.

CHALDEA, CHALDEAN, CHALDEAN (חֲבִיטָה, *ΧΑΛΔΑΙΟΙ* [BNA] [L], Ass. *Kaldū*), is used in Gen. 1124

1. The Kaldū. Jer. 245 2512 5010 5124, and often, as an equivalent for Babylonia. The land of the Kaldū proper lay SE. of Babylonia proper, on the sea coast as it then was. Its true capital was Bat

¹ Cp *ἄλδος σμαραγδίνης* of Esh. 163 and see MARBLE.
² Theophrastus (*Lap.* 31) tells us that the best precious stones came from Psepho (*ἐκ τῆς ψέφου καλουμένης χυπάς*). This is probably the same as the Pseho of Sarabō (822) a lake and island S. of Meroe (mod. Tsana or Tana) near the head of the Blue Nile (see Reclus, *Géogr. Univ.* 10258 2662).

³ The difficulty of believing that the Isr. scribes knew and perhaps even engraved the diamond is only removed by Del., not removed (see ADAMANT, DIAMOND), though it is not so serious in the case of *ἄλδος* (mentioned only in P) as in that of *ἰαχῆδων* (*ἰαχῆδων* and P).

CHALPHI

Yakin; its usual name in the Assyrian inscriptions was not Tadmūt, the Sea-land. H. Delitzsch (*Jour.* 128, etc.) is correct in his derivation of the name from the Kassite people, the wider application to Babylonia may have been a legacy from the Kassite dynasty there. On the other hand, the Kassites (Del. calls them *Kassari*) had a language quite distinct from that of the Kaldū, who spoke Semitic. The Kaldū are carefully distinguished by Sennacherib both from the Arabs and from the Arameans. Merodach-baladan, the usurper in Babylon during Sargon's reign, and the inveterate foe of Assyria till Sennacherib hunted him from Babylon to Bit-Yakin and thence to exile, was a Kaldū. There is no reason to think he had any right in Babylon; on the other hand, nothing shows him to have been more foreign than were the Assyrians. In fact, the Chaldeans not only furnished an early dynasty of Babylon, but also were incessantly pressing into Babylonia; and, despite their repeated defeats by Assyria, they gradually gained the upper hand there. The founder of the New-Babylonian kingdom, Nabopolassar (*circa* 626 B.C.), was a Chaldean, and from that time Chaldean meant Babylonia.

The use of the term Chaldee, introduced by Jerome to distinguish the language of certain chapters in

2. 'Chaldee,' Daniel and Ezra (עֲרֵם כְּתָבִים; Dan. 14), etc. is incorrect. The only correct expression is Aramæe (see CHALDEA, § 2; DANIEL, § 12; ARAM, § 2; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 1 ff.). Another peculiar usage must be mentioned. We find 'Chaldeans' used in Dan. as a name for a caste of wise men. As Chaldean meant Babylonian in the wider sense of a member of the dominant race in the times of the New Babylonian Empire, so after the Persian conquest it seems to have denoted the Babylonian literati and become a synonym of soothsayer or astrologer (see DANIEL, § 11). In this sense it passed into classical writers. Whether any association of sound with *kallā*, the specific name for magician in Assyrian, helped the change of meaning is difficult to decide. The modern so-called Chaldees have no racial claim to the name, and it is very questionable whether the traces of alleged Chaldean culture discovered at Tellou are correctly assigned to this people.

See Delattre, *Les Chaldéens*, Wk. *Unters. Altor. Gesch.*, 47 ff., and the Histories of Assyria and Babylonia; also *Revue des Sem.* 313.

C. H. W. J.

CHALPHI (חַלְפִּי [V.A.]), 1 Macc. 11:70 RV, AV CALPHI.

CHAMBER. Of the structure of the chamber of the ancient Hebrew house we know but little; it would naturally depend upon the style of the rest of the building. In modern Syria, floor, wall, and ceiling are commonly made of beaten clay (cp חֲפִי Ezek. 13:12), which is often coloured with ochre. Wood, nevertheless, is not rare. The ceiling, if of wood and flat, is of curious and complicated joinery; or, if vaulted, is wrought into many coves and enriched with fretwork in stucco; the walls (חֲפִי) are adorned with arabesques, mosaics, and the like, which, set off by the whiteness of the stucco, present a brilliant effect. Enamelled inscriptions, specimens of the most intricate Arabic calligraphy, originally intended to keep off harmful *jinn*s, surround the walls. On the number and arrangement of chambers, see HOUSE, 1.

Of the various Heb. words for 'chamber' חֲפִי and חֲפִיָּה (cp *hypocor*) are used of rooms in private houses; see B.D., § 1. חֲפִיָּה is used particularly of the nuptial chamber; see TENT, § 4. Other terms are used especially of rooms in a temple or palace. חֲפִיָּה (1 Ch. 9:26 Jer. 35:24, etc.) or חֲפִיָּה (Neb. 3:30 12:44 13:7), a room in the temple occupied by priests and temple-servants; also a room in the royal palace, Jer. 36:12 20; and (once) a meal-chamber in a *Bamah* (1 S. 9:22 AV 'parlour'); see HUB.

1 Or, 'feasting hall.' For another probable instance see 2 K. 10:22 emended text (see VESTRY). WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 253 n. suggests that *ḥofḥ*, club-room, is derived from *ḥ*; but see Lewy, *Die semit. Fremdw. im Griech.*, 94.

CHAPTER

PLACE, § 3. חֲפִי (1 K. 6:7 Ezek. 41:5 ff.) and חֲפִיָּה (1 K. 14:24 2 Ch. 12:11 Ezek. 10:7 ff.) are similarly used of temple-chambers. In the case of two words the suggested rendering, 'chamber', is certainly incorrect; חֲפִיָּה (1 K. 6:7 AV) means properly a 'story,' as in RV (see TEMPLE), and חֲפִיָּה (Ezek. 10:24 11:34 RV) 'vaulted-chamber', in parallelism with חֲפִיָּה, refers evidently to some mound for illite worship (EV better 'eminent place').

CHAMBERLAIN. In Esth. 1:10 12 etc., EV uses 'chamberlain' (for חֲפִיָּה, perhaps as a more English-sounding title than *ΕΥΝΟΥΧ* [7.7]). On Jer. 51:59 (AV) 'chamberlain' see *SERAIAH* [1].

Βαστα, in Acts 12:25, is a court officer in charge of the king's bed-chamber (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως); but in Rom. 16:23 οἰκονόμος (AV 'chamberlain') is used in a wide sense (RV 'treasurer'); cp Lat. *ararius*, and a gloss of Philox., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς δημοσίας γραμματεῖς. The same title occurs in inscriptions (cp *Marini, Chron.*, 85, ed. 1742; *Νεώτερον οἰκονόμος* 'Atticus'; see W. A. Wright in Smalley's *Diogenes*, etc.).

CHAMBERS OF THE SOUTH (חֲפִיָּה דְּיָמִין), Job 9:9, and probably 37:9 (emended text). See STARS, § 3 c. EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 2 (17).

CHAMELEON. 1. RV LAND-CROCODILE (כַּמְלֵאֵוֹן, etc., uncertain), one of the reptiles mentioned as unclean in Lev. 11:16. *Καμαίλειον* [F.L.], *καμη*, [B.V.] and Vg. (*chamaelon*) have the same rendering as AV; the Arabic version has *hardawān*, which means probably a species of land-crocodile. Bochart (*Hieroz.* 4) argues from the Hebrew name, which is the same as the word for 'strength', that what is meant is the Arabic *asral*, the largest and most powerful sort of lizard. The Talmudic references, on the other hand, seem to point to a smaller animal; but they are too general to convey any definite information (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, 223 f.).

2. AV MOLL. (כַּמְלֵאֵוֹן) in the same verse. See LIZARD, 6.

CHAMOIS (כַּמִּי), derivation uncertain, cp *Levy*; *καμηλοπαρδαλις* [B.A.F.L.], Dt. 11:31, a clean animal, mentioned along with the fallow-deer (שָׁפָר), the roebuck (צִבְּרִי and צִבְרִי), the wild goat (קָדָשׁ), the addax (אֲדָקָה), and the antelope (אֲנָקָה); see CLEAN, § 8. Many ancient interpreters (G. Vg., Arab., Abulw., Kimhi, etc.) thought that what was meant was the giraffe; but the home of the giraffe lies far away from Palestine. A more probable rendering is the *gazelle* or 'wild goat' of the Targums, which suits the context better. The *chamois* (*Rupicapra tragus*) extends from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, but is not known to have ever inhabited Palestine, whereas of mountain sheep and goats there have been found three kinds. Tristram and Post think that *zemer* may be the wild sheep (*Ovis montanus*); but, though that sheep lives in Northern Africa, and an allied or identical species occurs in Arabia, it is doubtful whether it has lived in Palestine. See GOAT.

N. M.

CHAMPION. For 1 S. 17:423 EV (חֲפִיָּה דְּיָמִין) see GOLIATH, § 2. For 1 S. 17:51 EV (חֲפִיָּה) see WAR and cp GIANT, 3.

CHANAAN (חַנָּאָן) Acts 7:11 13:19 Judith 5:3 etc. AV, RV CANAAN; and **Chanaanite** (חַנָּאָנִיּוֹת) Judith 5:16 AV, RV CANAANITE.

CHANCELLOR (חֲפִיָּה), Ezra 4:27. See REHUM, 5.

CHANNUNEUS, RV Chanuneus (חַנּוּנֵיָּאִיּוֹת [B.V.]). 1 Esd. 8:43 = Ezra 8:19, MERARI, 3.

CHAPEL (חֲפִיָּה), Am. 7:13 AV, RV SANCTUARY (7.7). Cp BETHEL, § 3. n. For 1 Macc. 14:2 Macc. 10:2 11:3 AV see SANCTUARY.

CHAPHENATHA (חַפְנַתְחָא [A.V.]), 1 Macc. 21:37 RV, AV CAPHENATHA.

CHAPIER (i.e., capitellum, 'capital': so Amer. RV).

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on an open litter' (Dr. Samuel Birch). The appended illustration (fig. 2), taken from a monument belonging to the fourth Egyptian dynasty, clearly exhibits this earlier mode of conveyance.



Fig. 2.—Ancient Egyptian conveyance (4th dyn.) After Wilkinson.

It should be remembered that in the East camels, asses, and mules are more convenient and general as a means of transport, both for burdens and for human beings, than are wheeled vehicles; and this was specially true of ancient times.

3. War-chariots: introduced late.

The subject of the present article, however, is mainly the striking fact that the ancient Hebrews for centuries refused to employ so valuable a military aid as the chariot, in their encounters with the Canaanites was due to several co-operating causes.

First among these was the nomadic origin and character of early Israel. The Canaanites, like the Egyptians, may have borrowed the form of their chariots from their northern neighbours, the Syrians or Hittites. This, however, is by no means certain, for among the Amarna Tablets, we have a despatch to the Egyptian monarch from one of his vassals in Canaan, in which the latter, in anticipation of an invasion by the Hittites, requests the aid of chariots and troops from the king of Egypt.¹ Not improbably, therefore, Egypt may have been the proximate source whence Canaanite civilisation borrowed the chariot. From Josh. 17:16 Judg. 4:1, however, we learn that the Canaanite war-chariot was plated or studded externally with iron, a feature which seems to be more probably Hittite than Egyptian.²

4. Hill country unsuitable.

A second reason why Israel remained destitute of this important adjunct is to be found in the physical configuration of Canaan. During the earlier period of the Hebrew occupation, the district seized by the sons of Jacob was the central or mountainous region, where chariots and cavalry could not easily operate. Interesting illustrations of this difficulty in employing chariots may be derived from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. (circa 1100 B.C.). In Prism Inscr. col. ii. 70-74 we read: 'mighty mountains and difficult country I passed through—so far as it could be traversed, in my chariot; and that which could not be traversed, on foot. By the mountain Arimat, unsuited for the advance of my chariots, I left my chariots behind . . . (Winckler in *AB* 1; cp. also col. iii. 47-49). How difficult the Canaanites found it to make effective use of them against the Israelites, may be inferred from the later experience of the Syrians, who attributed their constant defeats to the fact that the deities of the Hebrews were potent in the mountainous country (1 K. 20:23) whilst their own operations, which were largely carried on with cavalry and chariots (cp. 7:21 and Shalmaneser II.'s Obelisk Inscr. 65; Monolith Inscr. col. ii. 90), would be successful only in the plains. It can readily be understood, therefore, how the Hebrew race, by clinging to the central mountainous region and not venturing too far into the Shephelah or low country, as well as by dint of sheer bravery and the skilful use of bow, sling, and spear, were able, down to the time of David, to defy successfully the armies of Canaan and Syria.

5. Religious conservatism.

A third reason was that religion—in its tendency, ever conservative of a nation's past—sanctioned the ancient custom of warfare, and regarded horses and chariots

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as a foreign innovation corrupting Israel's allegiance to Yahvé. This view, constantly reflected in prophecy (Hos. 17:14 [1 Mic. 5:6] Zech. 9:10), became embedded in the Deuteronomistic legislation (Dt. 17:16), and expressed in song (Ps. 20:7). When, however, under David, Israel became an aggressive state and entered into conflict with Syrian and Hittite cavalry and chariots in the plains, the stress must have been severely felt by the Hebrews, and it is not surprising that chariots and horsemen were gradually introduced into Israel's military service. This is clear from 2 S. 8:4, where, following **Q**, we should restore **as** ('for himself'); omitted in MT from religious scruples; the passage means that David reserved 100 chariots and horsemen for his own use. His successor, Solomon, is said to have purchased Israel with 1400 war chariots, which were quartered in special cities (1 K. 9:19, 26; see BEUTHAMER 1901). In his reign the purchase of horses and chariots became an organised trade; they were imported (though Winckler denies this; see MIZRAHI, § 2 [17]) from Egypt, at the cost of 600 shekels, or about £80 for each chariot¹ (17:23 f.). From this time onwards we constantly read of chariots and horsemen both in the northern and in the southern kingdom (1 K. 16:22-4 2 K. 8:2 13:7 Is. 27 Mic. 5:9 [Heb.]). In col. ii. 91 of Shalmaneser II.'s great monolith inscription we are startled to find that Ahab's contingent of chariots, 2000 in number, largely exceeded that of any other state in the confederacy that encountered the Assyrian army at Karkar in 854 B.C. (cp. *ATAB*, § 7). From Is. 30:16 31:1 36:9 we may infer (with Kamphausen) that the supply of chariots and horses from Egypt was one of the grounds of alliance between that power and Judah.

Since Egypt was the land from which the Hebrews obtained their supply of this arm, we turn to its monuments for illustrative material; and this we obtain in abundance from the eighteenth dynasty onwards (vol. vi. in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*).

6. Egyptian chariots.

Before the eighteenth dynasty (1800 B.C.) chariots and horses were unknown in Egypt, and there is good evidence to show that they were borrowed from the North Palestinian race called Rutennu.² The Egyptian chariot usually contained two persons. Nowack (*HA* 1:367), however, is wrong in his assertion that this was invariably the case. In Lepsius' *Denkmäler* (Abth. iii. Bl. 157 f.) we have numerous illustrations of chariots with three figures. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson, however, this was not common, except in triumphal processions, 'when two of the princes or noble youths accompanied the king in their chariot, bearing the royal sceptre, or the tabella, and required a third person to manage the reins.' On the other hand Hittite chariots frequently contained three occupants (see below, § 6). Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, Abth. iii. Bl. 160) exhibits figures of Egyptian chariots in which the right-hand warrior bears the bow while the left carries the shield. Here, as in many other cases, we find the reins tied round the body of one of the combatants while he is engaged in action. On another page (Bl. 165) we have a chariot with the solitary royal

¹ In 1 K. 10:28 (2 Ch. 1:16) the text is very uncertain in the latter part of the verse. In MT of 1 K. 10:28 we read **וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבָנָיו וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו**. It seems simplest with Kamph. (in *Kan. ZS*) to cancel the first **וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו** and to render the whole verse 'And the export of the horses of Solomon was from Egypt, and the royal merchants used to fetch a troop for payment.' This is certainly preferable to the other suggestion, to which Kl. in his note on 2 Ch. 1:16 (*SZOT*) refers—viz., to make a transposition and read . . . **וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו** 'the king's traders getting every time a troop . . .'. This use of the distributive construction is very forced. Kl. himself finds a reference in **וְלָאֲשֵׁרָתָיו** to Kue—i.e., E. Cilicia. See the note referred to and cp. MIZRAHI, § 2 (a).

² Sayce (*Notes of the OT* 123 f. 134) has shown that this Egyptian name included the Hittites. It is significant that the Palestinian peoples chiefly associated chariots with the Hittites and the Egyptians; 2 K. 7:6 (on which, however, see *ATAB*, § 6).

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occupant, *Rameses II*, drawing the bow, while the reins of his two horses are tied around his middle. Indeed, one of the most striking features in these vivid scenes of combat, is the multiplicity of functions discharged by the chariot rider.



FIG. 3.—Egyptian Archer (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

The accompanying figure (fig. 3) exhibits an archer in the act of drawing his bow with the right hand. A whip consisting of a stick handle with leather thong attached, is suspended from his wrist, while round his waist are fastened the horses' reins.

It is obvious from the representations which portray the manufacture of different portions of the Egyptian chariot, that it was almost entirely constructed of wood. It was light and open from behind, so that it could be easily mounted,

and consisted of 'a wooden framework, sometimes strengthened and ornamented with metal and leather binding. The flat bottom was formed of a kind of network, consisting of interlaced thongs or rope, which gave it elasticity and mitigated the jolting' (Wilkinson).

The occupants of a chariot nearly always stood. In rare instances the car was provided with a seat in which the royal personage sat. The furniture consisted of a bow-case, which was placed in a slanting position pointing forwards, and was often ornamented with the figure of a lion. There were also receptacles for arrows

and spears, which, as a general rule, slanted backwards (see fig. 4).

The diameter of the wheel was a little over three feet. The felloes were in six pieces and the tire was fastened to it by bands of hide passing through long narrow holes. The yoke fitting upon a small saddle, was inserted

into a groove of metal, and the saddle, placed upon the horse's withers, and furnished with girths and a breastband, was surmounted by an ornamental knob; and in front of it a small hook secured the bearing rein. The other reins passed through a thong or ring at the side of the saddle, and thence over the projecting extremity of the yoke, and the same thong secured the girths. Further details may be found in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's exhaustive work, from which the above description has been borrowed.

The chariots of the *Assyrians* were of stouter and more solid construction than those of the Egyptians, since the former were intended to sustain the wear and tear of rough and rugged paths in distant campaigns. Thus we often find that the tires and felloes of the wheels amounted together to as much as eight or ten inches in thickness. In the early part of the ninth century B.C. we find chariots of this description employed by *Asur-nāsir-pāl*. Upon the obelisk of this monarch we find the archer standing on the right hand and the driver on the left, and these are their respective positions in nearly all the examples depicted on the Assyrian monuments. We observe, moreover, in all the portrayals belonging to the ninth century and the early part of the eighth, that the two receptacles for arrows are placed on the right side, and are disposed crosswise over one another,

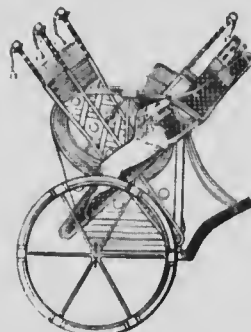


FIG. 4.—Egyptian chariot with bow and arrow-cases (Thebes). After Wilkinson.

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and in a slanting position as in the Egyptian examples. We notice, in one case depicted in *Asur-nāsir-pāl's* obelisk, an attendant on foot bearing a shield and holding the reins. This meets us again on one of the monuments of *Tiglath-pileser III*.

Vivid representations of the chariots of this period may be found in the reliefs of the *Nimrud gallery* in the British Museum. One excellent example reproduced in the accompanying figure (fig. 5), is borrowed from a

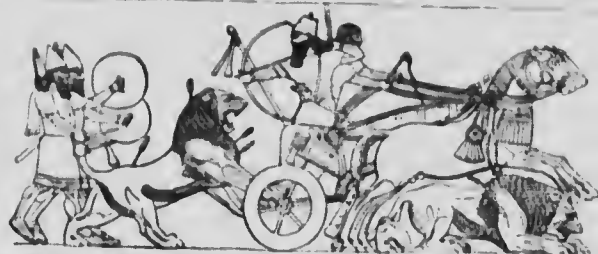


FIG. 5.—Hunting-chariot of *Asur-nāsir-pāl*. Brit. Mus. Nimrud Gallery.

hunting-scene in which the monarch *Asur-nāsir-pāl* is engaged. Note that we have here, as in many other instances of this period, three horses—a contrast with Egyptian usage, in which the number never exceeded two. The pole of the chariot is fixed to the base of the body, to the upper part of which is fastened, on the left, a large heavy shaft attached to rings upon the shoulder-pieces of the central as well as the outer horse on the left side. The rein on the right hand steed passes through a ring on his shoulder, and is attached to the bit. The use of bits with ancient Egyptians, as well as Assyrian, war-horses can admit of no doubt. As in other examples, the two receptacles for arrows cross each other slantwise on the right side of the chariot—for that was obviously the side on which the archer most conveniently stood, thus preserving his right hand and side unencumbered by his companion in the use of the bow. A battle-axe stands among the arrows in one receptacle, whilst an extra bow is inserted among those in the other. We notice in this example, as in all others portrayed on the monuments of this period, that the axle of the wheel, as in the Egyptian chariot, is placed under the hindmost extremity of the body of the vehicle, in order to ensure more steadiness; consequently part of the weight of the chariot and its occupants rested on the horses. In another specimen on the reliefs of this period we again observe three steeds harnessed to the chariot, while in this case the driver holds a whip. Near the front of the chariot, between the two occupants, rises a pole surmounted by a symbolic device, from which hang ornamented tassels. In other examples a spear may be seen in the receptacle that slopes backwards. Often the horses are richly ornamented with crests, sometimes with a necklace or collar. Leather straps pass beneath and in front of the animal. We find tassels hanging down apparently from a metal boss on its side. Otherwise the animal is unprotected.

Among the reliefs of *Tiglath-pileser III*, we observe a state-chariot with two horses and three occupants. There is no archer. The king stands on the right and the driver on the left. The driver has three reins in each

¹ Weiss (in *Kostümkunde*) under the head of Assyrian chariots describes this as merely 'a broad strip of cloth or leather.' He confesses that it is obscure as to its nature or purpose. The present writer's personal inspection of numerous examples in the Nimrud gallery leads him to regard it as much more solid in structure, and as probably intended to yoke the third steed to the other two horses. When a third horse ceased to be yoked to the chariot, at the close of the eighth century, this large and heavy shaft no longer encumbered the Assyrian chariot.

² Not improbably this contained amulets or charms, like the crescents on the camels' necks in *Judg.* s. 21. See *Whitehouse, Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, 50f. and footnote.

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hand, a whip in his right. In front stands an attendant holding the reins. The monarch is shaded by an umbrella. We notice two new points. The receptacle for arrows stands *upright*. Also the wheels are now much enlarged, being about 4½ feet in diameter, with tire and felloes of

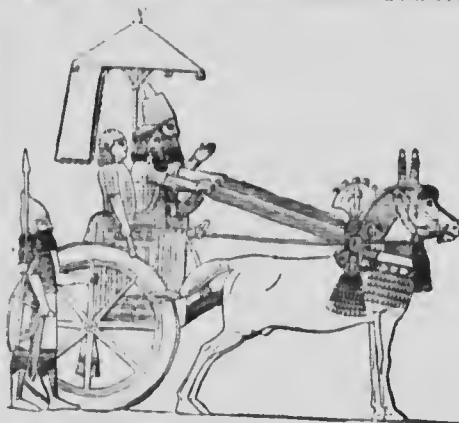


FIG. 6.—State-chariot of Sennacherib. Brit. Mus. Nimrud Gallery.

considerable thickness. Mr. T. G. Pinches is disposed to think that the inner rim of the wheel was of metal, and appearances would seem to justify this conclusion. It is possible, however, that we have here plating, not solid metal.

The state chariot of Sennacherib, which we here reproduce (fig. 6), exhibits wheels at least 4½ feet in diameter, with eight spokes. We notice the thickness of the tire and felloes, and the metal studs or nails on the outer circumference. A large umbrella is fixed in the chariot. Here the driver is on the right hand, the king on the left. We also observe no receptacle for arrows, bow, or battle-axe; from the close of the eighth century onwards the archers become dissociated from the chariots; in the time of Ashur-bani-pal they usually constitute a separate corps.¹

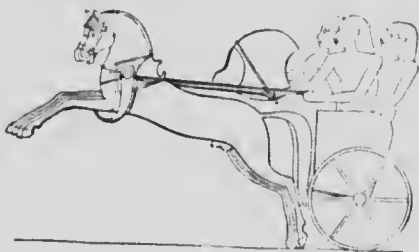


FIG. 7.—Hittite Chariot. After Meyer.

Of the *Hittite* chariot we obtain the clearest conception from Egyptian portrayals, and a special interest belongs to it because it is probably to be regarded as the prototype from which the Egyptian was derived, and the Israelite vehicle was ultimately, if not proximately, borrowed.

9. Hittite chariots. In one case, however (as), we have a single-horse chariot carrying two archers with quivers on their backs. Moreover, the large upper shaft to which reference has been made disappears altogether from the time of Sennacherib onwards. Not more than two horses are harnessed to the chariot. Also it becomes simpler in form, while the wheels become larger. In the representation of Ashur-bani-pal's war against Elam (Nimrud gallery 48, 49) we observe that the wheels have as many as twelve spokes. In some cases there is only a single occupant. In others there are several occupants, and an umbrella is fixed in the chariot when it conveys a royal personage or some nobleman of distinction.

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In one respect it differed from the Egyptian, viz. in carrying three, not, as a rule, two occupants. It is important as it seems to throw light upon Hebrew usage, to which we shall presently refer. The ordinary weapons of the chariot fighter were bow and arrows. In the annexed figure (fig. 7) it will be observed that the two-horsed chariot has among its three riders a shield-bearer, who apparently occupies the central position. The driver on the left holds only a single rein in each hand, though he is driving two steeds, which are held together by a strong collar and halbrights. Simplicity and strength combined with lightness are the chief characteristics of the Hittite chariot.

Among the ancient Hebrews, as among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Hittites, and Greeks, the horses were always arrayed side by side, never one behind another. Moreover, with the Assyrians and the Egyptians the chariot usually held two persons. This was the case

perhaps occasionally in Israel, but various considerations lead to the inference that the chariots as a rule held *three*, as among the Hittites, the occupants being the driver, the bowman, and the shield-bearer. In the case of Jehu, he himself handles the bow, 2 K. 9. 24. It is therefore as something peculiar and exceptional that we find Jehu recalling to Baasha that they were riding in pairs behind Abiah, as his body-guard, when the latter was confronted by Elijah near Naboth's vineyard (2 K. 9. 25). This Hebrew Hittite usage may explain the word *shālîḥ* (שָׁלִיחַ), see ARMY, § 4, which, in its origin, signified one of the three occupants of the royal chariots that accompanied the king to battle. The word is used during the regal period in the sense of a distinguished attendant of the king who accompanied him in his chariot. This is evident from 2 K. 9. 25 where Baasha holds this position in relation to Jehu. It is significant that in 1 K. 9. 22 the *shālîḥ* (שָׁלִיחַ) are placed in close connection with captains of chariots (צָבָא), and formed a special corps, commanded by a special officer, 'chief of the chariots' (רֹאשׁ הַצָּבָא).

1 Ch. 11. 11 [2 S. 23. 8]. Compare also the position of *shālîḥ* in 1 K. 11. 17. 15. That the *shālîḥ* held a position is clearly shown in 2 K. 7. 27, where he is described as one of those on whose hand the king leans. (Probably the term is used here as equivalent to *שָׁרֵי הַצָּבָא*.)

In addition to the *shālîḥ* the king was frequently accompanied by 'runners' (רָצָא), who were prepared to render assistance when the king dismounted from the chariot, or to hold the reins (as in the reliefs of the Assyrian kings to which we have already referred), or to discharge any other duty in the king's service, 2 S. 15. 1 K. 15. 2 K. 10. 11 (see ARMY, § 4). In the time of David there was a special body of fifty men detailed for this special function.

We know that the Persian kings took with them on their expeditions *ἀρμαμαχας*—four-wheeled carriages covered with curtains, specially employed for the conveyance of women and children, as may be inferred from Herod 7. 41.

11. Persian chariots. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. 4. 11. Probably these closely resembled, or were identical with, the *ἀρμαματα ἐνὸς ὄρου* adapted for sitting or lying down. According to 2 Ch. 35. 23 J. Josiah, when mortally wounded, was removed from his war-chariot into a reserve chariot (שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא) which was probably regarded by the Chronicler as partaking of this character.

In later times chariots were provided with scythies (*ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα*, Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 7. 6 Diod. Sic. 17. 51). This device does not meet us among the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians;² but we know that scythed-bearing chariots were employed by the Persians and

¹ So צָבָא should be interpreted (Thein and other).
² CHAL. makes צָבָא the object of the participle.
³ Against the view that scythies are referred to in Nah. 2. 11: 2. 11: 2.

later still by the Syrians (2 Macc. 132). It was probably the Persians who introduced this formidable addition to the war-chariot: (Cp Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vi. 130.)

The different portions of the chariot receive special names in the Heb. of the OT. 'Wheels,' **עֲרֹכָה**, are mentioned in Nah.

12. Parts of
chariot.

12. Parts of chariot. 3:2 (cp Is. 28:27 Prov. 20:26). Another name, more descriptive, was 'rollers,' עֲרֹמְרוֹמִים (Is. 6:28 Ezek. 10:26 23:24 26:10). The 'spokes' of the wheel

were called **הַשִּׁיטִים**, while the 'felloes' had the name **גְּזֵיִם** or **גְּזִיתִים**. The wheel revolves by a nave (**הַשִּׁיטָה**), round an axle (**רֶדֶף**). See WHEEL. All these terms are to be found in the *locus classicus*, 1 K. 7:12f.

The pole of the chariot, *Sp*, was attached to *Mish*, *Kelin* 14a 24 b) fastened below the middle of the axle, passed under the base of the 'body' of the chariot, and then, curving upwards, ascended to the neck of the horses. To this, draught-animals were fastened by means of the yoke, assisted by cords or wide leather straps. Beyond these broad features it is doubtful how far we are justified in following the details contained in a treatise of the Mishna composed centuries after the latest OT literature.

That the chariot, which was so closely associated with the public functions of Oriental monarchs, both in war and in peace, entered into the religious conceptions as an indispensable portion of the paraphernalia of divinement, is

13. Religious conceptions.

13. Religious conceptions. and in peace, entered into the religious conceptions as an indispensable portion of the paraphernalia of divine monarchy, cannot awaken surprise. The chariot, therefore, has its place in ancient Semitic religion. Just as the Hellenic religions imagination endowed *Helios* with horses and chariot (as the Homeric Hymn clearly testifies), so Canaanite religion endowed the Sun-god *Šemeš* with the same royal accessories (cp HORSE, § 4). This feature in the cultus of the Sun the Hebrews blended with the worship of Yahwē in the precincts of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, in the days that preceded the Reformation of Josiah (2 K. 23 11). The combination of Yahwe, the God of Israel's armies and of the sky, with the Sun was not unnatural to the Hebrew mind, as their literature testifies both early and late. Cp 1 K. 8 12 f. (an old fragment of the Book of Jashar restored by We. from ^{6A} in 1 K. 8 50; Ps. 19 1 7 8 11 [12] f. Yahwē, as Lord of hosts, has chariots among his retinue. These were the 'chariots and horses of deliverance' whereon Yahwē rode forth to conquer and deliver Israel's foes in the days of the Exodus (Hab. 3 8 f.). With this graphic totem in the Prayer of Habakkuk we may compare the fiery chariots of 2 K. 2 11 6 17 13 11² as well as a phrase occurring in the magnificent triumphal ode, Ps. 68 18. O. C. W.

CHARITY, FEASTS OF (ἡ ἀγάπη [Ti. VII]).
Jude 12 AV. See Eucharist.

CHARME (χαρμη [BA]). 1 Esd. 5₂₅ RV = Ezra 2₃₉
= Neh. 7₁₉; HARM, 1.

CHARMER (חֲכָר Dent. 18 n, etc.; תְּכָם
הַרְשִׁים, 1s. 3; RV^{mg.}). See **MAGIC**, § 3.

CHARMIS, one of the three rulers of Bethulia: Judith 6:5 8:12 10:6 (χαρμεϊς [BS], χαλαμ, [V]; in 8:12 10:6 χαρμ[ε]ιν [BSA]).

CHARRAN (XAPPAN [Ti. WII]), Acts 7:24. RV
HARAN, i.

CHASEBA (חצֶסְבָּא [BA], om. 1), an unknown family of NARINIM in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii, § 6), mentioned only in 1 Esd. 5 a, between the Nekoi and Gazzani of ¶ Ezra 2:48 Neh. 7:50 f.

CHAVAN (737), Gen. 320 AV⁹mg, EV EVE. See
ADAM AND EVE, # 3.

CHEBAR (כְּבַר, *ḵəḇar* [H 40]), the name of a Babylonian stream, near which Ezekiel had prophetic visions.

¹ But cf. BARNETT AND S.F.

² The *Kakub*, 'chariot of El' (line 25), of the *Zenjili* Panamu inscription furnishes an interesting parallel. It is possible, however, that *Kakub* (cp the Ar. *zakubun*, 'a camel for riding') may mean the divine steed (cp the Heb. *Kā'ōb*, Ps. 18:1; but see *Cureton*, I, i, begin.). It is mentioned frequently along with the deities *Hadad*, *El*, *Shemesh*, and *Reshef*. See D. H. Muller's art. in *Contemp. Rev.*, April 1894.

(Ez. 1:1 adnot. Qmg. **בַּרְסָמוֹס**) 3 321 1015.22 433 on 315, which is a gloss, see TEL-AMU). In spite of the apparent resemblance of the names (but note the different initial letters), the Chobar cannot be the same as the HANOR (חֲנָנִי) — Babylonian never included the region watered by this river — but must be one of the Babylonian canals (Bab. *nārāt*; cp **נָרָה** נכל, Ps. 137:1). This is first pointed out by Noldeke (Schenkel, *BL*, 15.8 ['60]). The final proof has been given by Hilprecht, who has found mention twice of the (*nār*) *kalbaru*, a large navigable canal a little to the E. of Nippur 'in the land of the Chaldeans'.¹

CHEDOR-LAOMER (כְּדֹרְלֶאֶמֶר, so eastern reading,

but כְּדָלְעָמָר western reading [Ginsb. *Intr. to Mass.*

1. Story.

of Semitic Studies, 566]; $\chi\omicron\delta\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\mu\omicron\rho$ [AEL]- $\lambda\lambda\lambda$, [D], - $\lambda\lambda\gamma$, [D]), according to Gen. 14¹ was a king of Elam, whose domain extended as far as the S.E. of Canaan, where five kings, of whom those of Sodom and Gomorrah were the chief, served him twelve years. In the thirteenth year, however, they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year they were defeated by the Elamite and his allies. In the sequel of the story (77, 12-24) we are told how Abram with his own servants and some allies pursued the victorious army and rescued not only the captured kings but also his nephew Lot (see ABRAHAM, § 2). The question whether this narrative is trustworthy, and whether the Chedor-Neisser of the story and his allies are historical personages, is ruled by the other, as to the date of the chapter containing it.

2. Its date.

2. *Its date.* That the chapter is quite an isolated piece, and formed no part of the writings from which the Hexateuch was composed, may be considered as certain. Some scholars, however, (e.g. Kittel) assign it to the eighth century B.C., and are of opinion that the author had an older writing before him; according to others, it is not older than the fourth century B.C.² The former hold that the antiquity and the authenticity of the story are attested by the following facts:—(1) that at least the name of the chief king is purely Elamite; (2) that the Rephaim, the Zuzimmim (= Zuzim), and the Enaim really occupied in ancient times what afterwards became the dwelling places of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, whilst the Horites (Gen. 36.20), according to Dt. 2.10, 7. and 20. ff., were the oldest inhabitants of Seir; (3) that AMORITES (7.11), the name of the people established, according to 7. 7, in Hazazon-tamar (= Engedi, 2 Ch. 20.2), is the ancient name of the people of Canaan (Gen. 15.16 48.2 Am. 2.9), and that several names (En-mishpat, Holiab, Shavech), words, and expressions not occurring anywhere else, as well as the exact description of the campaign (7. 5-7), bear the impress of antiquity and trustworthiness.

The arguments of those who ascribe the narrative to a post-exilic Jew, whose aim was to encourage his contemporaries by the description of Abram's valour over the great powers of the East, his unselfishness, piety, and proud magnanimity towards heathen men, mostly take their starting point in the second part of the chapter.

It is pointed out that the names of Abram's allies, Mamre and Ischcol, occur elsewhere (Gen. 13:18, 23:17 to 24:33, 25:14, 26:14, 28:12) as place names; that Melchizedek (Melchisedech) and Abram are represented as monotheists; and that the patriarch pays tithes to the priest-king, a duty not prescribed at all in Dt. 18:1-2, 26:12 ff., but characteristic of the post-exilic sacerdotal law (Nu. 18:21-24).

The criticism extends also, however, to the first part.

¹ A tablet published by Dr. Clay in vol. ix. of *Hulprecht's Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania* (pl. 30, No. 84, l. 2). It should be added that *Chobur* = great, so that *naru Kab(b)aru* = Grand Canal.

² See, e.g., E. Meyer, *Gilt 1905 f.* (84); Kue. *Her.* 304 (90); St. *Z.H.* 6: 323 (86); We. *CH* 110 f. (89); Chr. *OPs*, 41, 101, 270 (91), cp *Founders*, 237 f.; Holzinger, *Kont. in d. Her.* 4: 5 (93).

CHEDOR-LAOMER

with which we are here chiefly concerned. It is remarked that there is no evidence of the historicity of the campaign in question, which is, in fact, as closely as possible connected with a view of Abraham which we know to have been post-exilic (cf. ELLIOT, 1). Moreover, it is difficult to resist the impression that the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, viz., Bera' and Birsha' (compounds conveying the idea of 'evil,' 'badness')—and the name given in the narrative to the town of Zoar—viz., Bela' = 'perdition' (see BELA)—perhaps also that of the king of Zebulun, which the Samaritan text gives as Sheu-elad = 'slave-name'—are, some of them at least, purely symbolical and therefore fictitious. (See, however, in each case, the special article.)

What is certain is this: Chedor-lamer, = Kudur-lagamar, is a purely Elamite name, which is not, indeed, found as a royal name on the monuments, but is of the same type as

3. Name Chedor-lamer.

Kudur-nahhundi (Kutir-nahhunte in Old Sasanian), the name of a king who in the beginning of the twenty-third century B.C. conquered the whole; and Kudur-mabuk, the name of another king, who, probably later, was master of a part of Babylonia. Lagamar(u) (Lakamar) occurs as the name of an Elamite deity, not only in 5 R (p. vi, coll. 6, 33), but also in the inscriptions of Anzan-Sinim, and seems to be the same as Lagamal, the queen of the town of Kisurru (2 R p. ix, 15a = 14b). Hence the name cannot be the invention of a Hebrew writer. It can hardly be doubted, either, that Arioch, king of Elasar, is really no other than Eri-aku (i.e., servant of the Moon-god), the well-known king of Larsa, son of Kudur-mabuk.²

These discoveries have opened a wide field for ingenious combinations. It has been observed that Kudur-mabuk is called in one of the inscriptions of his son by the name Adda-marti, 'Father of the West.' Now, the word Martu being commonly used, at least in later times, to designate Western Asia, especially Canaan (*mat Martu*), or perhaps better *mat Amurru*, the land of the Amorites, Adda = Father has been interpreted to mean conqueror, and this has been taken as evidence that, in a very remote period, Canaan fell under Elamite dominion. It is a pity that we must call attention to a weak point in this theorising. Kudur-mabuk is not the same as Kudur-lagamar, and Adda-marti seems to be only a synonym of Adda-yammalaka, a title which the same king, as ruler of a western province of Elam, bears in other inscriptions (see Tiele, *B. II*, 123 f.).

The attempts to make out the two other Eastern kings to be historical personages must be considered failures. According to Jos. Halevy,

4. Amraphel Tidal.

Amraphel is the famous Babylonian king Hammurabi himself, whose name is explained in Semitic as *Kimtu-rapaltu Cam - kimtu, rapaltu = rapaltu - rapaltu*; whilst, according to Hommel (*GLA* 394 ff.), he is Hammurabi's father Sin-muballit, because Sin is sometimes named Amar and *muballit* may conceivably have been condensed into *pal (phel)*. (See also AMRAPHEL.) With more confidence Shin'ar is stated to be a Hebraised form of Sumer (see Schr. *A 17*). Unfortunately, this is by no means certain. Though Hammurabi was king of Babylon, and therefore of Akkad, he was not king of Sumer so long as Eri-aku was king of Larsa. Not till he had put an end to the Elamite dominion in Babylonia could he be called king of Sumer, and then neither Eri-aku nor an Elamite king could join with him in the conquest of Canaan. As to Tidal, king of Goyim, we may read his name Thargal, following Schr.; we may identify the Goyim with the people of Gutium; we may even go so far as prudently permit in theorising on the latest discoveries; but all this does not make TIDAL (q.v.) historical. All that we can say is that the writer of

5. Conclusion.

Gen. 11 no more invented the names of Amraphel and Tidal (or Thargal)

¹ F. H. Weissbach, 'Anzanische Inschriften,' in *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Classe der K. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.* xii, Leipzig, 1890, p. 125 (of separate copy).
² This, rather than Kamsin, has been proved by Schr. to be the correct reading of the name (*Sitzb.-ber. k. Preuss. Ak. Phil.-hist. Classe*, 24 Oct. 1895, xli.).

CHEESE

than those of Chedor-lamer and Arioch; the former are very possibly corruptions of the names of historical personages whom we are as yet unable to identify. Nor do we assert that the whole story is the product of the inventive faculty of the author. That in very remote times, Babylonian kings extended their sway as far as the Mediterranean, is not only told in ancient traditions (e.g., of Sargon I.), but has also been proved by the Amarna tablets. From these we learn that as late as the fifteenth century B.C., when the kings of Babylon and Assyria had no authority beyond their own borders and Egypt gave the law to Western Asia, Babylonian was the official and diplomatic language of the Western Asiatic nations. Hence it is not impossible, it is even probable, that a similar suzerainty was exercised over these nations by the Elamites, who were more than once masters of Babylonia. Our author, whether he wrote in the eighth century B.C., or, which is more probable, in the fourth, may have found this fact in some ancient record, and utilised it both for the glorification of the Father of the Faithful and for encouraging his contemporaries.

So much appears to be all that can be safely stated in the present state of research. Scheil, however, is of

6. Further theories.

opinion (1896) that the Ku-dur-la-g-ga-mar (?) whom he finds in a cuneiform tablet was the Elamite king of Larsa who was conquered by Hammurabi and Sin-muballit, and, therefore, cannot have been any other than the son of Kudur-mabuk, who, as king of Larsa (Ur), had adopted the name of Kim-sin (Eri-aku?). Pinches has discovered a cuneiform tablet in the Brit. Mus. collection which has naturally excited great hopes among conservative critics. It is sadly mutilated; but it is at least clear that names which may be the prototypes of Arioch, Tidal, and possibly Chedor-lamer, were known in Babylonia when the tablet was inscribed. The tablet dates, probably, from the time of the Arsacids; but it is tempting to assume that the inscription was copied from one which was made in the primitive Babylonian period. It should be noticed, however, that the form of the first name is not Eri-aku but Eri-(D)E-ku, and that the third name is not read with full certainty, the second part being -mal, which is only conjecturally made into *lah-mal*. There is also a second tablet on which two of the names are mentioned again. Pinches reads the one Eri-ku (possibly Eri-ku-a), and the other Ku-dur-lah(?) -gu-mal. In a third inscription the name Ku-dur-lah(?) -gu-[mal] appears. The second of the three names is mentioned only in the first tablet as Tu-ad-hul-a, where, since the Babylonian answers to the Hebrew *p* in *קניז*, Pinches and Schrader agree in recognising the Tidal of Gen. 11. But not by a single word do these inscriptions confirm the historicity of the invasion 'in the days of Amraphel.'

[The doubts here expressed are fully justified by L. W. King's more recent investigations. Both Scheil's and Pinches' readings of the respective inscriptions are incorrect, and 'though Ku-dur-ku-ku-mal (Kudur-KU-KU-mal) is styled (in Pinches' inscriptions) a king of Elam, there is no reason to suppose that he was a contemporary of Hammurabi. He might have occupied the throne at any period before the fourth century B.C.]

To the references already given may be added: G. Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, 1857, where older works are cited; Tiele, *B. II*, 123 f.; Hommel, *GLA* 394 ff.; Schr. *A 17*, 123 ff.; Schr. *Ueber einen althebräisch. Heerführernamen* in *SBAH*, 1895, no. xli; Eri. v. Scheil in *Revue de l'Assyriologie* (Maspero) *B. II*, 123, 'correspondance de Hammurabi, roi de Babylone, avec Sinmuballit, roi de Larsa, ou d'un roi question de Chedorlamer'; cp. Hommel, *ABH*, 123 ff.; L. W. King, *Letters and Despatches of Hammurabi*, vol. i, 1895; C. P. L. W. H. K.

CHEESE (הריץ הרלב), 18. 1793; 28. 1799; 10. 1794. See Min. 4

CHELAL

CHELAL (חֶלֶל), one of the b'ne Pahath-moab in the list of persons with foreign wives (see EZRA, i. § 5 emf), EZRA 10.30 (ס) has joined Chelal with the preceding name Adna (אֲדָנָא) and reads Αἰδαινε Χαηλ [B]; with Εδαινε Βαβ[β] Εδενουχ' [H] 88. Εδνε και Χαηλ [A], Αναστανιε Χαλμανα [L]. The 1 Esd. 9.31 has quite different names – 'and of the sons of Adai; Naathus, and Moossias, Laccumus,' etc. (Cf. L, however, reads Εδνα και Σιδια και Χαλμανα). See LACUMUS.

CHELCIAS, RV HELKIAS, *i.e.*, HELKIAN, *q.v.* (χελ·
κ[ε]ιας [BAQ cod. 87 Theod.]).

1. The father of Susanna (Hist. of Sus., 77v. 2, 29, and [om. col. 87] 63).
2. An ancestor of Baruch (Bar. 1 1).
3. A priest (Bar. 1 7).

CHELLIANS (χαλδαίων [B], χελεων [NA], Syr. ܚܠܕܝܐ). In Judith 2:3 mention is made of 'the children of Ishmael, which were over against the wilderness to the S. of the land of the Chellians.' The comparatively easier reading Chaleans, which is attested by G¹, Syr. and Vet. Lat., is no doubt rightly considered by Grimm to be a deliberate rectification of the text. See CHELITES.

CHELLUH, RV CHELUHU, mg. CHELUHU (חֶלְהוּ).
 Kt.; חֶלְהוּ, Hre; χελιαουθ [L; probably through
 the influence of *ελιαδ*, v. 35], mentioned in the list
 of persons with foreign wives (see *EEZA*, i. § 5, end),
Ezra 10:35 (χελκεια [B8], χελια [A]) = 1 Esd. 9:34.
 EV ENASIBUS (εναςιβε[ς]ος [BA]).

CHELLUS (χελους [BA]; χελ. [N],  [Syr.]),

one of the places to which Nebuchadnezzar sent his summons, according to Judith 19. The Hallpil of Josh. 15:3 may be meant; but the reading $\chi\epsilon\sigma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ suggests rather $\chi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\pi$ or $\chi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\omicron\tau\iota\iota\text{-}\tau\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, which is given by Jerome and Eusebius as *Chesulus* or $\chi\alpha\epsilon\sigma\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ($\mathcal{O}^2$, 914, etc., 30264). See $\chi\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\lambda\alpha\varsigma$. Another identification should be mentioned. Chellus is perhaps the same as the place which in Jos. Ant. xiv. 14 is called $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\alpha$, by Jerome and Eusebius *allus*, $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta$ ($\mathcal{O}^2$, 856 21180), viz. חֶלְלָה (Targ. Jer. Gen. 16:4; cp Gen. 20:1 in Ar., and see BERE δ), or Elusa. Cp We. *Heid.*⁽²⁾ 48, n. 1; WRS, *Kin.* 293 f.

CHELOD (χελουλ [B], χελαιουδα [N¹], χελαιουδα [N²], χελουδα [A]). 'Very many nations of the sons of Chelod' (Judith 16) assembled themselves to battle in the plain of Arioch in the days of Nebuchadrezzar and Arphaxad (!). What we ought to understand by Chelod is quite uncertain.

Vet. Lat. has *Chellenth*, and Syr. has 'against the Chaldeans.' One very improbable conjecture is that *χαλων* (CALWŌN) is intended; another, hardly less unlikely, is that the word is the Hebrew חֲזָרִי ('weasel'), and that by the opprobrious designation of 'children of the weasel' are meant the Syrians (Ew. *GI* 3 543).

CHELUB (חֶלֶב, § 67, probably a variation of Caleb, cp below).

(1) A Judahite, doubtless to be identified with CALIR (8.4); similarly We. (*Genet.* 20), who reads 'Caleb b. Hebron' (1 Ch. 4.11) אֶלְעָזָר בְּנֵי אֶלְעָזָר [Vg.] אֶלְעָזָר [Pesh It]. His designation 'brother of Shuhah' (אֶלְעָזָר בְּנֵי שְׁחָה) is not clear; ¹Q¹⁵ read 'father of Ahsah', possibly a correction (Ki. 5.70 f.). Cp the still further corrected Pesh. 'brother of Ahiah' (אֶלְעָזָר בְּנֵי אֶחִיָּה).

(2) Father of Ezri, 1 Ch. 27.26 (ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶν [J], ἐχόντων [Vg.] αὐτῶν [L]).

CHELUBAI (כֶּלְבִּי, § 67, a gentilic [= כֶּלְבִּי; see I S. 25 i K_{re}] used instead of the proper name C¹ALUBI), b. Hezron, i Ch. 29 (o χαλῶβ [A], o χαβελ [B], o χαλωβι [L], חלבי [Pesh., a corruption]); see C¹ALUB, § 3. CARNI, I.

CHELUHI (χελιά [A]), Ezra 10₃₅ RV, RV^{mg}.
Cheluhu, AV CHELUHI.

CHEMARIM (כִּמְרִים), Zeph. 14 RV 2 K. 235 mg.
Hos. 105 mg.; AV **Chemarims**, Zeph. 14. Rather
Kēmārim.

CHEMOSH

The original Heb. word appears also in 2 K. 23.5, where EV gives 'idolaters priests', and in Hos. 10.5, where EV has 'priests.' It is also highly probable that in Hos. 4.4 we should read, with Hock 'for my people is like its Chemarim' (1 Q. however, *as ἀντίκλητοι ἐπεὶ, perhaps an error for -οὐ ἐπέστος* ('schleusner')) EV transliterates, Χεμαριμ (HBA 2 K. *loc.*); but *epetis* is also supported, see Field (*loc. cit.*); it apparently omits in Zeph.; (in Hos. it had a different Heb.). Vg. varies between *asuripes* (2 K.) and *seditus* (Zeph. Hos.). Arg. between צִמְרִים (2 K. Zeph.) and צִמְרֵת 'the ministers thereof'; Pesh. adheres to צִמְרֵת.

As to the meaning, if we appeal to the versions, we find only the dim light which an unassisted study of the context can supply. Evidently the term was applied to the priests of Baal, who served at the high places under royal authority, but were put down by Josiah. But what special idea did the word convey? In itself it meant simply 'priests'; in Zeph. 14 *Kēmārīm* and *Kēmūrim* are put side by side to express the idea of a priesthood of many members; and in Hos. 34 (if the view proposed above be adopted) we have *kēmārīm* used of the priests of N. Israel, when these are spoken of objectively, and *ḥōhēn*, when the priests are addressed as an organic unity. But the word *kēmārīm* probably also conveyed the idea of a worship which had Syrian affinities. Certainly it cannot be explained from Hebrew; קָמַר does not mean 'to be black' (cp. E. LIPSE), and even if it did, the 'black-robed ones' is a most improbable designation for ancient priests.² The word is no doubt of Syrian origin (see the Aram. inscriptions in *CIS* 2 nos. 113-130). The primitive form is *kamar*, whence Aram. *kāmār* (never used in an unfavourable sense) and Heb. *kēmārīm*; are normally formed. Lagarde (*Aram. Stud.* 238b) compared Aram. *chamar*; but it is more obviously reasonable to compare the Assyrian *kummaru*, which is given as a synonym of *lubarū zaḥu* — i.e., 'a clean vesture' (Del. *Ass. III B 337 k.*, cp. 254 k.). The term *kēmārīm* probably described the Syrian and Israelitish priests in their clean vestments (cp. 2 K. 10.22, the Baal festival) when ministering to their God. To derive it from an Aram. root meaning, 'to be sad' is much less natural.

Delffisch compares Ass. *kamrā*, 'to throw down'; the term, he thinks, describes the priests as those who prostrate themselves in worship (*Ass. and Heb.*, 41, 42; so Che. *Hib.* 103, 111). Finally, Robertson Smith, noting that the word belongs to a race in which the mass of the people were probably not circumcised (Herd. 2104, cp. Jos. *Ant.* vii 103, c. Ap. i. 22) while the priests were (Pho Cassius, 7911; E. *Ep. Arab.* 96; cp Chwolson, *Savher*, 2114), conjectures that *kumrī* means 'the circumcised' (Ass. *kamrā*, 'glans penis'). T. K. C.

CHEMOSH (כִּמּוֹשׁ, in *MT* כִּמְשִׁי; on name see § 4, end; χαμωσ [B⁹NAFLI], ΔΑΜΩΣ [B⁹ Judg. 11:24], *Chamos*), the national god of the Moabites (1 K. 11, 17, Jer. 48:13). Moab is the people of Chemosh; the Moabites are his sons and daughters (Nu. 21:29; cp. the relation of Yahwè to Israel, Judg. 5:11 Nu. 11:29 Judg. 11:24 Is. 45:11, etc.). A king of Moab in the time of Sennacherib was named Chemoshnadiab (*Κημοσναδιab*;⁴ cp. Jehonadab); the father of Mesha was Chemoshmелеch;⁵ a gem found near Beirat is inscribed יְהוֹנָדָב⁶ (cp. Heb. יְהוֹנָדָב, Phoen. יהונדב). The state of Mesha king of Moab, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram of Israel (2 K. 1:3), in the middle of the ninth century B.C. (see MESHA), was erected to commemorate the deliverance which Chemosh had wrought for his people.

¹ Continue, וְיִשְׁתָּלֵךְ הַכֹּהֵן 'and thou shalt stumble, O priest, in the daytime'; at the close of the verse read, with Ruben, רִבְעִי, 'thy Thumminim' (addressed to the priest).

² Cp. Mishna, *Middoth* 54. A priest who had become unfit for service put on black garments and departed. One who was approved by the Sanhedrin clothed himself in white, and went in, and ministered.

⁵ Others read Chemushgad.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY, 352.

CHENAANAH

The inscription tells us that Omri had oppressed Moab for a long time because Chemosh was with his land (ll. 4-5); the Israelites had now restored it to Moab (ll. 7-9); Chemosh drove out the king of Israel before Moab from J. haz (ll. 12-21); at the bidding of Chemosh, Mesha fought against Nebo and took it (ll. 14-17); at his command, he made war on Horonaim, and Chemosh restored it to Moab (ll. 31-33); the inhabitants of captured cities were slaughtered, 'a spectacle (?) for Chemosh and Moab' (ll. 11-13); men, women, and children were devoted to Ashtar-Chemosh (ll. 15-17)—the 𐤇𐤍𐤔 (see BAV); the spoils of Israelite sanctuaries were carried off and presented to Chemosh (ll. 12-17, 17-18).

The religion of Moab in the ninth century was thus very similar to that of Israel: the historical books of the OT furnish parallels to almost every line of the inscription.

We learn from the OT that human sacrifices were offered to Chemosh, at least in great national emergencies; the king of Moab, shut up in Kir-hureseth and unable to cut his way out, offered his eldest son upon the wall; the effect of this extraordinary sacrifice was a great outburst of Chemosh's fury upon Israel, which compelled the invaders to return discomfited to their own land (2 K. 3:27). Priests of Chemosh are mentioned in Jer. 48:7; the language of Mesha, 'Chemosh said to me' (ll. 14, 32), supposes an oracle, or perhaps prophets.

The worship of Chemosh as the national god did not exclude the worship of other gods; Mesha's inscription speaks of Ashtar-Chemosh (ll. 17).

2. Other Moabite gods.—that is, most probably, an 'Ashtar (Astarte) who was associated in worship with Chemosh,' perhaps at a particular sanctuary. The worship of Baal-peor (Nu. 25, cp Hos. 9:10) was probably a local Moabite cult—there is no ground for identifying the god with Chemosh. (See BAAL-PEOR.) [Both] Baal-meon (Mesha, ll. 9, 30; OT) was, as the name shows, the seat of another local Baal cult. Monst Nebo may have received its name in the period of Babylonian supremacy; but we do not know that the worship of the Babylonian god was perpetuated by the Moabites. Cp XLIII.

The statement of Eusebius (*OS 228* ff. 575, 'Araia') that the inhabitants of Areopolis in his day called their idol 'Araia,' because they worshipped 'Ares,' seems to be the product of a complex misunderstanding.

In Judg. 11:24, in the argument of Jephthah with the king of the Ammonites, 'Chemosh thy god' is set over against 'Yahweh our god' in such a way as to imply that Chemosh was the national god of Ammon. From many passages in the OT we know, however, that the national god of the Ammonites was Milcom (see MILCOM) while Chemosh was the god of Moab.

3. Chemosh outside of Moab. The hypothesis that Chemosh and Milcom are but two names of the same god (Milcom originally a title) is excluded by the contexts in which they appear side by side (e.g., 1 K. 11:33). Nor is it sufficient to suppose that Chemosh in Judg. 11:24 is merely a slip on the part of the author or a scribe for Milcom; closer examination shows that the whole historical argument applies to Moab only, not to Ammon. Whatever explanation may be given of this incongruity (see Moore, *Judg.*, 233; Bu. *Richter*, 80 f.), the passage cannot be taken as evidence that Chemosh was the god of Ammon as well as of the sister people Moab. The statement of Snelas (v. 1, *Xaḡaḡ*) that Chemosh was a god of the Tyrians and Ammonites is, as the context shows, a confused reminiscence of 1 K. 11:57.

From the name *Χημωσθολος*, the so-called mythical Babylonian ruler after the flood (*Gen. 10:10*; *Gen. 2:5*), it has been surmised that the worship of Chemosh was of Babylonian origin; the name of the city Carchemish on the Euphrates has been explained as 'City of Chemosh'; neither of these theories has any other basis than a fortuitous similarity of sound.

Solomon built a high place for Chemosh on the Mount of Olives (1 K. 11:7a), where, according to 2 K. 23:13, it stood until Josiah's reform—more than three hundred years.

¹ Cp Phoen. *𐤇𐤍𐤔* and 'the Astarte in the *ashera* of Moab' in the Mašub inscription.

CHEPHIRAH

During the long reign of the theory—not yet universally abandoned—that all the gods of the nations were heavenly bodies or meteoric phenomena,

4. Nature of Chemosh; representations. Chemosh was by some thought to be the sun, by others identified with Milcom. Moloch-Satan; the one opinion has as little foundation as the other. In Roman times Rabbath-moab, as well as the more northern Ar-moab, was called Areopolis, and this name—perhaps originally only a Grecising of Ar (Jerome)—was understood as 'City of Ares.' Coins of Rabbath-moab in the reigns of Geta and Severus (Eckhel, iii. 504; cp Mionnet, v. 591, Suppl. viii. 388) exhibit a standing warrior in whom the type of Mars is to be recognised; but even if we were sure that the old Moabite god of the city is represented, and not the Nabataean Dusares, we could learn nothing about the nature of Chemosh in OT times from so late and contaminated a source. Confusion of Chemosh with Dusares is probably to be assumed in the statements of Jewish writers that the idol of Chemosh was a black stone—the same which is now adored by Moslems in the Gaba at Mecca.¹

The etymology of the name Chemosh is quite unknown; a fact which gives good reason to believe that he is one of the older Semitic gods.

D. Hackmann, 'De Chemosh ho Moabitum idolo,' 1730 (in Oelrich's *Collectio episcopatuum*, 1768, pp. 17-68). Movers, *Phoenizien*, I 334 ff.; Scholz, *Geographie und Landesbeschreibung bei den arabischen Hebräern*, 176 ff.; Baudis-sin, in *PKL*, 19:57; 'Chemosh' (with full literature); Baethgen, *Leitn.*, 13-15.

5. Literature. G. F. M.

CHENAANAH (כְּנַעְנָה) § 73, 'towards Canaan' (?); ΧΑΝΑΑΝ [BL].

¹ In genealogy of BENJAMIN (§9(ii)), 1 Ch. 7:10 (Χανααν [A]).
2. Father of the false prophet Zedekiah, 1 K. 22:17 (Χαναα [B], Χαναα [A] 24; 2 Ch. 18:10 (Χαναα [A] 25).

CHENANI (כְּנַנִּי) cp Chenaniah), Levite officiating at constitution of 'congregation' (see EZRA, ii. § 12, 13 [A]; Neh. 9:4 rom. B., γιοι ΧΑΝΑΝΙ [for MT Bani Chenani, N. 2A], ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑC [L]).

CHENANIAH (כְּנַנְיָהּ and כְּנַנִּיָּהּ) § 31; [ε]λεγο [BNI]; cp Chenani, chief of the Levites, who was over 'the song,' or 'the carrying' (viz., 'of the ark') text obscure; see Ki. and Be. ad loc.; 1 Ch. 15:22 (ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑ [BN], ΧΩ. [A]), 27 (ΚΑΙ ΧΕΝΕΝΙΑC [A], ΧΥΝΕΝ. [L]), 26-29 (ΧΩΝΕΝΕΙΑ [B], ΧΩΧΕΝΙΑC [A], ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑ [L]).²

CHEPHAR-HAAMMONAI, RV Chephar-ammoni (כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי)—i.e., 'village of the Ammonite'; see BENJAMIN, § 31;—Kr. has כְּפַר הָעַמּוֹנִי; ΚΑΡΑΦΑ Κ. ΚΕΦΕΙΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΕΙ [B]; ΜΟΝΕΙ represents also מְנַעַי; ΚΑΦΗΡΑΜΜΑΙΝ [A]; ΚΑΦΑΡΑΜΜΩΝΑ [L], an unidentified place in Benjamin, mentioned with OPHNI [9:7] (Josh. 18:24 P). The name is possibly of post-exilic origin (cp PAHATH-MOAB). See AMMON, § 6, and BETHURON, § 4, TUBIJAH, 4.

CHEPHIRAH (כְּפִירָה; in Josh. כְּפַר־כְּפִירָה; 'the village' or 'the hon'?) ΚΑΦ[ε]ΙΡΑ [BN], ΚΕΦΕΙΡΑ [L], a town of the Hivites, member of the Gileadite confederation (Josh. 9:17; Χεφειρα [A], Κεφ. [BF], Κεφηρα [L]), afterwards assigned to Benjamin (Josh. 18:20; Χεφειρα [A], φ. [B]), and mentioned in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 c. 1; Ezra 2:25 = Neh. 7:29 (Χαφίρα [A]) = 1 Esd. 5:10, CAPHIRA (οι εκ πεiras [B], ... ΚΑΦΑΡΑΣ [A], Κεφηρα [L]), is the modern Kefireh, about 2 m. WSW. from el-Jib (Gilson).

In 1 Esd. 5:10 PIRA (AV, om. RV; περας [B]), the second name after Caphira, is apparently a corrupt repetition (cp PIR, form of Caphira). Buhl (*Pal.*, 190) suggests that Kephira (RV 'villages') in Neh. 12 may be the same as Kephira.

¹ *Lekach Tob* on Nu. 21:23. By a strange blunder W. L. Bevan and Sayce (in Smith's *DB*, 1:27) have turned this into a black star.

² The forms Koveria, etc., point to a reading כְּוֵרִי (cp 2 Ch. 7:12), whilst Τερονας points to כְּוֵרִי or rather to כְּוֵרִי, a scribe's error for כְּוֵרִי (cp Ki., Chron., *SBOT*).

CHEQUER WORK

CHEQUER WORK (קִשְׁטָן), Ex. 28:439 RV. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING; also TUNIC.

CHERAN (כֶּרַח; χερραν [ADEI.], a Horite clan-name (Gen. 30:26). See DISHON.

CHEREAS, RV CHEREAS (χαίρεας and χερ. [A], χεραιας [V]), brother of TIMOTHEUS (q.v.), and commander of the fortress at Gazara (2 Mace. 10:32-37).

CHERETHITES (כֶּרֶתִּים, קֶרֶתִּי, ⚔ in Sam. and K. ο χερεθθαι; or [by assimilation to Pelethites] ο χερεθθαι; Vg. *Cerethi*; ⚔ in Prophets κρητες), a people in the south of Palestine. In the days of Saul and David a region in the Negeb adjoining Judah and Caleb bore their name (1 S. 30:14 χολθει [B] χερθηαι [A] χορη [L]). From 2. 16 it appears that the inhabitants of this region were reckoned to the Philistines; in Zeph. 2:5 and Ez. 25:16 (AV *Cherethims*), also, Philistines and Cherethites are coupled in such a way as to show that they were regarded as one people. Finally, in the names mentioned in the prophecy against Egypt in Ez. 30:5, where AV gives, 'the men of the land that is in league,' we should restore 'the Cherethites' (קֶרֶתִּי; so Cornill, Toy). It is to be inferred that the Cherethites were a branch of the Philistines; or, perhaps, that they were one of the tribes which took part with the Philistines in the invasion of Palestine, and that, like the latter, they remained behind when the wave receded (see PHILISTINES, § 2, CAPHTOR, § 2). The ⚔ translators of Zeph. and Ez. interpreted the name by *Cretans*; and in this, although they may have been guided only by the sound, they perhaps hit upon the truth.² An early connection between Gaza and Crete seems to be indicated by other evidence (see GAZA).

Except in the three passages already cited, the name occurs only in the phrase, 'the Cherethites and Pelethites' (קֶרֶתִּי וְכֶרֶתִּי ⚔ gen. φελεθθαι) as the designation of a corps of troops in the service of David—his body-guard (2 S. 8:18 15:18 20:7 23 Kr., 1 K. 1:38 44 1 Ch. 18:17; σωματοφύλακες Jos. Ant. vii. 54, etc.).³ They were commanded by BENAIAH, 1, and remained faithful to their master in all the crises of his reign (2 S. 15:20 1 K. 1).

Only the strongest reasons could warrant our separating the Cherethites of David's guard from the people of the same name spoken of in the same source (1 S. 30:14). There are no such reasons: קֶרֶתִּי has the regular form of a gentile noun; and, although much ingenuity has been expended on the problem, all attempts to explain the word as an appellative have failed. The name Pelethite, which is found only coupled with Cherethite in the phrase above cited, also is a gentile noun; the etymological explanations are even more far-fetched than in the case of the Cherethites. The presumption is that the Pelethites also were Philistines;⁴ and this is confirmed by the passages cited from Zeph. and Ez.; קֶרֶתִּי is perhaps only a lisping pronunciation of קֶרֶתִּי, to make it rhyme with קֶרֶתִּי.

It need not surprise us that David's guard was composed of foreign mercenaries. The Egyptian kings of the nineteenth dynasty recruited their *corps d'élite* from the bold sea-rovers who periodically descended on their coasts; Rameses II. displays great pride in his Sardinian

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guards, and Sardinians and Libyans are the flower of the army of Rameses III.¹ The Philistines were more skilled in arms than the Israelites, and doubtless liked fighting better: cp 1 SAM. the Gittite, and see ARMY, § 4. It is the opinion of some recent scholars that where David's *gibbōrim* (EV 'mighty men') seem to be spoken of as a body, the Cherethites and Pelethites are meant; see especially 1 K. 18:10 compared with 2. 38. This is, however, not a necessary inference from the verses cited; and conflicts with 2 S. 20:7 (cp 15:18 ⚔). More probably the *gibbōrim* were the comrades of David in the days of his outlawry and the struggle with the Philistines for independence. See DAVID, § 11. In 2 S. 20:23 for 'Cherethites' the Heb. text (Kt.) has Carites (כָּרִיתִּים).² In 2 K. 11:419, where this name again occurs, it probably means 'Carians.' The Carians were a famous mercenary folk, and it would not surprise us to find them at Jerusalem in the days of Athaliah (see CARITES). That the soldiers of the guard in even later times were usually foreigners has been inferred from Zeph. 18 f. and from Ez. 44:6 f.; see WRS OTT²⁵ 260 ff., but also THRESHOLD. For mercenary troops in post-exilic times see ARMY, § 7.

Literature.—Dissertations by Joh. Benedict Carpzov (1661), and Hen. Opitz (1672), in Ugol. *Thes.* 27:431 ff., 451 ff.; J. G. Lakemacher, *Observationes Philologicae*, P. II. (1727), pp. 113-44; Conrad Hen. *Dissertationes Philologicae-Theologicae* (1740), pp. 111-12; B. Behrend, *Die Kreti und Pleti; ihre inhaltliche Bedeutung und Geschichte* (1885)—extract from *MGG* (27), pp. 117-153; Knei-schil, *PRK* (2) 5:268 ff. G. F. M.

CHERITH (כֶּרֶתִּי, χερραθ [BAI.]; χερρα [Onom.]), ELIJAH (q.v.) has just informed Ahab of the impending drought, when we are abruptly told that 'Yahwe's word came unto him, saying, Get thee hence' (i.e., presumably from Samaria), 'and turn to the east (מִזְרָח) and hide thyself in the torrent-valley of Cherith which is before (פְּנֵי) Jordan' (1 K. 17:35). This occurs in the first scene of the highly dramatic story of Elijah. In the second he appears in the far north of Palestine—at Zarephath, which hardly suits Robinson's identification (*BR* 1558) of Cherith with the Wady el-Kelt (which is rather the Valley of ZEBORIM [q.v. 1.]), at least if these two scenes stood in juxtaposition from the first. Besides this, the two names *Kelt* and Cherith begin with different palatals and since the expression 'before Jordan' is most naturally explained 'to the E. of the Jordan,'³ it is plausible to hold with Prof. G. A. Smith that the scene of Elijah's retreat must be sought in Gilead (*HO* 580).

Let us, then, look across the Jordan eastward from Samaria (where Elijah may have had his interview with Ahab). The Wady 'Ajlun and the Wady Rājib have been proposed by Thénius; the Wady el-Yābis by Mühlau. But, as C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1291) points out, Elijah would certainly go to some famous holy place. Of the burial-place of Moses (Niebuhr) we know nothing; but 1 K. 19:39 suggests that the sanctuary was in the far south. It is true, Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 30269 11328) already place Cherith (*Chorra*, *Chorath*) beyond Jordan. Josephus, however, makes Elijah depart 'into the southern parts' (*Ant.* viii. 132). What we have to do is to find a name which could, in accordance with analogies, be worn down and

¹ Many other examples in ancient and modern times will be of use to the reader.

² In 2 S. 20:23 Kt. כָּרִיתִּים is perhaps not a purely graphic accident; cp also 1 S. 30:14 L χερρα, etc.

³ [צֶדֶק in geographical and topographical expressions means commonly *East*; cp 1 K. 11:7 2 K. 23:13 Dt. 32:49 Gen. 24:60 27:18, etc. Besides the vaguer meaning of *before* (e.g., Gen. 10:12) it is sometimes made definite by the addition of a word or of an expression in order to denote a particular direction—e.g., Josh. 15:8, the mountain *before* the city of Hinnom *westward* (*Zech.* 14:4), and the Mount of Olives *westward* (*Jer.* 31:44) *the East* (צָפוֹן); cp Nu. 21:11 Jos. 18:14. Lastly, it is used in the sense of *overlooking*; cp Gen. 18:16 19:38 Nu. 23:23 (cp Dr. on 1 Sam. 15:7, Dr. on Josh. 17, and especially Moore, *Jadgth.* 163). In 1 K. 17:35, מִזְרָח, 'eastward,' should be corrected to מִמְּזָרָח, 'toward the desert' (as 19:4).]

¹ [קֶרֶתִּי in ⚔ is obviously misplaced; this version has been corrected to the Hebrew; hence the insertion καὶ τῶν νῦν τῆς διαθήκης σου. Davidson's view (קֶרֶתִּי) (But) will hardly stand. In three places ⚔ has ἄδους for Put. See CHUN, *GEOGRAPHY*, § 22.]

² Lakemacher, Ewald, Hitzig, Stade, and others. For another view see CAPHTOR.

³ [The readings vary: thus χερραθ [L. in 2 S. 8:18], χερρα [B] in doublet 2 S. 15:18], χερρα [L. in 1 K. 1:38 44], χερραθ [A] in 2 S. 20:7; L. omits, and in 2. 21; χερραθ [B], and χερραθ [A] in 1 Ch. 18:17, χερρα [L. in 1 K. 1:38 44]. Variants for Pelethites are φελεθραι [B in 2 S. 8:18] φελεθθαι [A in 1 K. 1:38 44] [B in doublet 2 S. 15:18], and φελεθραι [B] φελεθθαι [A] in 1 Ch. 18:17. L. has uniformly φελεθ, but φελεθ in 2 S. 15:18, φελεθ in 1 Ch. 18:17, and φελεθ in 2 S. 23; see BENAIAH, 1.]

⁴ Abulwalid, Lakemacher, Ewald, etc.

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corrupted into *רְהוֹבוֹת*. Such a name is *Rehoboth*. The valley of Rehoboth (the Wady Ruhaibeh) would be fitly described as *עֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם*, 'fronting Misraim' (see *MIZRAIM*); cp Gen. 25:18. The alteration of *מִצְרַיִם* into *רְהוֹבוֹת* was made in order to suit the next story, in which ZEPHATH (*ז. פ.*) had been already corrupted into ZAREPHATH.

T. K. C.

CHERUB, plural form *Cherubim* (*כְּרוּבִים*, *כְּרוּבִים*; *κερουβ.* *κερουβιμ* [*ε*]. *α.* [*ε*] *α.* [*α*]); etymology disputed; Ps. 104:1 may allude to a popular [post-exilic] identification of *כְּרוּב* and *רְכוּב*, but *kerub* being,

like *כְּרוּב*, a loan-word, a Hebrew etymology is inadmissible. In the composite system of Jewish angelology the cherubim form one of the ten highest classes of angels, while another class is distinguished by the synonymous term 'living creatures' (*חַיִּימוֹת*). These two classes, together with the 'ophannim' or 'wheels,' are specially attached to the throne of the divine glory, and it is the function of the cherubim to be bearers of the throne on its progresses through the worlds. The Jewish liturgy, like the 'Te Deum,' delights to associate the 'praises of Israel' (Ps. 22:34) with those offered to God by the different classes of angels, and singles out for special mention in a portion of the daily morning service the 'ophannim, the *חַיִּימוֹת*, and the *שרפים*. We find an approach to this conception in the Apocalypse, where the four *ζῶα* (Rev. 4:6-8), though—like the twenty-four *πνευματικοί*—they are always mentioned apart from the angels, and discharge some altogether peculiar functions, are yet associated with the angels in the utterance of doxologies¹ (Rev. 4:8; 11:14; 19:1-7).

A similar view is suggested in the 'Similitudes' in *Enoch*, in one passage of which (61:10-11) the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ophannim, and all the angels of power' are combined under the phrase 'the host of God,' and unite in the ascription of blessedness to the 'Lord of Spirits,' while in another (chap. xl.) the 'four faces on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits' (a reminiscence of Ezek. 16) are identified or confounded with the arch-angels. Elsewhere, however, a somewhat different view is presented of the cherubim. They are the sleepless guardians of the 'throne of His glory' (71:7); they are the 'fiery cherubim' (14:1), and together with the seraphim (exceptionally called 'serpents,' *ὀφιδόμορφοι*) are closely connected with Paradise, and placed under the archangel Gabriel (20:7). From these facts we gather that in the last two centuries B.C. there were different ways of conceiving the cherubim. Some writers had a stronger sense of the peculiarity of the nature of the cherubim than others, and laid stress on such points as their connection with the divine fire, and with Paradise and its serpent-guardians. Whence did they derive a notion so suggestive of mythological comparisons?

The most reasonable answer is, From the earlier religious writings, supplemented and interpreted by a not yet extinct oral tradition. A tale of the serpents by the sacred tree (once probably serpent-demons) may have been orally handed down, but the conception of the fiery cherubim in God's heavenly palace is to be traced to the vision in Ezek. 1, and to the account of the 'mountain of God' in Eden, with its 'stones of fire' and its cherub-guardian, in Ezek. 28:13-16. These two passages of Ezekiel form the next stage in our journey. The latter must be treated first, as being evidently a faithful report of a popular tradition. Unfortunately the received Hebrew text is faulty, and an intelligible exegesis of the passage is rarely given. Keil, for instance, admits some reference to Paradise, but feels

1 The differences between the *ζῶα* of Revelation and those of Ezekiel, both as to their appearance and as to their functions, are obvious. But without the latter how could the former have been imagined? The traditional Christian view that the apocalyptic *ζῶα* symbolise the four Gospels can hardly be seriously defended.

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obliged to infer from the epithet 'that covereth' (*מִכְשֵׁל*) that 'the place of the cherub in the sanctuary (Ez. 28:20) was also present to the prophet's mind.' Nor is the difficulty confined to this epithet, and to the equally strange word (*מִכְשֵׁל*) which Vg. renders 'extensus,' and EV 'anointed' (so Theodot.); the opening phrase *אֲנִיכִי*, whether rendered 'thou wast the cherub' or (pointing differently) 'with the cherub,' baffles comprehension. It is necessary, therefore, to correct the text of Ez. 13:16b; we shall then arrive at the following sense:—

'Thou wast in Eden, the divine garden; of all precious stones was thy covering: cornelian, etc.; and of gold were thy . . . worked; in the day when thou wast made were they prepared. To be . . . had I appointed thee; thou wast upon the holy, divine mountain; amidst the stones of fire didst thou walk to and fro.' Then wast thou dishonoured (being cast) out of the divine mountain, and the cherub destroyed thee (hurling thee) out of the midst of the stones of fire.'

The sense now becomes fairly clear. We have here a tradition of Paradise distinct from that in Gen. 2 and 3. Favoured men, it appears, could be admitted to the divine garden, which glittered with precious stones (or, as they are also called, 'stones of fire') like the mythic tree which the hero Talgames saw in the Babylonian epic,² or like the interior of the temples of Babylon or Tyre,³ or like the walls and gates and streets of the new Jerusalem in the Apocalypse. But these privileged persons were still liable to the sin of pride, and such a sin would be their ruin. This Ezekiel applies to the case of the king of Tyre, who reckoned himself the favourite of his god, and secure of admission to Paradise.

The idea of the passage is closely akin to that expressed in Is. 14:13-15. The king of Babylon believes that by his unique position and passionate devotion to the gods he is assured of entering that glorious cosmic temple of which his splendid terrace-temples are to him the symbols. Towards Marduk he is humility itself, but to the unnamed prophet of Yahvé he seems proud even to madness. From that heaven of which in his thoughts he is already the inhabitant, the prophet sees him hurled as a lifeless corpse to an ignoble grave. This is just what Ezekiel holds out in prospect to the king of Tyre, and the destroying agent is the cherub. How different this idea of the cherub from that of the apocalyptic *ζῶα*!

We have again a different conception of the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision (Ez. 1:5). The prophet has not the old unquestioning belief in tradition, and modifies the traditional data so as to produce effective symbols of religious ideas. Out of the

3. Ezek. 1:5 symbols of religious ideas. Out of the elaborate description it is enough to select a few salient points. Observe then that the one cherub of the tradition in ch. 28 has now become four cherubim (cp Rev. 4:6-8), each of which has four faces, one looking each way, viz. that of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle, and human hands on his four sides. They are not, however, called cherubim, but *חַיִּימוֹת*.

1 So Co., following *ΣΒΑ2*, Sym., but in other respects reading *ε*, 14 as above.

2 According to the ordinary view which makes the Tyrian prince a cherub, the plumage of the cherub of Ezekiel's tradition was resplendent as if with gold and precious stones. But surely it was not merely as a griffin, nor as a griffin's fellow, that the Tyrian prince was placed (as the prophet dramatically states) in Paradise, but as one of the 'sons of Elohim'; and the covering spoken of is a state-dress besprinkled with precious stones. 'Stones of fire' means 'flashing stones,' like the Assyrian *aban šatti*, 'stone of fire,' one of the names of a certain precious stone (Friedr. Del. *Par.* 117).

3 Tablet IX. See Jeremias, *Israhel und Ninurad*, 20. For Babylon see Neuhard, *Reichsinschriften*, *RIH* 2:3104 ff., where he describes the beautification of the temple Esagila at great length. Gold and precious stones are specially mentioned. For the temple of Tyre see Herod. 2:44 (the two brilliant pillars). Gold was also lavishly used in the temple of Solomon.

5 There is a second description in 10:8-17, but it is the attempt of a later writer to improve upon Ezekiel's account, and to prepare the way for *ε*, 20. 17:14 should be omitted as a very careless gloss. See Cornill, and on 17:14 cp Davidson.

('living creatures'), until we come to 9, and Ezekiel tells us (10.20) that he did not 'know that they were cherubim' till he heard them called so by God (10.2). By this he implies that his own description of them differed so widely from that received by tradition that without the divine assurance he could not have ventured to call them cherubim. Sometimes, however, he speaks of them in the singular ('the living creature,' 1.20-22; 'the cherub,' 9.1, 10.24, if MT is correct), apparently to indicate that, being animated by one 'spirit,' the four beings formed but one complex phenomenon. The fourfold character of the cherub is caused by the new function (relatively to the account in ch. 28) which is assigned to it; in fact, it has now become the bearer of the throne of God (more strictly of the 'firmament' under the throne 1.22-26). But the whole appearance was at the moment bathed in luminous splendour, so that the seer needed reflection to realise it. We will therefore not dwell too much on what must be to a large extent peculiar to Ezekiel and artificially symbolic, and in so far belongs rather to the student of biblical theology. All that it is important to add is that the divine manifestation takes place within a storm-cloud, and that a fire which gives out flashes of lightning burns brightly between the cherubim; also that there are revolving wheels beside the cherubim, animated by the same 'spirit' as the living creatures, as brilliant as the chrysolith or topaz; and that in his vision of the temple Ezekiel again modifies his picture of the cherubim, each cherub having there but two faces, that of a man and that of a lion (41.18 f.).

Another group of passages on the cherubim is found in the Psalter, viz. Ps. 18.10 f. [11 f.], 80.1 [2], 99.1, and to the latter we may join not only Ps. 22.3 [4], but phrases in 1 S. 4.4 2 S. 6.2 1 Ch. 13.6 2 K. 19.15 (= 1 S. 37.16).

4. Some post-exilic passages. In the first we read, 'He bowed the heavens and came down, and thick clouds were under his feet; he mounted the cherub and flew, he came swooping upon the wings of the wind.' That there is a mythical conception here is obvious, but it has grown very pale, and does not express much more than Ps. 104.3. The conception agrees with that of Ezekiel; the cherub (only one is mentioned, but this does not exclude the existence of more) is in some sense the divine chariot, and has some relation to the storm-wind and the storm-clouds. The other psalm-passages appear at first sight to give a new conception of the cherubim, who are neither the guards of the 'mountain of God,' nor the chariot of the moving Deity, but the throne on which he is seated. It may be questioned, however, whether the phrase 'enthroned upon the cherubim' is not simply a condensed expression for 'seated on the throne which is guarded by the cherubim.' Both in the Psalter and in the narrative-books it is the heavenly throne of Yahwé which is meant, the throne from which (as is implied in Ps. 80.1 [2] 99.1 and 2 K. 19.15) he rules the universe and guides the destiny of the nations. That is the only change which has taken place in the conception of the cherubim; they have been definitely transferred to heaven, and, strictly speaking, their occupation as bearers of the Deity should have gone, for the 'angels' are sufficient links between God and the world of men. Or rather there is yet another point in which the cherub idea has been modified; it is indicated in Ps. 22.3 [4] where, if the text is correct,² Yahwé is addressed as 'enthroned,' not upon the cherubim, but 'upon the praises of Israel.' The idea is that the cherubim in heaven have now the great new function of praising God, and that in the praiseful services of the temple, where God is certainly in some degree present, the

¹ In the three passages from S, and 1 Ch. the phrase עֲלֵי כְרֻבִּים has been interpolated (cp Ark, § 1).

² See Che., Ps. 22, *ad loc.*, where the text of the deeply corrupt verse is restored with some confidence.

congregation takes the place of the cherubim. This at any rate agrees with later beliefs, and may be illustrated by the direction in Ps. 27.20 (1°) that the faces of the cherubim on the ark shall be 'towards the mercy-seat' (*kapporeth*). The meaning of the priestly theorist (for the description is imaginary, the ark having long ago disappeared) is, that the cherubim are a kind of higher angels who surround the earthly throne of Yahwé and contemplate and praise his glory. It is also stated that their faces are to be 'one to another,' and, if we add to this that they have to guard, not Yahwé, but the sacramental sign of his favour, we get three points in which the cherubim of the priestly writer are closely analogous to the seraphim of the vision of Isaiah (Is. 6).

We now come to the cherubim in the temple of Solomon. Carved figures of cherubim were prominent in the decoration of the walls and the doors, and two colossal cherubim stood

5. Solomon's temple. in the *debir* or 'adytum,' where they formed a kind of dais, one wing being horizontally stretched towards the lateral wall, whilst the other overshadowed the ark, a felicitous arrangement resulting in charming effects¹ (see 1 K. 6.23-25). Obviously they are the guards of the sacred ark and its still more sacred contents. Cp TEMPLE.

There is no record of any myth which directly accounts for the temple-cherubim. But an old tradition

6. Paradise story. said that after the first human pair had been driven out of the divine garden,

Yahwé 'stationed at the east of the Garden of Eden the cherubim and the blade of the whirling sword,'² and the function of these two allied but independent powers was 'to guard the way to the tree of life' (Gen. 3.24). Neither in this case, nor in the preceding one, is any account given of the physiognomy of the cherubim. In the height of the mythological period no such account was needed.

We see therefore that the most primitive Hebrew myth described the cherubim as beings of superhuman

7. Development. power and devoid of human sympathies, whose office was to drive away intruders from the abode of God, or of the gods.

Originally this abode was conceived of as a mountain, or as a garden on the lower slopes of a mountain, and as glittering with a many-coloured brightness. But when the range of the supreme god's power became wider, when from an earth-god he became also a heaven-god, the cherub too passed into a new phase; he became the divine chariot. We have no early authority for this view, but the age which produced the story of Ehjád's ascent to heaven in a fiery chariot (2 K. 2.11) may be supposed to have known of fiery cherubs on which Yahwé rode. At a still later time, the cherubim, though still spoken of by certain writers, were no longer indispensable.³ The forces of nature were alike Yahwé's guards and his ministers. Mythology became a subject of special learning, and its details acquired new meanings, and the cherub-myth passed into an entirely new phase.

There is much that is obscure about the form of the primitive Israelitish cherub. It was in the main a bird-animal, but it had wings. That is all that we know, though a probable conjecture (see below) may lead us further. As to the meaning of the cherubim, they have been thought to represent the storm-clouds which sometimes hang around the mountain peaks, sometimes rush 'on the wings of the wind,' sending forth arrows

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Judaea*, 1245.

² The sword is not the sword of the cherubim but that of Yahwé; it is the same with which he 'slew the dragon' (Is. 27.1). Marduk, too, has such a sword (see Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 86 f. 87, and the illustration, opp. 114).

³ In Hab. 3.2 a very late poet speaks of Yahwé as riding, not upon a cherub, but upon horses. This is a return to a very old myth (see tablet 4 of the Babylonian Creation epic, p. 54; Zimmern's restoration in Gunkel's *Schöpfung*, 411).

CHERUB

like flashes of lightning. This theory is consistent with the language of Ps. 189 f. Ez. 14 f. 24, and the passages in *Enoch*, but hardly explains the symbolism of the

8. Origin. cherub in its earliest historically known form. At any rate, we can affirm positively that the myth is of foreign origin. Lenormant thought that he had traced it to Babylonia,¹ on the ground that *kirabu* occurs on a talisman as a synonym for *tidu*, a common term for the divine bull guardian of temples and palaces. This theory however is not confirmed as regards the derivation of *cherub* (see Z. I. 168 f. [86]). We may indeed admit that Ezekiel probably mingled the old Palestinian view of the cherub with the analogous Babylonian conception of the divine winged bulls. But, so far as can be seen at present, the early Hebrew cherub came nearer to the griffin, which was not divine, but the servant of the Deity, and the origin of which is now assigned to the Hittites of Syria.² The idea of this mythic form is the combination of parts of the two strongest animals of air and land—the lion and the eagle, and a reminiscence of this may perhaps be traced in the reference to these animals in Ez. 10. It was adopted by various nations, but to understand its true significance we must go, not to Egypt nor to Greece, but to the Hittites, whose originality in the use of animal-forms is well known. The Hittite griffin appears almost always, in contrast to many Babylonian representations, not as a fierce beast of prey, but seated in calm dignity like an irresistible guardian of holy things. It is only on later Syrian monuments that the Sun-god is represented in a chariot³ drawn by griffins, which agrees with a statement respecting the Indian sun-god in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius* (342). The Egyptian imported this form, probably from Syria or Canaan at the beginning of the New Empire, but the griffin never acquired among them the religious significance of the sphinx.⁴ The Phoenicians, and probably the Canaanites, and through them the Israelites, evidently attached greater importance to the griffin or cherub, and it is said that among the discoveries at Zenjirli in N. Syria (see ARAMIC LANGUAGE, § 2) is a genuine representation of this mythic form as described in Ez. 1113 f.⁵ Whether the sculptured quadruped with a bearded human head, Assyrian in type, discovered by M. Clermont-Ganneu in the subterranean quarries in the north of Jerusalem,⁶ is rightly called a cherub seems very doubtful.

For a general sketch of the different conceptions of winged composite animals, see B. Telson, *Z. I.* 6124-140 (91), and cp Furwängler's art. in Roscher, *Lex.*, cited already; also, for OE criticism, Vatke, *Die Rel. des A.T.*, 329-334 (135). T. K. C.

CHERUB (כְּרֻב; χερουβ [B⁹A]), a town or district in Babylonia, unless Cherub-Addan-Inner should be taken as one name, Ezra 259 (χερουβ [B], χερουβ [A], = Neh. 761 (χερουβ [B⁹A], αχ. [I.]) = 1 Esd. 536 (χαρραδαλαν [B], χερουβιδαν [I.], χαρραδαλαν [V]), where the former two of these names are run together (CHARAATHALAN, RV CHARATHALAN) and the names are regarded as personal rather than as local.

CHESALON (כֶּסֶלֹן; χασλων [B], -δαλ. [A]), on the N. side of Mount Jearim, one of the places

¹ See Lenormant, *Les origines*, 112 ff.; Schrader, *Crit.* 140; *Frd. Del. Par.* 133; *Ches.* 150, 2297 f. Delitzsch, however, still holds to a connection between *cherub* and *Ass. kirabu* (= *karabu* 'mighty') (*Ass. HWR*, 352). Sayce compares the quasi-human winged figures represented on Assyrian walls as fertilising the 'tree of life,' the date-palm (*Crit. Mon.* 102; cp Taylor, *PNR*, 1, 1233 f. [1889-90]).

² Furwängler, in Roscher, *Lex. Bib.*, art. 'Gryps.'
³ Rakkäbel (D. H. Müller) or perhaps Rakkäbel (G. Hoffmann) is one of the gods of the Syrian district of Yādi (Zenjirli inscriptions). G. Hoffmann explains Rakkäbel 'charioteer of El' (*Z. I.* 11196, 222).

⁴ Furwängler, in Roscher, *Lex. Bib.*, art. *ut sup.*, cp Olmsted-Richter, *Apollon*, 434 f.
⁵ See Z. I. 420 f. [194].

⁶ *Rev. crit.*, 16 Mai, 1892.

CHILMAD

which in Joshua (1518) mark the northern frontier of the tribe of Judah. It is the modern *Kesh*, 2087 ft. above sea-level, on a high ridge immediately to the S. of the Wady Ghurab, and about half-way between Karyat el 'Enab (Robinson's Kirath-jearim) and Esau' (Eshtaul). (See *Koh. ZK* 230 3134.) In the time of Eusebius and Jerome, who place it on the border, the one in Benjamin and the other in Judah, it was 'a very large village in the confines of Jerusalem' (OS, *Χαλαδων*, *Chusalon*). Stanley (*SP* 450) fully compares the name and situation with that of Chesulloth or Chesloth-Tabor (*q.v.*).

CHESED (כֶּסֶד; χασαδ [D], χασαδ [V], χασαδ [I.]), son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. 2222), the eponym of a branch of the Chaldeans. See ARAM, § 3. ARPHAXAD.

CHESEL (כֶּסֶל; Josh. 1530 = 194. B⁹ HUL.

CHESNUT (כֶּסֶן; Gen. 3037, RV PLANE.

CHEST. 1. חֶסֶת, in 2 K. 129 f. [19 f.] = 2 Ch. 218 f., used of a box with lid (כֶּסֶת, see DOOR) and hole (כֶּסֶת) into which money might be dropped (ΓΛΩΓΓΟΝ [B.M.], ΘΕΣΑΥΡΟΣ [Jos. Ant. 18.82]). The same word is used of a coffin (Gen. 5026, see DEAD, § 1), and of the Ark of the Covenant (see ARK, and cp COFFIN).

2. חֶסֶת, Ezek. 2724, RV 'chests of rich apparel,' but though חֶסֶת (see TREASURY; HOSI), like *θησαυρός* (Mt. 23), might conceivably mean a repository for costly objects, yet the parallel expression 'mantles (not 'wrappings,' as RV) of blue and broidered work,' shows that חֶסֶת must mean 'garments,' or the like. * and * are so easily confounded that we need not hesitate to read חֶסֶת (Che.), rendering 'robes of variegated stuff.' See EMBROIDERY, and cp DRESS, § 4.

CHESULLOTH (כֶּסֶלֹת; Josh. 1913. See CHES-LOTI-TABOR.

CHETTIM (חֶטִּים [ANV]), 1 Macc. 11 AV, RV CHETIM. See CHETIM.

CHEZIB (כֶּזִּיב; Gen. 3844. See ACHZIB, I.

CHIDON (כִּידֹן; 1 Ch. 139. See NACHON.

CHIEF, CHIEFTAIN. The former, like 'captain,' is often used in AV as a substantive with a convenient vagueness to render various Heb. words (such as נָשִׂא, מַשָּׂה, מַשָּׂה, מַשָּׂה) which appear to be used in a more or less general sense.

For 'chief ruler' or 'chief minister' (2 S. 818 2026, 1 Ch. 52), cp PRIEST and PRINCE; for 'chief man' (πατρις Acts 27), see MELITA; and for 'chief of Asia' (Acts 1931) see ASIARCH.

CHIEFTAIN occurs only in Zech. 97 125 f. RV for חֶטֶם, for which see DUKE.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE. See DANIEL, §§ 19, 22.

CHILEAB (כִּילֵּאב; § 4), son of David (2 S. 23). In 1 Ch. 31 he is called DANIEL (*q.v.*).

CHILIARCH (χιλιαρχος [I, VII]), Rev. 1913 RV¹⁹¹³. See ARMY, § 10.

CHILION (כִּילִּיֹן; § 74; χελλαιων [I.]), and MAHILON (מַחִילֹן; μαλλων [B.M.], § 74), 'sickness' and 'wasting,' the names given to the sons of Naomi in the narrative of Ruth (Ruth 12; κελλαιων [B], χελλαιων [A]; 25; χελλαιων [B], χελλαιων [A]; 49; χελλαιων [B], χελλαιων [A]).

CHILMAD (כִּילְמַד; χερμαν [BAQ]), Ez. 2723, MT, usually supposed to be a place or land not far from Assyria. If this be correct, it must at any rate be some fairly well-known place or land. But no name resembling Chilmad occurs anywhere else, and, as two

¹ Cp Ass. *burramu*, 'variegated cloth' (Muss-Arnolt).

CHIMHAM

corruptions of the text have already been found in this verse (CANNEH, SHEBA, n.), we may presume a third. Read with Targ. 'and Media' (מדיה). Less probably Ginz., 'Babylon and Media' (בבל ומדיה); Mez and Bertholet, 'all Media' (כָּל־מִדְיָה). כָּל should be disregarded. It came from מדי; the scribe began to write מדי too soon. ה fell out owing to the ה which precedes; restore ה.

T. K. C.

CHIMHAM (כִּמְחָם), §§ 66, 77, or [25.194] כִּמְחָם, i. e., if the text is right, or [Jer. 41:17 Kt.] כִּמְחָם—i. e., if the text is right, 'blind' [cp. כִּמְחָם, *cavus fuit*, and note Nestle's view on the Aramaean origin of BARZILLAI]; $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\mu$ [B], $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha\alpha$ [V], $\alpha\chi\iota\mu\alpha\mu$ [L], $\alpha\chi\iota\mu\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha$ Jos. *Ant.* vi. 114; in Jer. 41:17 $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\mu$ [B], $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha$ [N], $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\mu$ [VQ*], one of the sons of the Gileadite Barzillai, in whose stead he entered the service of David (2 S. 19:37 [25.194] $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha$ [B*] 40 [41]). Most probably his real name was Ahinoam (אֲחִינוֹם); note the ה in Jer.'s form, the ה in 2 S., the Gr. forms with $\alpha\chi$ and ν , and the Egyptian form (? see below) with n-nu (Che.). Following Fw. (*Hist.* 3:205), Deans Stanley and Plumstre have supposed that he carried on the family tradition of hospitality by erecting at Bethlehem a khan or hospice for travellers (see Jer. 41:17, גִּתֵּי בִּתְלֵם, RV אֶת־הַגִּתִּים, 'lodging-place of Chinham'). This view, however, is based on the faulty reading גִּתֵּי. This should be corrected into גִּתֵּי, which is the reading of Jos. (see *Ant.* x. 95), of Ap., and of the Hexaplar Syriac (see Field), and has been adopted by Hitzig and Giesebrecht. In the text represented by S [see Swete] the ה in גִּתֵּי had become a ה. Gidroth-chimham—i. e., 'the hurdles, or sheep-pens, of Chinham'—seems a probable name for a locality in a pastoral district. 'Chimham' (or Ahinoam?) is appended to distinguish this Gederoth from other places of the same name. It is just possible that the family of Chimham or Ahinoam had property there. Among the names of the places in Palestine conquered by Seti I. we find Ha(?)-ma-he-mu, 'the city of Kaduru in He(?)-n-mā,' which may possibly belong to the same place (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 193, 202), viz., Gidroth-chimham (Aycce, *Pal. Pal.* 157), or rather Gidroth-Ahinoam.

T. K. C.—S. A. C.

CHIMNEY (אֶרְבֵּה), Hos. 13:3. See COAL, § 3. LATTICE, § 2 (1).

CHINNERETH (כִּנְרֶת, in Josh. 13:27 $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\theta$ [B], $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\theta$ [AL]; 29:35, $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\theta$ [B], $\chi\epsilon\eta$, [L], $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\theta$ [A]; in Dt., כִּנְרֶת, 'from Chinnereth'; $\mu\alpha\chi\alpha\eta\alpha\rho\epsilon\theta$ [B], $\alpha\mu\theta\alpha\mu\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho$, [AF], $\alpha\mu\theta\alpha$ [L]), the name of one of the 'fenced cities' of Naphtali (Josh. 13:25). Possibly it is also referred to in 1 K. 15:20, where we should perhaps read 'and Abel-beth-maacah, and Chinneroth, and all the land of Naphtali.' It is of great antiquity, for it occurs under the form *kn-na-ra-tu* in the list of places conquered by Thothmes III., n. 34 (RP² 545; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 84). It is also given (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake (Nu. 34:11 [$\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha\rho\alpha$ BF, $\epsilon\eta\theta$ AL] Josh. 13:27); (2) to the same inland 'sea' without that prefix (Dt. 3:17, cp. Josh. 11:2 and see below). The site of the town can no longer be identified.

Jerome identified it with Ilibaris (OS 11229); some rabbins with a town at the S. of the lake called Beth-jerach (probably the Tarrhara of Josephus). Others included Sanhari (the Sennabris of Jos., *H/bi.* 97) under the designation; a third extended the application of the name to Beth-shean (*Rev. rabba*, par. 58, Wünsche). This vagueness sufficiently shows that nothing was known as to the site of the ancient town. Cp. Niebauer, *Gleg. Palen.* 214 f.

On the derivation of Chinnereth, see GENNESARET.

T. K. C.

1 The Kt. reading כִּנְרֶת, Jer. 41:17, may safely be disregarded.

2 In MT's כִּנְרֶת may conceal כִּנְרֶת נִפְתָּלִי, in 2 Ch. 16:14, however, presupposes כִּנְרֶת נִפְתָּלִי (*rács nepixárou*; see Ki., SBOT).

CHISLOTH-TABOR

CHINNEROTH ([Gins.] כִּנְרֶת or [BL] כִּנְרֶת, the 'pluralis extensus' of CHINNERETH) is the name applied (1), with the prefix 'sea of,' to the Galilean lake in Josh. 12:3 ($\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\theta$ [BFL], $\chi\epsilon\eta$, [A]), (2), without this prefix (cp. Dt. 3:17), to the same lake in Josh. 11:2 ($\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\theta$ [B], $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\theta$ [A], $\epsilon\theta$ [FL]), (3), in the spelling CHINNEROTH (AV only), to a district (?) in Naphtali laid waste by Benhadad king of Damascus (1 K. 15:20, $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\theta$ [AL], $\chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\rho\theta$ [B]). See CITY, § 2 (f), n. The second and third passages need a brief comment. In 1 K. 15:20, Ewald (*Hist.* 2:299, n. 6) explains 'all Chinneroth' to mean the W. shore of Lake Merom and the Sea of Galilee and of that part of the Jordan which flows between those lakes; Thémis, the basin which extends from Lake Merom to the upper point of the Sea of Galilee. Such a large extent of meaning, however, is improbable. Unless we adopt the correction suggested above (CHINNERETH) it is best to suppose Chinneroth to mean here the shores (or the W. or E. shore alone) of that famous lake. In support of this explanation, the second passage mentioned above (Josh. 11:2) may be appealed to.

The text, however, is not quite correct. The rendering 'in the Arabah south of Chinneroth' (RV) can hardly be defended. The difficulty lies in 22, for which it is better with Di. to read 22 (22, *ἀντίκρου*); we shall then get the phrase 'in the Arabah over against Chinneroth.' This may be a designation of the fertile plain called *el-Chawir*, the GENNESARET of the Synoptic Gospels, in which the town of Chinnereth was presumably situated. Cp. GENNESARET, and JUDAH UPON JORDAN.

CHIOS (χίος [Ti. WII]; *Chios*), the beautiful and fruitful *Scio*, the central member of the triad of large islands lying off the coast of Asia Minor. It has little connection with biblical history, but the solitary mention of it (Acts 20:15) very clearly indicates its geographical position. Paul returning from Macedonia, to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, touched at Mitylene in Lesbos; next day he was 'over against' Chios (*κατὰπαραπλευρὰν τῆς Χίου*); probably somewhere about Cape Argemum mod. *Asprokari*, which was a place of anchorage (Polyb. 168). On the third day at Samos. The ship evidently anchored each night and sailed with the early morning breeze, which prevails generally in the Aegean during the summer, blowing from the N. and dying away in the afternoon. The run from Mitylene to Chios is something over 50 m. Herod's voyage as related in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 22, in the reverse direction, illustrates the apostle's journey.

Strabo describes the town as having a good harbour with anchorage for eighty ships (645). Paul possibly lay becalmed in the channel (about 7 m. wide), and may not have landed. The island was noted for its wines (Strabo, 647, 657). W. J. W.

CHISLEU, RV Chisleu (כִּסְלֵו), in Assy. Kisiluvu, cp. K. 17²⁰ 380, in Palm. כִּסְלֵו De Vog. *Syr. Cent.* nos. 24, 75; Zech. 7:1 $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ [ABF*], $\epsilon\lambda$ [N¹acab], $\epsilon\lambda$ [I*], $\rho\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ or $\rho\alpha\epsilon$ [N*]; Neh. 11, $\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$ [B], $\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha$ [B¹acab], $\chi\epsilon\eta\alpha$ [N*], $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ [N¹acab], $\chi\alpha\epsilon\eta\lambda\alpha\gamma$ [A], $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ [L]. AV has $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ in 1 Macc. 15:452 ($\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ [A¹acab], $\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ [N*], but $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ [A in 452]). See MONTH, § 2.

CHISLON (כִּסְלֹן, 'confidence'?) $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omega\eta$ [BAFL], the father of Elilad (Nu. 34:21).

CHISLOTH-TABOR (כִּסְלוֹת־תְּבוֹר, § 99 'Joins' or 'Joins' of Tabor; cp. Aznoth-tabor, 'ears' or 'peaks' of Tabor; $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omega\theta\alpha\theta\omega\rho$ [B], $\epsilon\alpha\lambda\omega\theta\theta\alpha\theta\omega\rho$ [A], $\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\theta\omega\rho$ [L]), Josh. 19:12 or in 2:18 CHISLOTH (כִּסְלוֹת; $\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omega\theta$ [B], $\alpha\chi\alpha\epsilon\lambda$, [AL]), lay on the border between Zebulun (Josh. 19:12) and Issachar (2:18). It is the Chisloth (Chisloth) of Josephus (*B/bi.* 3:1 *Tit.* 44), the *Chisloth* or *Chisloth* of Eusebius and Jerome—described by them as a small village on the plain below Mount Tabor, 8 K. m. from Diocæsarea or Sepphoris (OS² 914 915 22350). It is represented by the modern *Iksil*, 460 ft. above sea level, 7 m. SW. from Sepphoris, 5½ m. N. from Shunem,

CHITHLISH

and nearly 3 m. W. from the base of Mount Tabor. The name has been suggested as an emendation for *Μαυσαλωθ* or *Μεσσαλωθ* in 1 Mace. 9:2 and of *Chellus* in *Judith* 19 (see CHILLISH). The position of the place on the main road N., in the pass between Tabor and the hills of Nazareth, explains its strategic value, as witnessed in its various appearances in history.

CHITHLISH (כִּתְלִישׁ). Josh. 15:40 RV, AV KITHLISH.

CHITTIM (כִּתִּים), 1s. 23: AV, etc., Gen. 10:4 KITHIM (גִּתִּים).

CHIUN (כִּיּוֹן) and **SICCUTH** (סִכּוּת), Am. 5:26 RV, 'Yea, ye [O house of Israel] have borne Siccuth your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your god.' AV, RV^{mg} differ by rendering

1. Identifi- cation. סִכּוּת, 'the idolastrale (of)'. These words have long been a puzzle to scholars. The primary question is, whether they should be considered appellatives or proper nouns. The problem is ancient, as appears from the phenomena of the versions (see below, § 2). Into the syntactical and exegetical difficulties of 2:26, taken with its context, we cannot here enter; our object is to consider the explanation of the above-mentioned words offered by Schrader (*St. A.* 324 ff. [74]), and *COT* 2:24 f.), which, though widely accepted, fails to satisfy some good critics. According to Schrader's theory סִכּוּת is to be pointed סִכּוּת and כִּיּוֹן, the former representing the divine name Sak-kut, the latter Kaiwan. Oppert had already recognised in Chiun the Babylonian Kaiwan, and this identification may be regarded as almost certain. The word is of frequent occurrence in Babylonian mythological and religious texts as the name of the planet Saturn. It is of uncertain meaning and etymology.

Other Semitic peoples have preserved the same name, probably as loan words, for Saturn is called by the Mandaeans *ṣṣṣ*, by the Syrians *ṣṣṣ*, and by the Persians *Kaiwan* (for references to the occurrence of the word in Babylonian texts, see Jensen, *Kosmos*, 111 ff.).

The name Siccuth presents much greater difficulties. Schrader has shown that the name Sak-kut, which is probably the same as the Siccuth of the text, is used in a Babylonian list as a name, or an ideographic writing, for the god Ninib (2 R. 57:40). Ninib, however, appears to be the god of the planet Kaiwanu or Saturn (see Jensen, *Kosmos*, 136 ff.; Lotz, *Quest. de hist. Sabbati*, 27 ff.). We seem, therefore, to be brought to the conclusion that Sakkuth and Kaiwan are the same (which would be still more clear if it could be shown with certainty that *SAG-UŠ*, 2 R. 32 no. 3 l. 25, might be read Sak-kut, as Oppert and Schrader believe). Not all the steps in the argument made to connect Sak-kut and Kaiwan are perfectly clear. Still, indirect confirmation of the correctness of the result has lately come to hand, the two words having been found together in a mythological text. In the *Sûrpu* texts Sak-kut and Kaiwan are invoked together (4 R. 52 col. 4 l. 9; ep Zimmern, *Beit. zur Kenntnis der Bab. Rel.*, 1306, p. 10 l. 179). In this text at least the two words Sak-kut and Kaiwan appear together as they do in Amos.

[Not improbably, according to Che., there is a reference to Saccuth-Kaiwan in 2 K. 17:30 (see Siccuth-Bisorn) and another to Kaiwan in a passage of Ezekiel. 'The image of jealousy' in Ezek. 8:35 is not a possible title; *ṣṣṣ* seems to be a corruption of *ṣṣṣ*. The word for 'image' is *ṣṣṣ*; it was probably a statue of Kaiwan which Ezekiel saw (in ecstasy) 'northward of the altar gate' in the outer court of the temple, unless indeed *ṣṣṣ* (*ibid.*, § 14) should rather be *ṣṣṣ*—i.e., *tanian*, one of the names for the colossal winged bulls which guarded the entrances of Assyrian and Babylonian palaces and temples (cp Ezek. 8:35 where, however, read *ṣṣṣ*, 'at the entrance,' with Grä. f. *ṣṣṣ*). At any rate, we now seem to know the period to which the interpolation of Am. 5:26 refers (see further Che., *E. J.*, Times, 10:14, Dec. '93).

The connection of Siccuth and Chiun with the Babylonian name and the ideographic value for the planet Saturn agree well with their juxtaposition in Am. 5:26, and if *ṣṣṣ* and *ṣṣṣ* are transposed, the verse

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becomes at least intelligible (see Schr. *ib.*, and cp Orelli, *ad loc.*). The phenomena of Q's text, however, and also those of the MT, suggest the inference

2. Text. that there may be a more deeply-seated corruption (see AMOS, § 13). [For the *ṣṣṣ* of Heb. text *ṣṣṣ* Symm. give *ṣṣṣ*—i.e., *ṣṣṣ* (cp Acts 7:43), Pesh. *ṣṣṣ*, Ar. *ṣṣṣ*, Theod. *ṣṣṣ*, Vg. *ṣṣṣ*, Vulg. *ṣṣṣ*, Tg. (Lag.) *ṣṣṣ*, which confirms MT. For *ṣṣṣ* (Heb. text and Tg.) Vg. and Symm. have *ṣṣṣ*, Theod. *ṣṣṣ*, Vg. *ṣṣṣ* (for *ṣṣṣ* see R. 1:14). The pointing of MT seems to be suggested by that of *ṣṣṣ*, 'abomination' 'idol'; cp *ṣṣṣ*. For references to recent critics see AMOS, § 13, and cp Che., *E. J.*, Jan. 1897, pp. 42-44.] R. W. R.

CHLOE (χλόη [1 WH]), a woman of whom nothing is known, save that 'they of Chloe' (οἱ χλόη) were the first to let Paul know at Ephesus of the division which had arisen in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:11).

Whether she belonged to Ephesus or to Corinth, who the members of her household were, whether even she was a Christian or not, are questions on all of which only conjectures can be offered. It is possible, but hardly probable, that Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (1 Cor. 16:17) may have been servants of Chloe.

CHOB (חוב [BA], חוב [N], חוב [Lag.], חוב [Walton]), called in *Judith* 15:4. **Chobai** (חובאי [BA], חובאי [N]), in 15:5 *חובאי* [BA], *חובאי* [Lag.], is mentioned in connection with the defensive measures of the Jews against Holofernes (*Judith* 14). Reland (p. 721) proposed the *Cobris* of the Tab. Pent. near Jericho, a site that would agree with both the Greek and the Syriac of *Judith* 4:4; and in connection with it Conder (*PEF. Mem.* 2:231) points to the ruin *el-Mekhubby* and the cave *Araḥ el Khubby* on the Roman road 3 m. from *Tubis* (see TURKISH) and 11 from *Beisan*.

CHOENIX (χοenix; in Ezek. 45:10 f. *ṣṣṣ* for BATH), a measure of capacity Rev. 66 RV^{mg} (EV 'measure'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CHOIR. The subject of the hereditary choirs, or better, guilds of singers is considered elsewhere (see

1. Members. PSALMS). We content ourselves here with the Talmudic statements relative to the Temple choir in the narrower sense of the word, postponing, however, the question of choral psalms. The Talmud affirms that the choir in the Second Temple consisted of not less than twelve adult Levites, nine of whom played on the instrument called the *Kinnor* (lyre?), two on the *Nehel* (hute?), while the remaining one beat the *ṣelselim* (cymbals). This number might, however, be exceeded on the occasion of festivals (Mish. *Erach.* 2:3-5). No statement is made as to the number of the singers whom these musicians accompanied, from which Gratz infers that the instrumental and the vocal music were performed by the same persons. This seems to illustrate Ps. 92:1[2] 3[4] (Che.)—

Good is it to give thanks to Yahvé,
To make melody to the name of the Most High,
To the sound of the horn and the lute,
To the sweetly sounding notes of the lyre.

Certainly the most important duty of the choir of Levites was the service of song. The Talmud also states that boys' voices were called in to modify the deep bass of the men's voices. The choir-boys did not stand on the platform with the Levites, but lower down, so that their heads were on a level with the feet of the Levites. They were sons of persons of rank in Jerusalem ('*ṣṣṣ*', Talm. *Erach.* 136). See Gratz, *Parthen.* 65 f.; Del. *Ps.* 26 f., 372; and cp MUSTI, § 13 f.

The duty of the choir is briefly summed up in Neh. 12:4 2 Ch. 5:13. It is *ṣṣṣ*, i.e., to raise the strain of praise (*Hallelū*=praise ye) and thanksgiving (*Hōdū*=give ye thanks). See HALLEL, CONFESSION, § 3. The formula of 'thanks-

CHOLA

giving which served as a refrain in the later eucharistic songs was, 'For he is good, for his loving-kindness is for ever' (2 Ch. 5:11; 7:36; Ezra 3:11; Jer. 33:11)—the last passage has been expanded by a late writer—and (p the psalms beginning 'Gave thanks unto Yahweh'). Were there any female singers in the temple choirs? From Neh. 7:67 Peritz infers that there were ('Women in the Ancient Hebrew Cult.' *JBL* 17:148 [98]).

Strange to say, the word 'choirs' occurs but once, and only in RVing. Mattanah (if this mg. is right) was 'over the choirs' (MT מַטָּנָה, Neh. 12:4. Del. (*Psalmen* 26), Ry., and Kan. (*HS*), however, give 'choir' as the rendering of מַטָּנָה in Neh. 12:4, where RV has 'companies that gave thanks.' This may be accepted, but the mg. 'choirs' in 12:4 is but a confession of the great improbability of MT. Neither מַטָּנָה nor מַטָּנָה (which Ry. and Kan. prefer) can be naturally defended. Read מַטָּנָה, 'over the thanksgiving' (Blotch, Ol., Guthe). RV in Neh. 12:4, therefore, virtually corrects the text. *ἡ ἐν τῶν εὐχαριστίας*; *ἡ ἐν τῶν εὐχαριστίας* (ἐν τῶν εὐχαριστίας). Cp Neh. 11:7, and see MATTANIAH, 2.

T. E. C.

CHOLA (חֹלָה [B]). Judith 15:4. RV, AV (Ch. A) (7:2).

CHOR-ASHAN. RV CHOR-ASHAN (כּוֹרֶשָׁן), 1 S. 30:30. See ASHAN and BOR-ASHAN.

CHORAZIN (חֹרָזַיִן [Ti. WH]) Mt. 11:21 Lk. 10:13. RV (Ch. A) 30:377 (Ch. A). In these two passages Jesus calls upon Chorazin and Bethsaida (and immediately after on Capernaum) as towns in which his wonderful works have produced no effect. From his direct address to all three, they appear to have lain together within his sight. Jerome (*OS* 11:17 (Chorazin)) places Chorazin 2 R.m. from Capernaum (Euseb. 12 R.m., but this seems a copyist's error). In his commentary on Is. 9:1 Jerome describes the town as on the shore of the lake—like Capernaum, Tiberias, and Bethsaida. From this Robinson (*BA* 3:359 f.) argues for the site at Tell Hām. But about 1 m. N. of Tell Hām, in a shallow wady running from the Lake into the hills, there are black basalt ruins, including those of a large synagogue, with Corinthian columns, which bear the name *Kerazeh* (*PEF. Mem.* 14:102). Now, Willibald (722) says that he went from Capernaum to Bethsaida, thence to Chorazin, and thence to the sources of the Jordan—a course which, in spite of what Robinson asserts, suits Kerazeh as it does not suit either Tell Hām, or any other site on the Lake. Accordingly, most moderns, since Thomson discovered the site in 1857, agree that Kerazeh is Chorazin, and take Jerome's statement as either vague or inaccurate. (Robinson thinks the name may have drifted from Tell Hām to Kerazeh.) Jesus calls Chorazin a city and treats it as comparable with Tyre and Sidon. The ruins are extensive, and there are traces of a paved road connecting the site with the great trunk road from Capernaum to Damascus.

The Bab. Talmud (*Menahoth* 85a) praises the wheat of Chorazin (cp. Neubauer, *Gloss. Palm.* 70). In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (10 and 40 A.D.) the place was in ruins. Willibald found a Christian Church there. G. A. S.

CHORBE (חֹרְבֵי [BA]). 1 Esd. 5:12. RV = Ezra 29:20.

CHOSAMEUS (חֹשָׁמָאוֹס [B]). חֹשָׁמָאוֹס [A]. חֹשָׁמָאוֹס [Syr.], 1 Esd. 9:32. The name follows Simon (=Shimon in || Ezra 10:1), and hence may represent one of the three names in Ezra 10:12 otherwise omitted in 1 Esd. Possibly in a poor MS only the final 7 of Malluch and the third name Shemariah were legible, and out of these the scribe made Choshamiah (Ball, *Par. Apoc.*). Otherwise the name has arisen from Hashum (חֹשָׁמָאוֹס, 2:33; but the Syr. חֹשָׁמָאוֹס still remains a difficulty.

CHOZEBA, RV COZEBA (כּוֹזֶבָה), 1 Ch. 4:22. See ACHIZIB, 1.

CHRIST (ὁ χριστός [Ti. WH]), Mt. 24. See MESSIAH, § 2, end.

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF. We can readily understand that the followers of Jesus confessed to the name of their Master whenever occasion arose. On the other hand, the time, the place, and the circumstances of the origin of the name *Χριστιανός* as a specific designation are obscure. According to Acts 11, the matter seems a simple one; but, with this passage before us, it is

1. Infrequency. remarkable how seldom the name occurs elsewhere in the records of early Christianity. In the NT the only other places where it is found are Acts 26:28 and 1 Pet. 4:6. It is certainly not alluded to in Acts 5:4; for 'the name' on account of which the apostles here suffer dishonour was, as we are expressly told in 7:42, the name of Jesus. This passage, accordingly, belongs to the same category as Mk. 9:17 ff. where, besides, the words 'because ye are Christ's' after *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου* (so Ti.) may be merely the explanatory marginal gloss of some early reader—and Mk. 13:12. In Ja. 2:7 also, the 'honourable name' by which the readers are called is not the name 'Christian,' but the name of Christ himself as their Lord; for the expression is to be explained in the same sense as Am. 9:12 ('the heathen, which are called by my name')—viz., by reference to 2 S. 12:28 ('lest . . . it be called after my name'). All passages of this class must here be left out of account, inasmuch as they do not presuppose the specific name 'Christian.' The name is presupposed, as far as the NT is concerned, only in Lk. 8:22 (τὸ ὄνομα ὁμοῦ).

Outside of the NT, according to the exhaustive searches of Lipsius, the name does not occur in either of the epistles ascribed to Clement of Rome; it is absent from Barnabas, Hermas, Polycarp, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, Tatian, and the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*. The Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, as also the Catholic Acts of Peter and Paul, have it only in a few passages of later insertion; so also with the Gnostic writings. As a word in regular use it makes its earliest appearances in the Apologists—Justin, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minucius Felix—and in the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' in Ignatius, who uses also the word *Χριστιανισμός*, in the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' in the Catholic *ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Πίστις*, in the letter of the churches of Lugdunum and Vienna (Eus. *HE* 5:1 f.), in Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. To this list must be added the passage in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (124), discovered after the publication of Lipsius's essay.

Lipsius, it is true, points out allusions to the existence of the name 'Christian' in older writings. As far as Hermas, however, is concerned, the only valid passage is *Sim.* ix. 174.

The phrase is *ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καλεῖσθαι*. Such expressions as *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ φορεῖν* (ix. 132 f., 145 f., 163) or *ἀμφιβαλεῖν* (ix. 137) or *φορεῖν* (Polycarp, 6:1) do not necessarily presuppose the word *Χριστιανός*, and the simple phrase *τὸ ὄνομα φορεῖν* (*Sim.* ix. 132 f.), or *παύσαι διὰ τὸ ὄνομα*, or *εἶναι τοῦ ὀνόματος* (ix. 283 f.; *1 Tr.* iii. 102 f.), in several places is clearly in juxtaposition to the words *τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ* or *τοῦ κυρίου* (*Sim.* ix. 133 f., 282 f.; *1 Tr.* iii. 53).

Even 1 Clem. 11:1 f. cannot with certainty be taken in the sense which is so abundantly plain in Justin (*1 Tr.* 14): *Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι κατηγοροῦμεθα· τὸ δὲ ἡμεῖς μαρτυροῦμεν οὐ δικαίον*. This play upon words seems, besides, to be sufficiently explained by the consideration that *χρηστὸς* had at that time the same pronunciation as *χριστός*. Tertullian (*Ap. 3*; *Ad Nat.* 1), however, expressly says that the Gentiles *perperam* or *concrepente* pronounced it *Christiani*. *Χριστιανοὶ* is the reading in all three NT passages of the uncorrected *S.*, it preponderates in the inscriptions; and Justin, according to Blass (*Hermes*, 1895, pp. 465-470), associates this word with *χρηστὸς* in his *Apologie* (i. 446 f.; ii. 6, where, as he says, *καυχῆσθαι* ought to be read), just as in his *Dialogue with Trypho* he associates it with *χρίμα*. Blass con-

1 'Ueber den Ursprung u. d. ältesten Gebrauch des Christen Namens,' Gratulationsprogramm der theologischen Fakultät Jena für Hase, 1873, pp. 6-10.

CHRISTIAN, NAME OF

lectures from this that the Pagans to whom the *Apology* is addressed had derived the words 'anointed,' followers of the anointed,' which were mysterious to them, by a popular etymology from *χριστός* and Justin, for simplicity's sake, accepted the derivation without seeking to correct it.

We have thus seen that the name was left unused by a series of Christian writers at a time when it was already familiar to the younger Pliny (*Epist.* 10.96 [97]) in 112 A.D., to Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44) in 116-117 A.D., and to Suetonius (*Nero*, 16) in 120 A.D. The plain fact is that they did not need it. For designating their community there lay at their command an ample variety of expressions, such as 'brethren,' 'saints,' 'elect,' 'called,' 'that believed,' 'faithful,' 'disciples,' 'they that are in Christ,' 'they that are in the Lord,' 'they that are Christ's,' and 'many' of the way' (1). It follows that, notwithstanding its absence from their writings, the name of Christian may very well have originated at a comparatively early time.

It can hardly, however, have been current at so early a date as that indicated in Acts 11.26.

The famine predicted at that time, according to Acts 11.28, occurred in Palestine between the years 44 and 48. (The belief that it extended over the whole of the habitable world is a mistake.) The prediction itself must, of course, have been earlier. Indeed, the expression, 'which came to pass in the days of Claudius,' may be held to imply that it was made before the accession of that emperor—that is to say, before 41 A.D. With this it agrees that the death of Herod Agrippa I. (44 A.D.) is mentioned in the following chapter (12).

Some fifteen years later, or more, the claim to be 'of Christ' was made by a single party in Corinth (1 Cor. 1.12).

Presumably certain personal disciples of Jesus had first applied this designation to themselves, whilst denying to Paul the right to be so called, as also his right to the apostleship (2 Cor. 10.7). Paul, on the other hand, takes great pains to establish the right of all believers in Christ to the designation (1 Cor. 1.3-2.3; also 7.24-10.23; Rom. 8.1 Gal. 3.27-2.24).

Thus it can hardly have been already a current name.

As for Jesus himself, it is permissible to doubt whether he used in their presence such expressions as we now find in Mk. 9.37-41. 31-34—that is to say, with the emphasis upon his own name. The theory that he presupposes the currency of the name 'Christians' in Lk. 6.22 is absolutely excluded by the consideration that, according to the same gospel, he does not himself lay claim to the name of Christ till later (9.20), and even then wishes it to be kept secret, and further that, according to the same author (Acts 11.26), the name 'Christians' did not arise till a considerable time after his death.

All this makes it more than doubtful whether the writer had even here any trustworthy authority for assigning the occurrence to so early a date. His reason for doing so may have been simply that the founding of the first Gentile Christian church seemed to be the most likely occasion for its coming into use.

The suddenness with which the name 'Christian' becomes one of frequent occurrence in the writings of

the apologists shows that the word first became necessary for Christians in their dealings with Pagans. In speaking to the latter, such periphrases as 'those of Christ' were found to be inadequate; a definite name was wanted.

In fact, it is probable enough that the name came from the heathen themselves in the first instance. With such a view of its origin Acts 11.26 fits in very well. At all events, the name did not come from the Jews. These were still looking for their Messiah. By using a name which signified 'those of the Messiah,' they would by implication have justified the sect that regarded Jesus as such, and so have stultified themselves. Even Herod Agrippa II. notwithstanding his Greek training and the indifference towards his ancestral religion which this carried with it, could not have gone so far; moreover, he still held by Judaism to the extent at least that he

insisted upon King Azizus of Emesa and King Polemo of Cilicia being circumcised before being allowed to marry his sisters Drusilla and Berenice (Jos. *Ant.* 18.7-11. 84-139, 145-7). If, accordingly, the saying attributed to him in Acts 26.28¹ is authentic, the name 'Christian' must by that time have become so thoroughly established that its etymological meaning was no longer thought of.

The whole scene, however, is in full accord with the tendency of Acts (see Acts, § 51) to set forth Paul's innocence and at the same time the truth of Christianity, as accepted by the Roman authorities, and this of course is more effectively done by the mouth of a Jew. An obvious parallel is the statement of Herod Antipas in the gospel by the same author (Lk. 23.6-11), but its historicity is open to grave suspicion, both in view of what we know of Herod's relations to John the Baptist and in view of the fact that the story is absent from the other gospels. Even if Paul's meeting with Herod Agrippa II. is historical, the word *Χριστιανός* may very easily have come into the narrative out of the author's own vocabulary. We are informed by the same writer (Acts 21.39) with much greater precision that 'a sect of the Nazarenes' (*οἱ καὶ τῶν Ναζωραίων*) was the name given by the Jews to the Christians, as we learn also from Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 1.1) and Jerome (*encl.* 5.4. 497-525). It was not till afterwards that the expression was restricted to a particular sect of Christians—a fact by which Ippolitus allowed himself to be misled. He tells us (*Adv.* 29.4) that the Jews, in their public prayer, which were offered three times daily in their synagogues, pronounced a solemn curse upon this sect, a curse which, as we learn from Justin (*Dial.* 16 and elsewhere), and indeed as we see from the nature of the case, applied rather to all Christians.² Its Hebrew name, Bakat has Minin, shows that the Jews had still another name for the Christians—and this name could also be traced into *Mevana*.

As for the place where the name 'Christian' arose, the apparent Latin termination used to be thought to point to a western, indeed to a Gallic (*Ann.* 15.44) or a Roman, origin; but that it was there that the name first came into use is by no means said by Tacitus, whilst in such a word as Herodian, *Ἡγεμόνας* (Mk. 3.6 and elsewhere), we have evidence that in the Greek-speaking domain this colloquial Latin formation of personal names (e.g., Cæsarion), in innumerable instances of forms like Pompeianum (where the *n* is part of the root), was not unknown. The ancient Greek grammarians recognise the termination *-ανός* for derivatives from town and country names, and even designate it specially as the *τοπος* *Ἀσιατικός*, as being met with, not in Greece itself, but in Asia (Bauermann, *Ant. Gr. Sprachlehre*, § 119.51; many examples in Lapsus, 13-16). In this matter, therefore, Acts 11.26 is not open to criticism (yet see above, § 2).

The time at which the name arose could not with assurance be placed earlier than 70 A.D., even if a certain inscription (which disappeared soon after its discovery) at Pompeii, on the wall of a building at first supposed to have been a Christian meeting-house, had actually contained the letters *ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΕ*.

This reading might very well have been a derivative from the relatively frequent proper name *Christus* (see above, § 10); but, in point of fact, the reading is only a conjecture, and, according to Kiehl's original transcription (which is still extant), the word really was *evangelica*—whatever that may mean.

The architecture of the house shows it to have been an *'inn'* (*κατακλιτήριον*), provided even with a *cella mensæ tricla*, where, accordingly, it is hardly likely that Christian

¹ The best-attested reading, *ἐν δόξῃ με περὶ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ποιεῖται* unless we are to read, with TK, *γενεθαι* or, with A, *περὶ* or, to conjecture with Hort, *πεποιθας* (instead of *με περὶ*) is perhaps most easily explained as a Latinism: 'you are persuading me somewhat to act the part of a Christian' (*Christianum agere*; so Potwin, *Bibl. Sac.*, 1826, p. 8. 2. f.).

² This solemn curse is said to have first taken shape at Jaenich in the time of Gamaliel II. (ca. 177 A.D.).

¹ ἁδελφοί, υἱοί, ἐκλεκτοί, κλητοί, πιστευόντες, πιστοί, μαθηταί, οἱ ἐν Χριστῷ, οἱ ὄντες ἐν κυρίῳ, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οἱ τῆς οὐδοῦ οἰκοῦντες.

meetings would have been held, in fact, the inscription, which begins with the words, 'Vine Nervii,' was probably an advertisement of wines.¹

An answer to our question can therefore be hoped for only from examination of the history of the Christian persecutions.

6. Early persecutions.

The character of these has been placed in an entirely new light by the proposition of Mommsen in 1835 (*Röm. Gesch.* 5, 29, n. 1) which has since then been more fully and elaborately developed by him in Schell's *Hist. Latine* 34 (1842) [90], and accepted by C. J. Neumann (*Der röm. Staat u. d. Ant. u. Kr. des* 1, 6 [90]) and by Ramsay (chap. 10, § 5) —that 'the persecution of the Christians was always similar to that of robbers.' On this view, every provincial governor had, without special instructions, the duty of seeking out and bringing to justice *latrones, raptoribus, phrygionibus* (kidnappers), and *heretici* (*Aug.* 1, 18, 1, 134) and for this end was invested, over and above his ordinary judicial attributes, with a very full power of material coercion, which was not limited to definite offences, or to a regular form of process, or to any fixed scale of punishments. Only, as far as Roman citizens were concerned, flogging was forbidden, and the capital penalty was reserved for the judgment of the emperor.

1. *Legal Status of Christianity.* — While actually throwing into still further obscurity the date of the origin of the Christian name, this discovery of Mommsen's (above, § 6) sheds much light upon the question of legal position. The points on which the scholars differed, as well as others, are agreed are, briefly, these. — Among the duties of a Roman citizen a fundamental place was held by that of worshipping the ancestral gods. By these in the earliest period were meant only those of the city of Rome; but subsequently those of Latium were included, and finally all those of Italy and Greece, as soon as they had been formally recognised by the senate. Non-citizens were forbidden by decree of the senate to worship strange gods but not to worship them, so far as this did not appear to be of danger to the state. The Christian religion, however, was held to be dangerous in this way, as denying the existence of the gods of the state. The Jewish religion was, strictly, under the same ban; and, therefore, circumcision was laid under severe penalties by Hadrian, and, as far as non-Jews were concerned, by Antoninus Pius and Septimius Severus also.

For themselves, however, the Jews, apart from the prohibition by Hadrian just mentioned, possessed religious freedom on the ground of special privileges conceded to them, particularly by Julius Caesar and Augustus, in accordance with the favoured position they had enjoyed, long before the Roman rule, in Egypt and elsewhere in the East. These privileges included exemption from military service, which would have interfered with their strict observance of the sabbath, and exemption from the obligation to appear before the courts on that day. When Caesar, on account of suspected political activity, suppressed *cuncta collegia praeter antipatras constituta* (Suet. *Cæs.* 42), the Jews were expressly exempted. New corporations in the older (i.e., senatorial) provinces required the sanction of the senate; in the imperial provinces still under military government that of the emperor himself was doubtless sufficient. It is probable that burial societies had a general sanction from the senate. Apart from these, however, there were many societies which had never obtained any special concession. They were left alone if they did not appear to be dangerous; but at any moment they could be oppressed by the police. In the cases of those which had been sanctioned by the senate, suppression was illegal.

¹ So Victor Schultze, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 1876, pp. 123-129, and also, as regards the text, *CIL* 3674 (71). The inscription ought not, therefore, to be relied on, as it is still relied on by Ramsay (*Churches* chap. 12, § 5, p. 263, and *St. Paul*, chap. 15, § 1, ed. 1896, p. 346).

only by a new senatorial decree. Now the Christians could never have obtained such a concession for their religion did not belong to the class of permitted religions. In their case, accordingly, the well-known rule (*Aug.* 1, 18, 22) did not apply: *permitteretur componibus stuprum menstruum confere, dum tamen senes in mensa coeant* (i.e., sed) *religionis causa non prohibetur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contumacia, consultum, quo dicitur collegia arcetur*. They had, therefore, to hold their meetings simply on sufferance, and were never for a moment free from the risk of police interference. Still, they did not expose themselves to persecution or to death merely by holding unauthorised meetings. For such an offence the penalties were much too severe. When a *collegium* of this sort was broken up, unless its object had been in itself criminal, the members were subjected only to a mild punishment. In fact, they were allowed to divide among themselves the funds of the society, which were confiscated in the case of all capital offences.

Persecution and capital punishment fell to the lot of the Christians, therefore, only because their religion was regarded as criminal. In the case of Roman citizens it implied a violation of the duty to worship the gods of the state; in the case of provincials who were not citizens, *atheism* as against the local gods of the place was in like manner implied. In a (legally) very lax sense they were accused of *incelestium*, which originally meant only theft of sacred objects. Over and above this, all Christian subjects were chargeable with the offence of refusing to worship the Emperor, an offence legally construed as *maiestas*, or *crimen lese majestatis*—more precisely, as *maiestas imperatorum*—the *maiestas populi Romani* not being touched by this class of offences. Thus, either as sacrilege or as *maiestas*, Christianity could at all times be prosecuted, and—certainly in the case of non-citizens, probably also in that of citizens—by the mere exercise of arbitrary coercive power. The penalties under either charge were, approximately, the same.

ii. *Correspondence of Pliny and Trajan.* — Thus we gain a new light on the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan (see above, § 2). Let it be premised that by the *legisla* (2), as may be gathered from the allusion in the words *abom. promiscuum et immor.* (7), were certainly intended the *epulae Thyestae* and the *convivium Oedipolei*, which, as we learn from Justin (*Apol.* 1, 6, 212) and other writers of the second century, were laid to the charge of the Christians. A. 1820 already appears to be intended to meet the familiar accusation. The story ran that before the beginning of these orgies all lights were put out. Pliny's question, then, whether the mere fact of being Christian (*Christianus*), or whether only the crimes associated therewith ought to be punished, is, from what we have seen, already answered in the first sense, and is so decided by Trajan also. On the other hand, Trajan's injunction, *conferendi non sunt*, with which also is to be associated his order to disregard anonymous letters of accusation, is an important mitigation of the law, as is his other direction that a Christian who formally renounces his Christianity by sacrificing to the images of the gods shall be exempt from punishment. Such a degree of favour could, from the nature of the case, never be shown to the robber or to the thief, with whom, nevertheless, the Christian is classed. Let it be noted, also, that Pliny had no difficulty in deciding on his own responsibility the earlier cases that came before him (1-4). His reference of the matter to the emperor was first occasioned by the largeness of the number of those who ultimately came to be denounced, and by certain leanings, on grounds of policy, towards clemency (4, 9, f.), to which Trajan gives his sanction by both of his decisions.

We must, therefore, no longer hold to the view that in this rescript (which, although originally intended

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only for Phry, was shortly afterwards published, along with the whole correspondence, and taken as a norm by other provincial governors) the persecution of the Christians was now for the first time authorized. Accordingly, we must proceed to investigate such notices as we have of earlier persecutions, and especially to discuss the question whether in these cases the *nomen christianum* was known to the authorities and constituted the ground of accusation.

iii. *Claudius*.—Of Claudius we are informed by Suetonius (*ibid.* 25) that *Iudaea imperatore christi a seculis tumultuantes Roma expulsi*. It is quite impossible, however, to determine whether by *christi* (in the form of the name, see above, § 1) we are here to understand Jesus, the preaching of whom by Christians divided the Jews in Rome into two parties, or whether Suetonius conceived him to have been personally present in Rome, or whether we should take him to be a Jewish agitator of whom nothing further is known. Acts 18.2 is by no means decisive for the first or the second alternative, even if we are to suppose that Aquila and Prisca were already Christians when they came to Corinth.

iv. *Pomponia Gracina*.—Of Pomponia Gracina we learn from Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.42) only that in 57 A.D. she was accused *superstitiosis externis*, and that she was acquitted of the charge by her husband, the consular A. Plautius, before whom she had been brought for trial. At that time, however, the Jewish and Egyptian religions were regarded as foreign, just as much as the Christian, which has been supposed to be meant in her case (*Fac. Ann.* 2.85; Suet. *Tib.* 36). For full details see Hasenclaver, *JPT*, 1882, pp. 47-64.

v. *Neronian Persecution*.—The notices we have of the Neronian persecution are very obscure.

Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44) says: 'abolendo rumor (of having planned the burning of Rome) Nero subdidit res et quæstibus penis affect, quos per tacita invidios vultus Christiani appellabant . . . primum corrum, qui favebant, deinde ad totam multitudinem hominum primum in crimine accendit quam odio generis humani contineri solent. *Cognosce hanc* could mean only that the *ingens multitudo* was added to the *primum corrupti* (Ramsay, chap. 11, § 1); the reading *cognosce* for *connotis* is a conjectural emendation almost universally adopted.

At the outset the only thing quite clear is that the Christians were from the first accused not as Christians, but as incendiaries. Otherwise Nero could not have been freed from the suspicion of being the guilty party. The Christians, however, were innocent (*subditi*); and the ground on which they were condemned, accordingly, was not so much (*hanc proinde*) the evidence that they had been incendiaries as the *odium generis humani*. By this expression there cannot be understood a hatred of which they were the objects; Roman society, which alone could be regarded as cherishing it, cannot possibly have been spoken of as *genus humanum* by Tacitus. Still, understood as cherished by the Christians, 'hatred of the human race' is no less an idea foreign to all legal conceptions, nor could it be supposed to represent another ground of accusation against them, over and above that of incendiarism.

Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitsch.* 478, 2nd ed. 462; ET 2143) and Ramsay (chap. 11, §§ 2-4) try indeed to make out that this actually was brought as a charge against them by referring to Suetonius (*Nero* 16): *apliciti supplicio Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis nove ac malefice, holding that by magic, witchcraft and poisoning are meant, and that it was precisely for these offences against society that the two punishments *bestia obici* and *crucibus affigi* were threatened, and (according to Tacitus) inflicted. These same punishments, however, were attached to many other crimes also. Suetonius says nothing about the conflagration as having occasioned the accusation against the Christians. In other words, he follows an entirely different account, and we are not justified in seeking to explain Tacitus by referring to Suetonius. The two authors agree only in believing that the occurrence in question was confined to Rome.*

The main question, then, in the case of Tacitus, is as to what it was that the persons first accused made confession of (*fatebantur*). The answer seems to be to our hand: *se incendium fecisse*. Such a confession may

very well have been made by them, though innocent, under torture. As regards the *ingens multitudo* nothing more was required than merely some vague suspicions, or a few false witnesses, to whom the judges, on account of the commonly assumed general perversity of the Christians (their *odium generis humani*), were only too ready to give credence. There remains, therefore, a possibility that the religion of the accused did not come into question at all, and that Tacitus and Suetonius have, unhistorically, carried back the name *christiani* from their own time into that of Nero. Were this not so, the reader, moreover, would expect to find in Tacitus a name indicating the characteristic attribute of those denoted by it, after *quos per se, ut in istis legibus, one would expect not *christianos* but some such expression as *flagitiosus appellabit*.*

Another interpretation of *fatebantur* is not less possible. It is that at first only those who had already voluntarily confessed themselves liable to be burnt (*fatebantur*) were taken into account, and that only afterwards, on the evidence obtained from these in the course of the legal proceedings, a great number (*ingens multitudo*) of those who had not hitherto made any such public profession shared the same fate. The Christians were laid hold of because it was hoped that popular belief would readily attribute the incendiarism to them. Although, on this supposition also, their religion constituted no ground of accusation, it was recognised as distinct from the Jewish, whereas if the other interpretation of *fatebantur* is adopted the Christians may have been regarded simply as Jews. Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.5) attributes *adversus omnes civitates* to the Jews also.

Clement of Rome further (i. 5.6-11) tells us only that the Christians suffered, without informing us why; and Paul's trial in Rome could throw light upon the question before us only if we knew what was its result. Calpurnius was not led by the accusation, as cited in Acts 18.12, to suppose that Paul taught a religion dangerous to the state. The representation, too (though not necessarily the fact), is open to suspicion on account of the 'tendency' observable in Acts (see Acts, § 511). In a word, the little that we really know of the Neronian period does not enable us to come to a decision on the question as to the date and origin of the name 'Christian.'

Ramsay, however (chap. 11, §§ 26-27), considers that in the second stage the Neronian persecution was permanent, otherwise than in the first stage. As the persecution is mentioned by Suetonius along with other measures of justice which must have been of a permanent nature, he holds that it must have had the same character; in the second stage, of course, the persecution was not on account of incendiarism, but on account of alleged witchcraft and other *flagitia*. Tacitus, Ramsay believes, also gives proof of this permanence of the persecution under Nero when he says, *unde . . . miseratio oritur tanquam in nuntiatu publico sed in servitium unius a sumerantur*; and Sulpicius Severus (ii. 293) is understood to speak to the same effect—*hoc inter Christianos servitium capium: post etiam datis legibus et legibus palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat*. Immediately upon this, however (ii. 121; 3rd ed. pp. 244, 255), Ramsay explains that the word *post* refers to other emperors than Nero, and also concedes that the expressions *edicta* and *leges* are 'loosely and inaccurately' employed by Sulpicius. Further, the *note* in Tacitus traces the *miseratio* to the horrors of the public celebration of the *exco* and Nero's personal participation in them—incidents which were, of course, not of constant recurrence. The argument based on the content in Suetonius is too precarious to rest history upon, even apart from the doubtful interpretation of *ma*.

vii. *Titus and Vespasian*.—We read in Sulpicius Severus (ii. 306.8) that, in a council of war, Titus finally decided on the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem *quo plentius Iudæorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur: quippe has religiones fidei contrarias sibi, isdem tamen (ibi) archibus protectas; Christianos ex Iudæis exstitisse: radice sublati stritem facile perituros*. Now, even were we to reject, as a falsification of history from motives of complaisance, the very different statement of Josephus, an eye-witness (*B. J.* vi. 43-7), that Titus wished the temple to be preserved, and *were we to carry back the words of Sulpicius Severus to Tacitus,*

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whom he elsewhere always follows, we should still be a long way from having proved the account of Severus to be historical. It is in the highest degree improbable that Titus had such erroneous ideas as to the dependence of the Christians on the temple, while attributing to them such dangerous qualities and so great a degree of independence as apart from the Jews. Even Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* 539; *ET Provinc.*, 220 f.), on whose authority Ramsay relies, detects here traces at least of a Christian editor. Ramsay, however (chap. 12 f.), regarding the speech as a programme for treatment of Christians, holds it to be 'a historical document of the utmost importance,' and further assumes that the programme was actually carried out by Vespasian. For this he has not a word of proof to allege apart from the statement of Suetonius (*l.c.* 15)—*neque eorum usquam unquam letatus est et* (by the three last words he conjecturally fills a hiatus) *iustus supplicis illicrimavit etiam et v. emittit*—which, he considers, we are entitled to interpret as referring to processes against Christians. Were this the case, it would be natural at least to expect that these should have begun immediately after the destruction of the temple; but, according to Ramsay, they did not begin till towards the end of the reign of Vespasian. As far as the documents are concerned, this last hypothesis finds still less support than that of Vespasian's Christian persecution as a whole. All that can be said for the hypothesis is that it is requisite in order that, by the shortness of the persecution under Vespasian, the silence of Christian writers respecting them may be explained (see below, § 10).

vii. *Domitian*.—With regard to Domitian, Suetonius (*Dom.* 15) tells us that eight months before his death *Flavianum Clementem patrem suum contemptissimè invertebat . . . repente a tenuissima suspitione tantum non in ipso ejus conspectu interemit*. Cassius Dio (lxvii. 14 f.), according to the excerpt of the monk Xiphilinus, adds that at the same time his wife, Flavia Domitilla, was banished to the island of Pandataria: *ἐπὶ τὴν δὲ ἀφῶν ἐγκλῆσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξέκειντο πολλοὶ κατεδικάζονταν*. Now, Christian legend, and in particular the *Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions* and *Homilies*, speak of Flavia Clementis as Bishop of Rome, and of his father as, like the consular in Suetonius, related to the imperial family; the daughter of his sister (also called Flavia Domitilla) became involved in a Christian persecution, and was banished to Pontia (the island adjacent to Pandataria). This last statement is all the more important because Eusebius (*Chron. ann.* 2110, 2112 Abrab.; *HE* iii. 184) takes it from a heathen chronographer, Bruttius or Bruttius, who wrote before 221 A.D. For further details see Lipsius, *Chronol. d. röm. Bischöfe*, 152-161. It is alike natural and difficult to assume that Clement and Domitilla represent each only one person, and that person a Christian. The charges in Cassius Dio, taken by themselves alone, show either that the question was one not of Christians but of Jews, or that Christians at that time still remained undistinguished from Jews. The view that they were Jews can hardly be maintained.

In the heathen writer Bruttius, Domitilla figures expressly as a Christian, and in all later Christian writings Domitian is represented as a violent persecutor of the faith (see, e.g., Melito ap. Euseb. *HE* iv. 260). He is called by Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) *fortio Veronis de crudelitate*; and though the heathen Juvenal (137 f.) it is true, says something to the same effect, the Christian bases his accusation expressly upon the persecution of his brethren in the faith.

We are, then, left with the second interpretation of the words of Cassius Dio, that they relate to Christians. Ramsay's method of evading this (chap. 12, § 4) is surely forced—that in Dio's time (211-222 A.D.) it was 'a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters to ignore the existence of the Christians and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews.' Further, in the collection of temple money

(now a state tax) from the Jews, according to Suetonius (*Dom.* 12), those also were taken account of *qui vel improfessi Iudaeum viderent vitam* (or: *Iudaeum fidem simulum creverent vitam*) *vel dissimulato origine imposta genti tributa non pendissent*. As at that time the *Iudaeus fidei acerbis sume actus est*, it would be very remarkable if here we were not intended to understand both the Jewish Christians regarded as circumcised persons and the Gentile Christians regarded as proselytes. The Roman officers, we know from Suetonius, in cases where it was necessary, satisfied themselves as to the fact of circumcision by inspection. Even though greed may well have been a motive for conniving at the profession of the Christian religion, it is plain that the danger to the state presented by the Christians cannot have been taken very seriously.

We are led to the same conclusion by the story (as far as it can be believed) of Hegesippus (in Euseb. *HE* 312 f.) that Domitian released the grandchildren of Jude, the brother of Jesus, as not being dangerous persons, although they confessed themselves to be not only descendants of David, but also Christians. It was not till the end of his reign that the persecution began.

viii. *Nerva*.—As far as the accusations under Domitian had reference to Christians they are covered by the regulations of Nerva (Cassius Dio, lxviii. 12, after Xiphilinus).

Tertullian (*Apol.* 5) and Hegesippus (Euseb. *HE* iii. 20-5) erroneously attribute the regulations to Domitian himself. The text of Cassius Dio is: *τοὺς τε κραιόμενους ἐπ' ἀρετῇ ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς θεοφρονεῖς καταργᾷ . . . τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἄλλους οὐτ' ἀσβεστῶς οὐτ' Ἰουδαίου βίου κατατάσσεται τινας συνεχωρήσεν*.

The preceding discussion of the Christian persecutions makes it evident that the grounds upon which these

were conducted were by no means clearly set forth, and that (partly on this account,

but mainly from want of information) we can hardly venture to suppose the persecutions to have been of so great frequency as we should have expected on the principles laid down by Mommsen and Ramsay. In particular, had they been so frequent, the hesitation of Pliny—or, at all events, that of Trajan—would be quite inexplicable. Ramsay's answer (chap. 10, § 6), that Trajan's words *neque enim in universum aliquid quasi certam formam habet constitui potest*—refer to Pliny's doubt whether or not the question of age should be allowed to make a difference in the punishment, is quite inadmissible. *Neque enim* does not refer to the decision upon a matter which was still in question. It refers, in commendation, to a judgment which Pliny had already taken: *actum quem debuisti . . . servatus es*. Thus Ramsay's conjectures of some archive which Trajan caused to be searched for the decisions of his predecessors upon previous references by other procurators must also be rejected. Whatever the principles of the government, and however strongly they may have led, if rigidly interpreted, to attempting search for and punishment of Christians once these had been definitely distinguished from Jews, they can have been carried into practice only in an intermittent way. In the conditions of privacy in which, as we know, the Christians carried out the exercises of their religion, no direct danger to the state can have manifested itself. In Pergamum Antipas was the only martyr (Rev. 213).

Therefore, Trajan's *conquerendi non sunt* was a mitigation in principle, indeed, but not necessarily in practice. If only parties could be found to denounce, persecutions could be instituted, after Trajan's time, on a much greater scale than before under the influence of the stricter—but seldom used—principle of *conquerere*. Such, according to all documents, was in reality the case.

For the period before Trajan we know of persecutions only under Nero and Domitian. Tertullian, for example, was not aware of any others (*Apol.* 8), and Melito in his Apology (1) Antoninus Euseb. (*ap. Euseb. HE* iv. 260) expressly says that only Nero and Domitian (*πονοὶ παλαιῶν Νερού καὶ Δουνατιανού*) had given up the Christians to the slanders of denouncers. For the

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same purpose we have the statement of Origen (*C. Cel.* 38) that *ὁμοῖοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφόδρα ἐναρπάζοντο* . . . *τῆς ἐκείνης* over against which the *πολλὴ πλῆθος ἐκκλησίαν* spoken of by Clement of Rome (i. 54) in the reign of Nero, and the *μεγίστη μὲν πλῆθος* of Tacitus, must, of course, not be overlooked.

In view of such definite statements as these, it is not possible to explain the silence of our authors—especially that of Christian authors—on the persecutions which Ramsay infers to have been instituted under Vespasian and Titus, as being due only to the shortness of those reigns—or rather the shortness of the portions of them in which persecutions occurred (above, § 6, vi, end)—or to the fact that the Christians had no eyes for anything except the imminent end of the world (Ramsay, chap. 12, § 2).

Ramsay, it is true, finds support by assigning 1 Pet. to about the year 80 A.D.—that is to say, the reign of Titus (chap. 13, 13)—or to 75-79 A.D., in the reign of Vespasian (*Expositor*, Oct. 1893, p. 286). He does so, however, on grounds

the validity of which depends on that of his hypothesis. He shows with truth that the epistle presupposes persecutions on account of the mere *nomen Christianum* (4.15 f.), and that it was composed at the beginning of a persecution (1.2, 3.14, 17, 2.14). It has also been rightly noted that there is no reason for assigning it to the year 112 on the mere ground that then for the first time a persecution of Christians over the whole *οικουμένη* (5.9) became possible. On the other hand, before that date there had been no persecution which had touched or threatened the provinces named in 1.1 and gave cause to anticipate its extension over the whole habitable world.

When the contents of this letter are considered, no one who can be reached by critical considerations will unreservedly maintain its genuineness, containing as it does so little that is characteristic of Peter and so much that is reminiscent of Paul. The presence in 1.17 of the words *διεσπορά* and *δοκιμὴ*, which here are superfluous and disturbing, and have their appropriate place only in Ja. 1.13, shows its dependence on that epistle, which in its turn depends not only on the Epistles of Paul but also on that to the Hebrews (11.3, cp. Ja. 2.25). Dependence on James is shown also in 1 Pet. 5.5 f., which is borrowed from Ja. 1.6 f. In the latter passage the *ὄψις* is logical (*ὁδοὶ 4.1 . . . ὁδοί*), and in the former, therefore, in like manner, the *ἀλλήλοις* of 2.5 should have been followed by some such expression as 'submit yourselves one to another,' if the writer had been following a natural and not a borrowed train of thought.

As for the word *ἀλλοτριοπισκόπος*, the only satisfactory explanation of its use in 1 Pet. 4.15, to denote a criminal of the same class as *φονεὺς* and *ἀνέμους*, is that of Hilgenfeld, according to whom what is intended is the class of *ἀνιχνεύς*, who made a trade of denunciation, which was first made criminal by Trajan (Plin. *Panegy.* 34 f.). By *ἀλλοτριοπισκόπος* Ramsay understands people who stir up strife between members of the same family, or between servants and masters. This accusation could be very easily brought against Christians, as soon as they began to attempt conversions. Ramsay's assertion, however, that Nero gave power to the courts of justice thenceforward to regard such persons as magicians and to punish them as criminals (chap. 151), rests upon no documentary evidence; it proceeds solely upon his own interpretation of the *malefactor* of Suetonius (above, § 6, v.). Nor has Ramsay made out (chap. 8, §§ 1, 2, pp. 280 f., 290) that 1 Pet. presupposes search for Christians to have been made by the state.

Were this so, the epistle could, of course, have been written only either before Trajan's decision, *conquiescenti non sunt*, or after the re-enactment of *conquisitio* by Marcus Aurelius; but here again it has to be remarked that, if only there were denunciations on—Ramsay himself (chap. 10, § 2) is aware how readily these could at any time appear among the class of sellers of sacrificial animals (Pliny to Trajan, 10), or among people in the position of Demetrius (Acts 19.24-25), or of the masters of the household with the spirit of divination (1 Pet. 3.15-16) become intelligible enough, even after the publication of Trajan's *conquiescenti non sunt*.

We may still hold, therefore, that 1 Pet. was written in 112 A.D.

The one new thing we have learned is that, when 1 Pet. touches upon the subject of punishment for the mere name of Christian (1.16), it is describing not a

new attitude of the authorities but one that they have been taking for some time. This very fact makes it impossible to use this passage as Ramsay does as fixing the date of the epistle for the transition period during which punishment of Christians only for *flagitia* was giving place to a system of persecution for the mere name. Ramsay (chap. 13, § 1) argues that this last mode of persecution must have been new to the author,

and that at the same time his language constantly presupposes the continuance of the old state of things; that the exhortation 1.15 that none should suffer as a Christian is present is not in any case out of place, even if *flagitia* had not theretofore been the only ground on which the punishment of Christians proceeded; against such *flagitia* Paul also constantly warns his readers (Gal. 5.19-21; 1 Cor. 6.9 f.; 2 Cor. 12.21; Rom. 13.13), and that at a time when there was no thought of Christian persecution. Further, the hope of being able by 'seemly behaviour' and 'good works' to convince the secular power of the injustice of persecution (1 Pet. 2.12, 13, etc.) is one that Christians can never have wholly abandoned, and it found a reasonable justification in the plea of Pliny (27.10) for mild treatment of those who had been denounced. We can understand its persistence most easily on the assumption, as made above, that persecution was only then beginning.

The very positions argued for by Mommsen (and accepted by Ramsay) make it clear that there never had been a period during which

9. Conclusion. Christians, although recognised as a distinct religious society, were punished for *flagitia* merely, and not on account of the *nomen*. The strength of Mommsen's view lies precisely in this: that the name, as soon as it was known, also became punishable. According to Mommsen, we must also conclude, conversely, that where *flagitia* alone are punished the *nomen* is not yet known. Even for the time of Nero this argumentation would be conclusive, had he not wanted incendiaries. But if, as Ramsay says, Christians under Nero were already recognised as distinct from Jews, then *flagitia* other than fire-raising—as, for example, witchcraft—cannot, even in the second stage of the Neronian persecution (on the assumption of there having been such a stage at all), have been the sole ground on which condemnation proceeded. On the question as to the date at which Christianity first began to be recognised as a distinct religion we must confess ourselves completely at a loss. Only this much is certain: that it had come about before the time of Pliny's governorship. From what has been said above, the view of Neumann (and Lipsius) appears the most plausible: the view, namely, that the distinction first received recognition under Domitian, and, more precisely, in the last year of his reign. To this Weizsäcker and others object, with good reason, that it is highly improbable that Christians should have passed for Jews so long. The simple facts that they did not accept circumcision, and frequented, not the synagogues but meeting-places of their own, and more often came into conflict with the Jews, made the recognition of a distinction inevitable—especially as the Roman authorities, most notably in matters affecting societies, were wont to take careful cognisance of even the minutest trifles, and of course, in a formal investigation, had means readily at their disposal for eliciting every detail. If we had nothing but Suetonius's account of Nero to go upon, these considerations would certainly be held to be conclusive even for the time of Nero; but we have Tacitus, who makes us hesitate; and what is said about Domitian goes against Weizsäcker's conclusion. Christian sources give no hope of a decision. Ramsay's citation of 1 Pet. does not hold good, that of the Apocalypse

¹ E.g., Keim, the only one besides Lipsius (and Carr, *Expos.*, June 95, pp. 475-491) who has *et profecto* taken up the question of the origin of the name of Christian (*Das dem Christenthum*, 1875, 1. 171-181).

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is worthless as long as the unity and the date of the book continue to be as questionable as they are; and the Pastoral Epistles are too doubtful. Moreover, it is not at all certain that they speak of *flagitia* as the ground of persecution, so as to necessitate their being assigned to the period of Nero, even if Ramsay's view is adopted as correct; for 2 Tim. 29 does not necessarily mean that Paul suffers *because* he is regarded as a *κακοῦργος*—it can just as well mean that he suffers the same penalties as those to which a *κακοῦργος* is liable, but that the cause of them is in his case his preaching of the gospel (ἐν ᾧ)—in other words, his Christianity. In like manner, it is quite as conceivable in 2 Tim. 3 that the *women* is the cause of the sufferings of all Christians as that *flagitia* are. As for the Third Gospel and Acts, according to what has been said above (§ 2), they show only that their author, about 100-130 A.D., was acquainted with the name, and knew nothing as to its origin that rendered it impossible for him to place its date about the year 40. All that the present discussion can be regarded as contributing towards the solution of the question is the conjecture that the Pagans, in as far as they knew the true character of Christianity at a time before that which we have definitely ascertained, hardly took any cognisance of it—on account of the infrequency with which it came under public notice.

CHRONICLER (כְּרוֹנִיזֵר) 2 S. 8:16 20:24, 1s. 36:3, RV¹⁹⁰¹; EV R¹ECORDER (1901).

CHRONICLES (דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים) 1 K. 14:19. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 13 f.

CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF. In the Hebrew canon Chronicles is a single book, entitled דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Events of the Times*.

The full title would be כְּתָב דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים, *Book of Events of the Times*; and this again appears to have been a designation commonly applied to special histories in the more definite shape—*Events of the Times of King David*, or the like (1 Ch. 27:24, Esch. 10:1 etc.).

1. Name. The Greek translators divided the book into two, and adopted the title *ἱστορίαι*, *Things [often] omitted* (scil. in the other historical books); cod. A adds *ἱστορίαι respecting the kings or τὰ βασιλείων λόγια*; see Bacher, *Z. N. T.* 13:365 ff. (1901). Jerome, following the sense of the Hebrew title, suggested the name of *Chronicon* instead of *Paralipomenon primum et secundum*. Hence the English *Chronicles*.

The book of Chronicles begins with Adam and ends abruptly in the middle of Cyrus's decree of restoration.

2. Connexion with Ezra-Nehemiah. The continuation of the narrative is found in the Book of Ezra, which begins by repeating 2 Ch. 36:22 f., and filling up the fragment of the decree of Cyrus. A closer examination of those parts of Ezra and Nehemiah which are not extracted word for word from earlier documents or original memoirs, leads to the conclusion that Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah was originally one work, displaying throughout the peculiarities of language and thought of a single editor (see § 3). Thus the fragmentary close of 2 Chronicles marks the disruption of a previously-existing continuity. In the gradual compilation of the canon the necessity for incorporating in the Holy Writings an account of the establishment of the post-exilic theocracy was felt, before it was thought desirable to supplement Samuel and Kings by adding a second history of the pre-exilic period. Hence Chronicles is the last book of the Hebrew Bible, following the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, which properly is nothing else than its sequel.

Whilst the original unity of this series of histories can hardly be questioned, it will be more convenient in the present article to deal with Chronicles alone, reserving the relation of the several books for the article HISTORICAL LITERATURE (1901, § 14 f.). The author used a different class of sources for the history of the pre-exilic and the post-exilic periods respectively; and thus the critical questions affecting Chronicles are for the most part quite distinct from those which meet us in the book of Ezra-

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Nehemiah. Besides, the identity of authorship cannot be conclusively demonstrated except by a comparison of results drawn from a separate consideration of each book.

Of the authorship of Chronicles we know only what can be determined by internal evidence. The colour

3. Date. of the language stamps the book as one of the latest in the OT (see § 11); but it leads to no exact determination of date. In 1 Ch. 20:7, which refers to the time of David, a sum of money is reckoned by *darics* (but see DRAM), which certainly implies that the author wrote after that Persian coin had long been current in Judea. The chief passage appealed to by critics to fix the date, however, is 1 Ch. 3:1 ff., where the descendants of Zerubbabel seem to be reckoned to six generations (so Ewald, Bertheau, etc.).

The passage is confused, and G reads it so as to give us many as eleven generations (so Zunz, Nöldk., Kuen., § 203; cp. Kuen., § 24 f.); whilst on the other hand those who plead for an early date are disposed to assume an interpolation or a corruption of the text, or to separate all that follows the name of Jedaiah in v. 21 from what precedes (Movers, Keil). It seems impossible, however, by any fair treatment of the text to obtain fewer than six generations, and this result agrees with the probability that Hattush (v. 24), who, on the interpretation which we prefer, belongs to the fourth generation from Zerubbabel, was a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 8:2).

Thus the Chronicler lived at least two generations after Ezra. With this it accords very well that in Nehemiah five generations of high priests are enumerated from Joshua (12:10 f.), and that the last name is that of Jaddai, who, as we know from Josephus, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. That the Chronicler wrote after the period of the Persian supremacy was past has been argued by Ewald (*Hilf*, 1:171) and others, from the use of the title King of Persia (2 Ch. 36:23).

The official title of the Achemenids was not 'King of Persia' but 'the King, the Great King,' i.e. 'King of Kings,' the 'King of the Lands' (see R¹⁹⁰¹ 1:111 ff. 5:13 ff. 30:1 ff.); and the first of these expressions is that used by Ezra (7:27, 8:1 etc.), Neh. (1:11 2:1 ff.), and other Jews writing under the Persian rule (Hag. 1:13 Zech. 7:1 Ezra 4:8 11:56 ff. etc.).

What seems to be certain and important for a right estimate of the book is that the author lived a considerable time after Ezra, probably indeed (Nöldk., Kuen.) after 300 B.C., and was entirely under the influence of the religious institutions of the new theocracy. This standpoint determined the nature of his interest in the early history of his people.

The true importance of Hebrew history had always centred in the fact that this petty nation was the people of

4. Character: Yahwe, the spiritual God. The true interest which distinguishes the annals of Israel from the forgotten history of Moab or Damascus, lies wholly in that long contest which finally vindicated the reality of spiritual things and the supremacy of Yahwe's purpose, in the political ruin of the nation which was the faithless depositary of these sacred truths. After the fall of Jerusalem it was impossible to write the history of Israel's fortunes otherwise than in a spirit of religious pragmatism. Within the limits of the religious conception of the plan and purpose of the Hebrew history, however, more than one point of view might be taken up. The book of Kings looks upon the history in the spirit of the prophets, in that spirit which is still echoed by Zechariah (1:8 f.): 'Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets, could they live for ever? but my words and my statutes, which I commanded my servants the prophets, did they not overtake your fathers? so that they turned and said, Like as Yahwe of Hosts thought to do unto us . . . so hath he dealt with us.' Long before the Chronicler wrote, however, there had been a great change. The new Jerusalem of Ezra was organised as a municipality and a church, not as a nation. The centre of religious life was no longer the living prophetic word, but the ordinances of the Pentateuch and the liturgical service of the sanctuary. The religious vocation of Israel was no longer national,

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but ecclesiastical or municipal, and the historical continuity of the nation was vividly realised only within the walls of Jerusalem and the courts of the temple, in the solemn assembly and stately ceremonial of a feast day.

These influences naturally operated most strongly on those who were officially attached to the sanctuary. To a Levite, even more than to other Jews, the history of Israel meant above all things the history of Jerusalem, of the temple, and of the temple ordinances. Now the author of Chronicles betrays on every page his essentially levitical habit of mind. It even seems possible, from a close attention to his descriptions of sacred ordinances, to conclude that his special interests are those of a common Levite rather than of a priest, and that of all levitical functions he is most partial to those of the singers, a member of whose guild Ewald conjectures him to have been.

To such a man the older delineation of the history of Israel, especially in Samuel and Kings, could not but appear to be deficient in some directions, whilst in other respects its narrative seemed superfluous or open to misunderstanding, as for example by recording, and that without condemnation, things inconsistent with the pentateuchal law. The history of the ordinances of worship holds a very small place in the older record. Jerusalem and the temple have not that central place in the Book of Kings which they occupied in the minds of the Jewish community in post-exilic times. Large sections of the old history are devoted to the religion and politics of the northern kingdom, which are altogether unintelligible and uninteresting when measured by a strictly levitical standard; and in general the whole problems and struggles of the earlier period turn on points which had ceased to be cardinal in the life of the new Jerusalem, which was no longer called upon to decide between the claims of the Word of Yahweh and the exigencies of political affairs and social customs, and which could not comprehend that men absorbed in deeper spiritual contests had no leisure for such things as the metics of levitical legislation.

Thus there seemed to be room for a new history, which should confine itself to matters still interesting to the theocracy of Zion, keeping Jerusalem and the temple in the foreground, and developing the divine pragmatism of the history, with reference, not so much to the prophetic word as to the fixed legislation of the Pentateuch (especially the Priest's Code), so that the whole narrative might be made to teach that Israel's glory lies in the observance of the divine law and ritual.

1. *Outline of Chronicles.* The book falls naturally into three parts. 1. *Introductory résumé* (1 Ch. 1-9).—

2. *Contents.* For the sake of systematic completeness the author begins with Adam, as is the custom with later Oriental writers. He had nothing, however, to add to the Pentateuch, and the period from Moses to David contained little that served his purpose. He, therefore, contracts the early history (1 Ch. 1-9) into a series of genealogies,¹ which were doubtless by no means the least interesting part of his work at a time when every Israelite was concerned to prove the purity of his Hebrew descent (see Ezra 2:59-62, and cp. GEN. 10:1-11:32). The greatest space is allotted naturally to the tribes of JUDAH and LEVI (cp. 1 Ch. 2:3-1:23 [5:27-6:66]); but, except where the author derives his materials from the earlier historical books (as in 1 Ch. 1:1-10 [5:27-6:66]), his lists are meagre and imperfect, and his data evidently fragmentary. Already, however, the circumstances and interests of the author betray themselves; for even in these chapters his principal object is evidently to explain, in a manner consonant with the conceptions of his age, the origin of the ecclesiastical institutions of the post-exilic community.

Observe that 1 Ch. 9:2-17 is excerpted (with merely clerical differences) from Neh. 11:3-19a (on the passage see Ezra, ii. § 5 [6], § 15 [17]); and that the age to which the genealogies in

1 Ch. 3:17-24 and 3:33-40 (cp. 9:35-44, and see BRS. JAMES, § 9) are carried, shows that their purpose is to give the pedigree of post-exilic families who traced their descent from David and Saul respectively. In ch. 2 We. (*De gent.*; cp. more briefly *Prod.* 205 ff. [1:1 ff.]) has shown that 2 Ch. 25:31-42:50a, forming the kernel of the chapter, relate to pre-exilic Judah, whilst 25:10-17 [18-24] 34:41 50b-55 (like the greater part of 4:1-2) have reference to the circumstances of the post-exilic community; the chief aim of ch. 2 is to explain how the Gileadites, who before the fall of Jerusalem had their home in the S. of Judah, had in post-exilic times to find new homes in the more northerly parts of Judah (see CAL. ii. § 17).

2. *Israel before the schism* (1 Ch. 10-2 Ch. 11).—From the death of Saul (1 Ch. 10) the history becomes fuller and runs parallel with Samuel and Kings. The limitations of the author's interest in past times appear in the omission, among other particulars, of David's reign in Hebron, of the disorders in his family and the revolt of Absalom, of the circumstances of Solomon's accession, and of many details as to the wisdom and splendour of that sovereign as well as of his fall into idolatry.

3. *The Southern Kingdom* (2 Ch. 12-36).—In the later history the northern kingdom is quite neglected, and political affairs in Judah receive attention, not in proportion to their intrinsic importance, but according as they serve to exemplify God's help to the obedient and his chastisement of the rebellious. That the author is always unwilling to speak of the misfortunes of good rulers, is not to be ascribed with some critics to a deliberate suppression of truth, but shows that the book was throughout composed not in purely historical interests, but with a view to inculcate a single practical lesson.

4. *Additions to Kings.* 1. The more important additions which the Chronicler makes to the old narrative consists of (a) statistical lists (1 Ch. 12, see DAVID, § 11, m.); (b) full details on points connected with the history of the sanctuary (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 15) and the great feasts (see 1:1-2:18), or the archeology of the Levitical ministry (see LEVITES, 1 Ch. 13-15-16) (these three chapters expanded remarkably from 2 S. 6:1-22 [29-31] 35:1-17 etc.); and (c) narratives of victories and defeats, of sins and punishments, of obedience and its reward, which could be made to point a plain religious lesson in favour of faithful observance of the Law.

See the following passages:—2 Ch. 13-14 (Aliahah), 14:9-15 (Zerah), 15:1-15 (Asa and the prophet Azariah), 16:7-10 (Asa and Hanani), 19:1-13 (Jehoshaphat and the prophet Jehu), 20 (Jehoshaphat and Moadab, etc.); 21:1-17 (Jehoram), 25:1-10 (Amaziah) etc.

These narratives often include prophetic discourses, inculcating the same principle of the theocratic conditions of success and failure, with much uniformity of expression, and in a tone very different from that of the prophets who appear in Samuel or Kings.

2. Attention should be directed also to the *short insertions*, introduced often into the narratives excerpted from the older historical books, for the purpose of supplementing them at some point where they appeared to the author to need explanation or correction.

Such are the notes on ritual 1 Ch. 15:27a-28b (David); 2 Ch. 5:11b-13a 6:13-17 8:13-15 (Solomon); 22:6-13 (*midde*) 18 (from 2:2) 14 (disposition of Athaliah); 34:9 ('the Levites') 12 (from 1:1) 14, etc.; the reflections in 1 Ch. 21:6 ff. (David's census); 2 Ch. 31:16 (Solomon's wife's palace); 12:12 (Rehoboam humbling himself); 18:21b (Yahweh delivers Jehoshaphat); 22:36-46 (cause of Athaliah's wickedness); 27:2-4 (to 'Yahweh', cause of plot against Amaziah); 36:21 (*midde*) 23 (*midde*); consequences of Uriah's leprosy); 27:5 (effects of Jotham's piety); 33:23 (character of Amos).

The minor variations of Chronicles from Samuel and Kings are analogous in principle to the larger additions and omissions, so that the whole work has a consistent and well-marked character, presenting the history in quite a different perspective from that of the old narrative.

Here, then, a critical question arises. Is the change of perspective wholly due to a different selection of

6. *Sources.* items from authentic historical tradition? May we assume that everything which is new in Chronicles has been taken exactly from older

¹ See the articles on the several tribes.

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sources, or must we judge that the standpoint of the author has not only governed the selection of facts, but also coloured the statement of them? Are all his novelties new data, or are some of them inferences of his own from the same data as he before us in other books of the OT?

To answer these questions we must first inquire what were the materials at his command. The Chronicler makes frequent reference to earlier histories which he cites by a great variety of names.

1. *The Book of the Kings.*—That the names 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,' 'Book of the Kings of Israel,' and 'Affairs of the Kings of Israel' (2 Ch. 33:12, *Heb.*) refer to a single work is not disputed. Under one or other title this book is cited some ten times (1 Ch. 9:1; 2 Ch. 16:11; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 33:18; 35:27; 36:3, also 20:34; 32:32, noted below).

That it is not the canonical Kings is manifest from what is said of its contents.

It must have been quite an extensive work, for among other things it contained genealogical statistics (1 Ch. 9:1), as well as other particulars not mentioned in the existing Book of Kings (see 2 Ch. 27:7; 33:14; 36:1); and it incorporated certain older writings of (or about) prophets, in particular the *Dēbārīm* (*Words*, or rather *Matters*, i.e., *History*) of Jehu ben Hanani (1 Ch. 20:34, where read with RV, 'which is inserted in') and the Vision of Isaiah (2 Ch. 32:32).

Now it is noticeable that, where the Chronicler does not cite this comprehensive work at the close of a king's reign, he generally refers to some special authority which bears the name of a prophet (1 Ch. 29:29, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; 2 Ch. 9:29, Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo; 12:15, Shemai, and Iddo; 13:22, Iddo; 26:22, Isaiah). Never, however, is the *Book of the Kings* and a special prophetic writing cited for the same reign. It is therefore highly probable that, in other cases as well as in those of Jehu and Isaiah (see above), the writings cited under the names of various prophets were known to the author only as parts of the great *Book of the Kings*.

Even 2 Ch. 33:13 (cp. 17:13), where AV departs from the received Hebrew text, but probably expresses the correct reading, seems rather to confirm than to oppose this conclusion (which is now disputed by very few scholars) except in the case of Isaiah's history of Uzziah (2 Ch. 26:22), where the form of the reference is different.

The references to these *Dēbārīm* will thus not imply the existence of historical monographs written by the prophets with whose names they are connected; they will merely point to sections of the *Book of the Kings*, which embraced the history of particular prophets, and were hence familiarly cited under their names.

2. *The Midrash of the Book of the Kings.*—Whether the Book of the Kings is identical with the *Midrash* (RV, badly, *Commentary*) of the *Book of the Kings* (2 Ch. 21:27) is not certain. On the one hand, the peculiar title would suggest a distinct work; on the other hand, it is not apparent why, if (as its title shows) it was a comprehensive work, dealing with the kings generally, it should be cited for only one reign. The term '*Midrash*,'² moreover, from *מִדְרַשׁ* *to search out, investigate*,—as applied to Scripture, to discover or develop a thought not apparent on the surface,—denotes a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story (such, for instance, as that of Tobit or Susannah); the *Midrash* here referred to will thus have been a work intended to develop the religious lessons deducible from the history of the kings. This, however, is just the guiding motive in many of the narratives, peculiar to Chronicles, for which the author cites as his authority the *Book of the Kings*; the last-named work, therefore, even if not identical with the *Midrash of the Book of*

the Kings (as Ew. We. Kue. with much probability suppose), will nevertheless have been similar in character and tendency (cp. below, § 9, end).

The *Midrash of the prophet Iddo* (2 Ch. 13:22) will have been either a particular section of the *Midrash of the Book of the Kings*, or, more probably, perhaps, a separate work of the same character, which was attributed to Iddo as its author, or in which the prophet Iddo played a prominent part. For allusions to other authorities, see 1 Ch. 5:17; 23:27; 24:24; 2 Ch. 35:25.

3. *Conclusion.*—All these writings must have been post-exilic works; nor is it probable that, except for some of his statistical information, the Chronicler had access to any sources of early date other than the canonical histories of the OT. The style (see below, § 11) is conclusive evidence that no part of the additional matter¹ peculiar to Chronicles is an *excerpt* from any pre-exilic writing.

The general conclusion is that it is very doubtful whether the Chronicler used any historical work not accessible to us, with the exception of this lost *Book of the Kings*. Even his genealogical lists may have been derived from that work (1 Ch. 9:1), though for these he may also have had other materials at command.

4. *Sources of the Canonical Kings.*—Now we know that the two chief sources of the canonical book of Kings were entitled *Annals* ('events of the times') of the Kings of Israel and Judah respectively. That the lost source of the Chronicles was not independent of these works appears probable both from the nature of the case and from the close and often verbal parallelism between many sections of the two biblical narratives. Whilst the canonical Book of Kings, however, had separate sources for the N. and the S. kingdoms, the source of Chronicles was a history of the two kingdoms combined, and so, no doubt, was a more recent work, in great measure extracted from the older annals. Still it contained also matter not derived from these works, for it is pretty clear from 2 K. 21:17 that the *Annals of the Kings of Judah* gave no account of Manasseh's repentance, which, according to 2 Ch. 33:17, was narrated in the great *Book of the Kings of Israel*.

5. *Dependence of Chronicles on Kings.*—It was formerly the opinion of Bertheau, and other scholars (e.g., Keil), that the parallelisms of Chronicles with Samuel and Kings are sufficiently explained by the ultimate common source from which both narratives drew. Most critics hold, however, that the Chronicler also drew directly from the canonical Samuel and Kings, as he unquestionably did from the Pentateuch. This opinion is probable in itself, as the earlier books of the OT cannot have been unknown to the author; and the critical analysis of the canonical Book of Kings shows that in some of the parallel passages the Chronicler uses words which were not taken from the annals but written by the author of Kings himself. In particular, Chronicles agrees with Kings in those short notes of the moral character of individual monarchs which can hardly be ascribed to a hand earlier than that of the latter author of the latter book (cp. e.g., 2 Ch. 20:32 f. [Asa] with 1 K. 22:43; 24:2 [Joash], with 2 K. 12:3 [2] [Joash], 25:1-4 [Amaziah], with 2 K. 11:2 f. 5 f., etc.). It is, of course possible, as Bertheau (*Altv. f.*) and Kuenen (§ 3217) suppose, that the author of the chief source of Chronicles had already incorporated extracts from our canonical book of Kings; and in general the connections of the successive historical books which precede the present canonical histories are sufficiently complex to make it unwise to indulge in positive assertions on a matter in which so many possibilities may be suggested.

¹ 'The Seers'; so B, RVmg, Bertheau, Kuenen, Ball, Orelli, Kantsch, Budde and Kittel read *וְיָרְאוּ* *his seers* (cp. 12). Those who follow MT (as Ew. *Hist.* 1:124, Keil) find in 12 an unknown prophet Hoza (cp. RVmg: RV).

² Though common in Rabbinical literature, it occurs otherwise in the OT only in 2 Ch. 13:22.

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Another principle traceable in the Chroniker's additions is the tendency not merely to lay stress upon the doctrine in divine retribution, but also to represent it as acting immediately (see especially below [4]). To the earlier

The prophets the retributive justice of God is manifest in the general course of the history—the fall of the Hebrew nation is the hint of sin and rebellion against Yahweh's moral commands—but God's justice is mingled with long-suffering, and the prophets do not suppose that every sin is punished promptly, and that temporary good fortune is always the reward of righteousness. The aim of very many of the additions made in Chronicles to the old history, is to show that in Israel retribution followed immediately on good or bad conduct, especially on obedience or disobedience to prophetic warnings.

(b) In 2 K. 3 we read of a war with Moab in which Jehoshaphat was associated with the wicked house of Ahab, and came to a shameful end. In Chronicles this war is entirely omitted, and in its place we have (2 Ch. 20) an expedition of Jehoshaphat alone against Moab, Ammon, and Edom, in which the Jewish king, having opened the campaign—with the assistance of the Levites—with suitable prayer and praise, has no further task than to "spoil the spoil of the enemy who have fallen by one another's hands."

(6) In Kings, Asa, who according to 1 K. 15:24 was a good king all his days, had in his old age (75-23) a disease in his feet. With the help of his attendants, of accounting for this, the Chronicler explains (2 Ch. 16:1-7; cp. the addition in 75:2-5) that three years previously he had shown a distrustful spirit by contracting an alliance with Benhadad (which is mentioned in 1 K. 15:17-22, without any mark of disapproval on the part of the narrator). The singular dates in 2 Ch. 15:16-18 (which place Baasha's invasion at a period which, according to 1 K. 15:33-36, was ten years after his own death) are most naturally explained as an attempt to bring the final sufficiently near the punishment, (68) Spitteler, *op. cit.* 122-8, 37, 1.

All this is entirely in the style of the Jewish 'Midrash'; it is not history, but 'Haggidā', moralising romance attaching to historical names and events. The Chronicler himself, it will be remembered (see above, § 6 [2], gives the name of 'Midrash' to two of the sources from which

2 C 1.15 mentions only the fact that Uziah became a leper.
 3 Cp 1 Ch. 10.13 ff. (the cause assigned for Saul's death); 2 C 1.
 4 2 Ch. 29.10 (cause of Shishak's invasion); 21.10 (cause of Jahaziah's death);
 5 22.7, 21.20b, 25.19, 22.24 (Aha's troubles attributed to his idolatry);
 6 26.16. In 2 Ch. 24.14, 28.22, 24.4, the older narratives of
 7 Kings have been not less curiously transformed than in 2 Ch. 23.
 8 28.16, 27.7; see, *ad loc.*; Ktze, 21, § 30.21, § 31.2; We.
 9 *Proph.*, 4.
 10 between Hiram and Solomon (2 Ch. 2.1-6, cp 1 K. 5-9) has
 11 been rewritten by the Chronicler (with reminiscences from other
 12 parts of Kin.) in his own style.

his materials were derived. There need be no uncertainty, therefore, as to the nature of his work when it is seen to be derived from the older narratives of S. and K.

Another peculiarity of the Chronicler is to be found in the incredibly high figures with which he deals.

David (1 Ch. 22.14) amasses 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver for the temple (contrast the much more modest estimate of even Solomon's revenue in 1 K. 10.14.7.); the army of Abijah numbers 400,000 men, that of Jeroboam 800,000, of whom 500,000 perish in one day (2 Ch. 13.17); Asa musters 500,000 soldiers, Zerah 1,000,000 (14.89), Jehoshaphat 1,100,000 (17.14-15), although in 20.12 he complains that he has 'no might'; Uzziah 927,500 (20.13); of the army of Ahaz 120,000 are slain in one day, while 200,000 women and children are taken captive (28.6-8).

Manifestly such figures cannot be historical. The past was magnified, as it was also idealised. The empire of David and his successors was imagined on a scale of unsurpassed power and magnificence; pre-exilic Judah was pictured as already in possession of the institutions, and governed—at least in its greater and better men—by the ideas and principles which were in force at a later day. The past was read in the light of the present, and the history, where necessary, re-written accordingly. No doubt in many instances a traditional element lies at the basis of the Chronicler's representation; but this element has been developed by him, and embellished with fresh details, for the purpose of giving expression to the ideas which he had at heart, and of inculcating the lessons which he conceived the history to teach. It is probable that the new conception of Israel's past history, and the characteristic didactic treatment of it, did not originate with the Chronicler himself, but had already appeared in the *Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah* or the *Midrash of the Book of Kings*, which he so frequently cites as his authorities (cp Be. xxxvii.).

A usage, not peculiar to the Chronicler among OT writers, which must be carefully taken into account by the historical critic, is that of giving information that is really statistical in the form of a narrative. This is the

10. The genealogies.

principle which underlies many of the OT statements of genealogical relationships, and which alone explains the variations between different accounts of the genealogy proceeding from a single ancestor: information as to the subdivisions of clans, the intermingling of populations, and the like, is thrown into a genealogical form (see GENEALOGIES, § 1). The most striking example of the application of this principle is the ethnographical table of Gen. 10 (cp also 22.20-24 25.1-4 13.16, and parts of 36); but these instances by no means stand alone; there are many in 1 Ch. 1-9.

Thus it is avowedly the intention of 24.42-45 46-55 42-5 11-14 17-23 to indicate the origin of local populations: 'in 24.3 Hebron, the town, has 'sons'. Several of the names in 24 are also those of Edomite clans (Wellh. *De Gentibus ch.* 38.7); these came gradually to be treated as belonging to Judah, and the connection was afterwards exhibited artificially in a genealogical scheme. Caleb and Jerahmeel were not originally Israelites; Caleb belonged to the Edomite clan (Gen. 36.11) of the Kenizites (Jos. 14.6-14); and clans bearing the name of Caleb and Jerahmeel are in David's time (1 S. 27.10, cp 30.29; note also the terms of Jos. 14.15a) still distinguished from Judah: in course of time, however, they were regarded as an integral part of the tribe, and a genealogy was formed (1 Ch. 2.18-25) to give expression to the fact.¹

A different application of the same principle seems

¹ So in 7.22 Ephraim is not an individual, but the tribe; and in 7.21 Ezer and Ized are, no doubt, Ephraimite clans. Cp Bennett in *Expos. Bib.* chap. iv. esp. p. 87 ff.

to be in the account of the institutions of Levitical service which is introduced in connection with the transference of the ark to Jerusalem by David. The author is not concerned to distinguish the gradual steps by which the Levitical organisation attained its full development. He wishes to describe the system in its complete form, especially as regards the service of the singers, and he does this under the reign of David, who was the father of Hebrew psalmody [cp *OT* 10.12 223 f.] and the restorer of the sanctuary of the ark.

The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically

late linguistic novelties (which are not confined to the vocabulary, but, as König's *Syntax der hebr. Sprache* fully shows, extend to the syntax), but it has also a number of special mannerisms. Even the reader of a translation can see that this must be the case. Modern words, often with Aramaic affixes, inelegant syntax, embrocated and uncouth sentences, in strongest possible contrast to the ease and grace of the earlier Hebrew historical books,—these are the predominant marks of the Chronicler's style; and so constant are they that there is hardly a sentence, not excepted from Samuel or Kings, in which they are not observable.¹ For details we must refer to the introductions and commentaries (see e.g., Be. xiv.-xviii.; Dr. *Introd.* 535-540; E. Brown, *Hastings' DB* 1.36-38). It might be thought by those unacquainted with the Chronicler's manner, that the *speeches* in Chronicles might form as a whole an exception to what is here stated, and that they might conceivably be based on some special sources of older date. But this would be a great mistake. The tone and literary style of the speeches which have parallels in Samuel and Kings are both very different from those which have been added by the Chronicler. The latter not only reflect, almost uniformly, the ideas and point of view of the Chronicler himself, but also exhibit frequently the same literary peculiarities. There can be no reasonable doubt that they are, one and all, his own composition.²

His work in the *König's Hdb.* (ed. 2, 1273) is still a most helpful commentary; see also Keil (C70); Zöckler in *Langes Handw.* (74); Oehler, *Kgl. Konig.* (80); Kautzsch, *Speaker's Comm.* (73); Hall (deceased), *Ellicott's Comm.* (73); Bennett (suggestive), *Expos. Bib.* (74). On isagogic questions (structure, sources, credibility of narrative, etc.) the principal works are De Wette, *Krit. Versuch über die Glaubwürdigkeit d. Chron.* (1805) (*Bibl. u. vol. 1*); Keil, *Apolog. Versuch.* (C33), and *Einh.* (C73), §§ 138-143; Movers, *Krit. Unters. über die Bib.* (Chron. 140); Graf, *Das Buch der Chron. als Geschichtsquelle*, in *Die Gesch. Bücher des ATs* (76), p. 114-247 (see also Be. viii.); Ew. *Hist.* 1.160 ff.; De Wette—Schür., *Einh. Chron.* §§ 224-233; We. *Prodr.* 1.1 1.223 ff.; Kue. *Ueber* §§ 28-32 (very thorough); Dr. *Introd.* 516-540; Wiedelocher, *Letzte Kunde*, § 25; König, *Einh.* § 54. Cp also Bu. 'Vermutungen zum "Midrash" des Buches der Könige' in *ZfTh.* 1.192, p. 37 ff. (speculative); Kl. *Chronicles, Critical Edition*, etc., with Notes, *SBOT* (Hebrew), '05; W. E. Barnes, 'Religious Standpoint of the Chronicler', *Am. Journ. Sem. Lang. and Lit.*, Oct. '96; 'Chronicles a Targum', *Ezr. Times*, 836 f. (97); *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version* (97) (contains a rather surprising number of variants in the primary MSS); E. Brown, art. 'Chronicles', *Hastings' DB* (97).

W. R. S.—S. R. D.

¹ The peculiarities in question may often be observed even in the short sentences which the Chronicler sometimes introduces into a narrative otherwise executed without material alteration from Samuel or Kings; e.g., 1 Ch. 21.1 (22.2), 1 Ch. 22.2 (22.2), 2 Ch. 23.2 (23.2), 2 Ch. 23.2 (23.2), 2 Ch. 23.2 (23.2), etc.

² For illustrations see Dr., 'The Speeches in Chronicles', *Expositor*, Apr. and Oct. 1895, pp. 247-254, 294 f., 304-5, etc.

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A. OLD TESTAMENT.

The advantages afforded by a fixed and uniform chronological system of dating historical events seem so evident that one might expect to find some such method of determining dates in use from the very earliest times.

1. No fixed era.

History, however, shows that a long development was needed to lead to this simple result. Only in connection with a universal history did the desire for a uniform and comprehensive method of determining dates spring up. The impulse towards a real universal history and a general chronology came, not when the attempt was made to collect and record all human events, but when men learned to look at them from a single point of view and to comprehend them in a single plan. The roots of such a universal history lie in the prophets of Israel, who regarded the plan of Yahweh as realising itself in the experience of the nations of the earth as well as in the history of Israel; and its actual beginnings, strange as it may seem, are to be found in the Apocalyptic writers, who regarded history as a comprehensive whole (see APOCALYPTIC, § 2). This mode of regarding history was continued by Christianity. It is not strange, therefore, that Christianity felt the need for a universal chronology and found a way of meeting that need, thus proving its own world-embracing significance. This is not the place to enter upon the long and involved history of the adoption of the Christian era, which, after its author, the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus of the first half of the sixth century, is also called the Dionysian era. In order, however, to obtain a fixed starting-point from which to reckon, we must simply state here that the year 1—i.e., the year of the birth of Christ—is equivalent to the year 754 of the era of Varro—i.e., the era of the city of Rome,—and to the first year of the 195th Olympiad; and, also, that King Herod died in the year 750 of the city of Rome, and so in the year 4 B.C. (cp Schürer, *GH* I 313-315).

The same phenomenon of gradual arrival at a satisfactory chronological method is repeated in the narrower sphere of the national history of the several nations. We never find a settled era, a definite date from which years were counted, at the very beginning or even at an early period of a nation's history. If anything of this kind has seemed to appear in early times, it has always turned out to be in the highest degree uncertain, or really to rest on later calculations. Nor is the

OT any exception to this rule. Only once had the Jews before Christ a national era, and that was for a very short time. When Simon the Maccabee had obtained from the Syrians complete freedom from taxation along with the acknowledgment of the political independence of Judea, documents and contracts were dated by years of Simon, the High Priest and Prince of the Jews, the first year of Simon the High Priest (1 Macc. 13:11-12) representing the 170th year of the era of the Seleucides (= 143-142 B.C.).¹

On the other hand, since the time when the Jews fell under the dominion of Syria, they had used the so-called era of the Seleucides (*Βασιλεία ΤΕΛΕΦΑΡΩΝ*, 1 Macc. 1:11; *Βασιλεία ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΝΩΝ* [Assyrian = Syrian], Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 6:7; *אֵרָא חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר שָׁנִים* amongst the Jews, and year *ד'תקנ"ה* amongst the Syrians). This era has for its starting-point the defeat of Nicanor, the general of Antiochus, by Scaurus Nicenter, and the final establishment of the dominion of the Seleucides in Syria and Babylonia in the year Ol. 117, i.e., 312 B.C. It is used in the Books of the Maccabees, but there, it would seem, with this difference, that in the first book it begins, not, as was usual elsewhere, in the autumn, but in the spring of 312, thus about half a year earlier.² This era reached in general as far as the Syrian power, and although, usually, where states were able to obtain freedom they introduced new eras of their own, none was able to maintain itself so long as that of the Seleucides. It remained in use, indeed, among the Syrians for centuries alongside of the Arabic era, which counts from the Hegira (*hijra*, flight of Mohammed), 16th July, 622 A.D.

Real eras are not met with in the OT in earlier times. We cannot cite as an exception the practice of the Jews during the Exile, of counting the years since they were carried away from their land (*שְׁנֵי מֵאוֹת*, Ezek. 33:1 and 40:1; *שְׁנֵי מֵאוֹת*, 2 K. 25:27; also Jer. 52:31, and Ezek. 1:2, and, without mention of the point from which the reckoning is made, Ezek. 8:1, 20:1, 29:17). In truth, they desired nothing more eagerly than to be delivered from the need of counting in this way. Besides, there

¹ Whether the numbers 1-5 that are found on silver shekels and half-shekels with the inscription *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף* or *יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף* refer to another era than this of Simon's, and, if so, to some pre-Christian era, has not been decided. That Simon had coins stamped, however, is hardly to be doubted (cp 1 Macc. 15:2; also Schürer, *op. cit.* I 132 ff. 636 ff.).

² Cp Schürer, *op. cit.* I 131. We, however (170, 129 ff. 202), regard this assumption as unnecessary (cp YEAR, § c).

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was along with it a reckoning from the final fall of Jerusalem (Ezek 40:1, while Ezek 1:1 (if the text has reached us intact) must rest on still a third mode of reckoning.¹ It is, moreover, a very unsafe hypothesis which ventures to return in the case of the statement of 2 Ch. 16:1 (as a whole clearly untenable) at least the number 36 as based on trustworthy tradition, and proposes to find therein a trace of a Judean era, thought to date from the division of the kingdom (Sharpe, *Chronology of the Bible*, 29; cp Brandes, *Abhandl.* 62). Nor, lastly, are we any more justified in finding any trace of a real era counting from the Exodus i.e. the late passage (K. 6:1, where the building of Solomon's temple is assigned to the 480th year after that event. This number does not rest on tradition; it has been reached by calculation based on some hypothesis. No corroboration can be obtained from the numbers in the late Priestly Code: if the passages containing them are original even there—numbers which date the events of the journey through the wilderness by years from the deliverance out of Egypt (אֲנִי בְּיָמֵי מֹשֶׁה בְּיָמֵי מֹשֶׁה בְּיָמֵי מֹשֶׁה; cp Ex 16:19; Nu. 1:9; 33:38). Nor can any support, in fact, be found for the notion that the Jubilee period was turned to chronological purposes. There is not the slightest trace of a real carrying out of the regulations concerning it mentioned in Lev. 25:9 ff.; even the Books of the Maccabees speak only of Sabbatic years, never of Jubilee years (1 Macc. 6:49-51; cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 162).

In spite of this lack of a proper era, the OT is not without notes and data intended to serve as a means of fixing events chronologically. In addition to isolated observations (more the less important that they are incidentally setting an occurrence in relation to another prominent event (e.g., to the death of the king, as in Is. 61:1-2, or to an important expedition, as in Is. 20:1, to the building of a city, as in Nu. 32:2, or to an extraordinary natural phenomenon, as in Am. 1:1), we generally find, in the case of any important OT personage, the year of his life or his reign specified; and in the books edited during the Exile the date of the events narrated begins to be given by years of the reigning king. Besides, there are the various synchronistic data often supplied by headings of books (e.g., in the case of certain of the prophets), and by the Books of Kings, which have a complete synchronistic record for the time of the coexistence of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Finally, the evidence of the contemporaneity of certain events furnished at times by the historical narrative itself is of the highest importance.

The weightiest question, however, is, to what degree of credibility this chronological material can lay claim.

Before undertaking the examination of this question for the several points of the history, we must premise some general considerations that thrust themselves on our notice. First of all, there is the remarkable fact that these chronological notes are to be found in greatest abundance in those parts of the historical books that are confessedly to be regarded as the youngest. In the Pentateuch they belong to the post-exilic Priestly Code or to additions of even later date; in the other historical books into which the older

¹ In that case nothing would meet the requirements of the passage but a reckoning that counted from the reform of Josiah (622). Of any such mode of reckoning we know nothing, any more than we do of a reckoning by Jubilee periods, or of a Babylonian era meeting the requirements of the text (cp Kne. *Ant.* 260 n. 4). W. (*AT Unters.* 94-6) therefore alters the text, and reads Ezek. 1:1 thus: וְהָיָה בְּשָׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי עָלֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה, or וְהָיָה בְּשָׁנָה הַשְּׁמִינִי עָלֵינוּ מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה, which must be understood like 8:1, and give an earlier date than 8:1. It would be better, however, to assume the original reading to have been 'in the fifth year' (cp the following verse)—i.e., הַחֲמִישִׁי—, and that from the fact of Jeremiah's having predicted seventy years for the Exile (25:11, cp 29:10) while Ezekiel gave only forty (1:1), a later writer drew the inference that Ezekiel prophesied thirty years after Jeremiah, and accordingly inserted as a date in Ezek. 1:1 the thirtieth year of the Exile (Duhm).

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sources have been worked, they are due, in the main, to the latest exilic editors. Then, it must be regarded as proved that the superscriptions of the prophetic books containing detailed information concerning the time of the respective prophets do not come from the prophets themselves, but are much younger additions, such as the emendation of later ages delighted in. This appears from the inexplicable double date (by kings of Judah and of Israel) found in Hosea and Amos, as well as from the macrama, or the crowding, of the data in Is. Jer. and Ezek. Nor is the remarkable addition in Amos 1:1, 'two years before the earthquake,' any exception to this rule: the fact that a later event is employed to define the date shows that the statement is a subsequent addition, and it is therefore very probable that it rests on the exegesis and calculation of the scribes (cp Hoffmann, *ZITW* 3:12 [83]). Lastly, it is remarkable that the text presents no uniformity of reading in the matter of recording dates; nay, that there are even to be found in filled blanks. Thus in 1 S. 13:1 the numbers have been omitted from the formula giving the age of Saul and the length of his reign, and in 2 S. the whole verse is omitted.¹ There are also other places in the LXX where such chronological data are lacking (e.g., Jer. 47:1 [BAX]) and elsewhere in the old versions we come on considerable variations from the traditional Hebrew text. All these are marks that indicate a late origin for the chronological numbers and warn us in the most emphatic way to submit them to a thorough examination.

As regards the oldest period, with which Genesis deals, the time down to the Exodus, it is known that the numbers supplied by the Samaritan and the LXX texts, and even by the Book of Jubilees (dating from the last century A.D.), differ in many points from those of the Massoretic text.

The divergence will be made most plain by a comparison showing the sum of the years according to each tradition. In Gen. 5 the period from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood is, according to the Hebrew text, 1656 years; according to the Samaritan, 1307; and, according to 2 S. 22:2, 1110 ff. the interval from the birth of Slem to the birth of Abraham is, according to the Hebrew text, 300 years; according to the Samaritan, 1040; and, according to the text of 2 S. 22:2, 1110. In this no account is taken of the variations exhibited by the other MSS of 2 S. itself, nor is it inquired whether the tradition represented by any one given text is free from internal inconsistency (cp, e.g., Gen. 11:10, 'two years after the flood,' with Gen. 11:32 74, and Gen. 11:104; further Gen. 12:4 with Gen. 11:26, 32).

This state of matters shows, what was indeed probable to begin with, that there was no fixed tradition concerning the early history of Israel; that, indeed, even at so late a time as that of the LXX and the Book of Jubilees, there was no clear idea of how the period in question should be measured. Thus the numbers of the Hebrew text, since they are not earlier than the Priestly Code, go back at the best only to the fifth century B.C., and do not rest on tradition, but have been reached by the application of some artificial theory. Since they are useless, therefore, at least for chronology (if indeed one could ever have hoped to obtain such a thing for those earliest times), it is unnecessary to attempt to discover what the actual theory underlying them is.

It will be enough to mention that v. Gutschmid observed that 2666—the number of years resulting from the summation of the Massoretic numbers for the period (Gen. 5 to Ex. 12:4) from the creation of Adam to the Exodus² is exactly two-thirds of 4000 years. These 4000 years he took to represent a period of 100 generations of 40 years each) assigned for the duration of the world. In this way he sought to explain the artificial origin of the system (cp Nöld. *Untersuch. zur Krit. des AT* Dr. FBS).

² The number 2666 results from the addition of 1656, the number of years from the creation of the world to the beginning of the flood (cp Gen. 5), + 300, the sum of the years from the flood to the birth of Abraham (cp Gen. 11:10 ff.) + 75 to the departure of Abraham from Haran (Gen. 12:4) + 15 to the departure of Jacob for Egypt (= 25 to the birth of Isaac (Gen. 25:1) + 60 to the birth of Jacob (Gen. 25:26), + 100 years of Jacob's life (Gen. 47:28), + 430 years of stay in Egypt (Ex. 12:40).

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It is worth while, however, making the relation in which, according to Oppert (1887, pp. 200-21), the Chaldean numbers for the first ages in Genesis and the statements in Genesis stand to each other. The Chaldeans reckon from the beginning of the world to Alexander 24 myriads of years, of which 17 my. represent the time from the first man to Alexander. This they allow for the creation 100 myriads of years. Now, the 7 days of the biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. This in the creation age a myriad of years is represented in the biblical account by an hour. Again, for the time of the first ten men down to the flood, the Chaldeans reckon 412,000 years (Genesis 1656). If both numbers be divided by 7, we get 60,000 and 24 respectively, and 24 years = 7.68, 24 x 10 days = 192 weeks, while 60,000 years is 5 times 12,000 years. Hence the Chaldeans seem to have reckoned 5 years (i.e. 60 months) as a *myriad hour*, where Genesis has reckoned 1 week (Genesis 72 x 24 years = 72 x 12 x 24 = 1,728, 1,728 weeks = 412,000 years (Chaldean) 86,400 hours). This remarkable relation, which can hardly rest on pure accident, presupposes a complicated calculation, and a very late origin for these numbers. Whenever be the theory underlying the numbers of Genesis, one thing, therefore, is certain: for a sine chronology of the times before the Exodus, the 61 numbers, appearing as they do for the first time in the youngest sources of the Pentateuch, afford no security.

The case is no better with the chronology of the interval that extends from the Exodus to the building of the temple of Solomon. We have here, indeed, a lack in 1 K. 6:1 which makes the building of the temple begin in the 480th year after the Exodus, but this number did not make its appearance till a time when the temple of Solomon was no more (cp. above, § 1). It bears, moreover, the clear impress of being artificial; for it plainly counts from Moses to David twelve generations of forty years each, which we can easily identify as follows: Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. This explanation of the origin of the number 480 is corroborated by the fact that the five "little" Judges in Ju. 10 and 12 appear to have been inserted into the Deuteronomistic Book of Judges later on the object of their insertion, see Judges, § 91. Nor can anything certain be obtained from the individual numbers, since they are neither quite clear nor free from gaps.

It remains obscure, e.g., how the numbers relating to the supremacy of the Philistines and the judgeship of Samson (13:1-14:1 and 16:31) are related to each other; how the twenty years from the arrival of the ark at Kirjath-jearim to the victory of Samuel over the Philistines are to be fitted into Samuel's history (1 S. 7:5); and how the ninety-four years of foreign oppression are to be combined with the data concerning the length of rule of the individual Judges.²

The tradition also presents gaps, however, since it does not mention the time during which Joshua was the leader of the Israelites, and in 1 S. 13:1 the numbers for Saul are entirely wanting. Finally, 2 Sam. allows Eli in 1 S. 4:18 only twenty years instead of the forty of 1 Pt.; and the frequently recurring round numbers, such as 40 for Moses, Othniel, Deborah-Barak, Gideon, Eli (2 S. 20) and David; 80 (= 2 x 40) for Ehud; and 20 (= 2 x 10) for Tola (23), and Jair (22)—go to set in still clearer light the unhistorical character of the data.

The matter may rest, then, as Noldeke left it at the end of his chronology of the period of the Judges (op. cit. 197), with the verdict that 'neither for the several divisions of the period of the Judges nor for its whole duration

¹ Cp. K. 4:7²⁹ 419 n.

² If we reckon together the numbers for this period, we get as follows:—40 (stay in the wilderness) + 40 (Othniel, Ju. 3:11) + 20 (Ehud, 3:30) + 40 (Deborah-Barak, 3:1) + 40 (Gideon, 8:18) + 23 (Tola, 10:2) + 22 (Jair, 10:3) + 6 (Jephthah, 12:7) + 7 (Ishai, 12:9) + 10 (Eli, 12:11) + 8 (Abdon, 12:14) + 20 (Samson, 16:31) + 40 (Eli, 1 S. 4:18) + 20 (Samuel, 1 S. 7:2) + 40 (David, 1 K. 2:11) + 40 (Solomon, 1 K. 6:1) = 400 years. If we deduct the 'little' Judges (Tola, Jair, Ithai, Abdon, and Abdon = 70), we shall have a total of only 330 years. For Joshua and Saul, for whom the numbers are lacking, there still remain, to complete the 430 years, according to the first calculation 40 years, according to the second and third 110. If, however, we are to insert between the periods of the several Judges the 94 years of foreign oppression (3 [Cushan Rishathaim, Ju. 3:8] + 13 [Ishai, 3:14] + 20 [Ishai, 4:1] + 7 [Mithianes, 11:3] + 3 [Ammoleth, 9:22] + 18 [Ammoleth, 10:1] + 20 [Philistines, cp. 13:11-20 and 16:31]), we get 334 or 424 years—according to the first reckoning already 34 years too many, with nothing left for Joshua and Saul; according to the second, only sixteen years for these two together, a period far from sufficient for the deeds of both.

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is a chronology any longer attainable.' It is, therefore, also useless to seek, by calculation from these numbers, to ascertain the time of the leadership of Joshua and the reign of Saul. The best we can go is to conclude, from passages like Am. 2:10-23, that an old tradition estimated the journey through the wilderness at forty years. (On the chronology of the Book of Judges, see Judges, § 15.)

It is much harder to deal with the chronological dates for the period from the building of the temple by

6. Temple to Nebuchadnezzar.

Solomon to the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. In various important instances we now meet with statements concerning the year of the reigning king to which the event narrated belongs. Thus in regard to events of war we read: 'In the fifth year of King Rehoboam Shishak King of Egypt came up against Jerusalem' (1 K. 11:25), and 'In the ninth year of Hosai the king of Assyria took Samaria' (2 K. 17:6). So also in regard to home affairs: 'In the thirteenth year of King Jehoshaphat the priests had not repaired the breaches of the house' (2 K. 12:7). Clear as such passages seem to be, we need to know which year of a given king was called the first, the year in the course of which he ascended the throne or the first complete year at the beginning of which he was already seated on the throne. Sound information on this point is still more indispensable, however, for the understanding of the further data for our period supplied by the Books of Kings. These give the sum of the years of reign of each several king. If, however, for any interval that can be defined by means of events related, we add together these amounts, the totals for the parallel kingdoms of Judah and Israel do not agree. The question becomes very complicated when at each accession the date is regularly defined synchronistically, by years of the contemporary ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Israel or Judah. This synchronism again leads to a reckoning of its own. What we have first to do is to estimate the value of the various chronological data which form a sort of framework for the whole history of the period. Then we can determine the importance and range of the individual dates assigned by means of accession.

The statements concerning the duration of a reign as well as the synchronism of its beginning form parts of the brief reviews which pass judgment on each king from the standpoint of the Deuteronomistic law (see Kings, Books on, § 1 ff.). The two chronological elements, however, have a diverse origin; for the synchronistic notes betray their character as 'subjective additions of the Epitomator.' It is clear to begin with, that this noting of synchronism was not in actual use during the existence of the two kingdoms: apart from dates of accessions, we find it only once—at the fall of Samaria (2 K. 17:6), the point where the system comes to an end.

It would be natural to maintain that the very construction of the chronological notes reveals their diverse origin: the verb *haya* has in the same sentence one meaning for the words that precede, and another for those that follow. It is to be construed as intransitive ('he became king') as well as progressive ('he reigned'). For instance, in 2 K. 11:23 'In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash, king of Judah, Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel *haya* (= became king, and also reigned) forty-one years in Samaria.' If here and there (1 K. 15:25 16:29 22:52; 2 K. 3:1 13:13) *haya* is added to *haya*, this only proves, it would seem, a sense of the irreconcilability of expressing both the date of accession and the duration of the reign by the simple verb *haya*. The double sense of this verb, however, is peculiar to such annals, and is to be explained by the activity of the style. Exactly so in the list of kings of Tyre given by Josephus (c. 116.112) from Menander of Ephesus, *hastatē* is used in both senses at the same time: 'he became king' as well as 'and he reigned.'

The decisive proof, however, of the secondary character of the synchronistic numbers is reached only when

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we compare them with the years of reign. It then appears that the former has been attained by calculation from the latter, although the method that has been followed cannot in all points be discerned.¹ A tabular

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exhibition of the data will be the best way to make this clear. In the first column we give the date reckoned from an imaginary era of the division of the kingdom, and in the last the references from the Books of Kings.

TABLE I.—OLD TESTAMENT DATA AS TO REIGNS: SOLOMON TO FALL OF SAMARIA
SYNCHRONISMS AND LENGTH OF REIGNS.

Year acc. to imaginary era of division of Kingdom.	ISRAEL				JUDAH				References to the Books of Kings.
	Synchronistic Date.	Length of Reign.		Acc. to Tradition.	Synchronistic Date.	Length of Reign.		Acc. to Tradition.	
		Acc. to Synchronisms.	Acc. to Tradition.			Acc. to Synchronisms.	Acc. to Tradition.		
1	1st year of Jeroboam	..	22 years	..	1st year of Rehoboam	17 years	17 years	1 K. 11:20 f.	
13	15th " Jeroboam	..	..	..	1st " Abijah	..	3 "	1 K. 15:1 f.	
20	22nd " Jeroboam	20 years	..	..	1st " Asa	..	41 "	1 K. 15:9 f.	
21	1st " Nadab	1 year	2 "	..	2nd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15:25	
22	1st " Baasha	23 years	24 "	..	3rd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 15:33	
45	1st " Ela	1 year	2 "	..	20th " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16:1	
46	1st " Zimri	4 years	7 days	..	21st " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16:15	
50	1st " Omri	7 "	12 years	..	22nd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16:21	
57	1st " Ahab	..	22 "	..	23rd " Asa	..	..	1 K. 16:29	
60	4th " Ahab	19 "	..	..	1st " Jehoshaphat	43 "	..	1 K. 22:41	
76	1st " Ahaziah	1 year	2 "	..	17th " Jehoshaphat	..	..	1 K. 22:52	
77	1st " Jehoram	..	12 "	..	18th " Jehoshaphat	..	..	2 K. 8:1	
81	5th " Jehoram	..	..	..	1st " Jehoram	7 "	8 "	2 K. 8:16 f.	
83	12th " Jehoram	12 years	..	..	1st " Ahaziah	1 year	1 year	2 K. 8:25 f.	
Sum of Years of reign in Israel				93	Sum of Years of reign in Judah				95
89	1st year of Jehu	..	28 years	..	1st year of Athaliah	6 years	6 years	2 K. 11:36	
95	7th " Jehu	28 years	..	..	1st " Jehoash	..	40 "	2 K. 12:12	
117	1st " Jehoahaz	14 "	17 "	..	23rd " Jehoash	..	..	2 K. 13:1	
131	1st " Jehoash	..	16 "	..	27th " Jehoash	37 "	..	2 K. 13:10	
132	2nd " Jehoash	15 "	..	..	1st " Amaziah	..	29 "	2 K. 11:12	
146	1st " Jeroboam (II.)	..	41 "	..	15th " Amaziah	40 "	..	2 K. 11:23	
172	27th " Jeroboam (II.)	61 "	..	..	1st " Azariah	..	52 "	2 K. 15:12	
209	1st " Zechariah	1 year	1 year	..	38th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15:8	
210	1st " Shallum	0 "	12 "	..	39th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15:13	
210	1st " Menahem	10 years	10 years	..	40th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15:17	
221	1st " Pekahiah	4 "	4 "	..	5th " Azariah	..	..	2 K. 15:23	
223	1st " Pekah	..	20 "	..	52nd " Azariah	52 "	..	2 K. 15:27	
224	2nd " Pekah	..	..	..	1st " Jotham	15 "	16 "	2 K. 15:32 f.	
230	17th " Pekah	27 "	..	..	1st " Ahaz	..	16 "	2 K. 16:1 f.	
250	1st " Hoshea	..	9 "	..	12th " Ahaz	13 "	..	2 K. 17:1	
252	3rd " Hoshea	..	..	..	1st " Hezekiah	71 "	62 "	2 K. 18:1	
258	9th " Hoshea	9 "	..	..	7th " Hezekiah to Fall of Samaria	71 "	62 "	2 K. 18:10	
258 years				241 1/2 yrs.	258 years				260 years

This table shows that at the end of the 258th year after the division of the kingdom, there had elapsed 258 synchronistic years, 241 1/2 years of reign in Israel, and 260 such years in Judah; and we have thus the singular equation $258 = 241\frac{1}{2} + 260$. The result is even more singular, however, when we examine separately the parts before and after the first point of coincidence obtained through a contemporaneous accession in both lines. Before the year of accession of Jehu and Athaliah there were only 88 years according to the synchronisms for 98 years of reign in Israel and 95 in Judah; but for the second part there are 170 years according to the synchronisms for only 143 1/2 years of reign in Israel and 165 in Judah. Whilst thus, in the first period, the number, according to the synchronistic calculation, is smaller than the sum of the traditional years, in the second period, which is longer by about a half, it exceeds the traditional years not inconsiderably. Similar variations for smaller periods can easily be proved by a glance at the table. Nor can we equalize the syn-

chronistic and the traditional numbers by assuming that the latter represent a popular way of counting according to which from the middle of the first to the beginning of the third year was considered three years, as in the case of the siege of Samaria (2 K. 18:10). The excess of the traditional values in the period before Jehu could perhaps be thus explained, but not their defect in the following period. Nor is it possible by altering the individual numbers to bring the synchronisms into harmony with the years of reign; even were one to alter all the synchronistic statements, this would do nothing towards removing the differences between the numbers for Israel and those for Judah. Thus, almost along the whole line, the discrepancy between synchronisms and years of reign is incurable.

We must not fail, however, to appreciate a remarkable agreement. The sum of the synchronistic years is very nearly equal to the sum of the years of reign for Judah (258 = 260). The slight difference of two years can have no weight, and can perhaps be entirely removed. In the surprising statement of 2 K. 13:1 that the accession of Jehoash of Israel happened in the 37th year of Jehoash of Judah, we may follow 37:1 and change 37 to 39; for, according to that verse, Jehoahaz, who had reigned in the 23rd year of Jehoash of Judah,

¹ It has recently been shown by Benzinger (*Comm. zu den Königen*, 1^{ste} Aufl., pp. xxiv-xxvi.) that the synchronisms start from two different points and proceed upon two distinct methods of reckoning, one of which is followed by preference in the Hebrew text and the other in Φ .

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reigned 17 years. In this way the sum of the years of reign in the lines of Israel and Judah according to the synchronisms, would be increased in each case by two years—for Jehoahaz would have reigned, according to the synchronism, 16 years instead of 14, and Jehoash 30 instead of 28, while the traditional numbers would undergo no alteration. Even without this slight emendation—adopted in the *Jahne* edition of the LXX, and demanded by Thoms, Klostermann, and Kamphausen—it is apparent that it is the sum of the Judean years of reign that forms the basis on which the synchronistic numbers are calculated. In this process, however, though the individual sums have not been disregarded, it has been impossible, especially in the case of the kings of N. Israel, to avoid important variations.

Care, however, has been taken not to alter the synchronism of events. It is worthy of note that the following requirements are satisfied: Jeroboam's reign runs parallel with those of Rehoboam and Abiah (1 K. 14 to 15:2); Baasha is king during the reign of Asa (1 K. 15:16); Jehoshaphat survives Abiah and Ahaziah, and reigns contemporaneously with Jehoram of Israel (1 K. 22:2 ff., 2 K. 3:7 ff.); the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah fall in the same year (2 K. 9); Amaziah and Jehoash of Israel reign contemporaneously (2 K. 14:2 ff.); and Pekah is a contemporary of Jotham and Ahaz (2 K. 15:37 to 15:40).

Although the synchronistic dates have thus not been attained without regard to tradition, they are obviously, as belonging to the youngest parts of the text, not a standard for chronology. They apply to the past a method of dating with which it was quite unacquainted. This is true not only of the practice, which could never be carried out in actual life, of connecting the years of one kingdom with reigns of kings in a neighbouring kingdom, but also of the methodical practice, presupposed in such a custom, of indicating in an exact and regular way the years within one and the same kingdom, by the years of reign of its king for the time being. In such texts as we can, with any confidence, assign to pre-exilic times, we find nothing but popular

8. First attempts at chronology.

chronologies associating an event with some other important event contemporary with it (cp. 1 K. 6:1 11:22² 20:1). The few dates according to years of kings given in the older history (as, e.g., 1 K. 11:23; 2 K. 12:7) may be ignored. They are too isolated, and must rest (e.g., in the writings and portions which treat of the latest pre-exilic times) on subsequent calculation, or be due to interpolation (cp. also the dates introduced by the Chronicler in deference to the desire felt at a later date for exact definition of time, of which the Books of Kings still knew nothing; 2 Ch. 13:23 15:10-19, and especially 16:1) though it is perhaps possible that, even without there being a settled system, some prominent events might, occasionally and without set purpose, be defined by years of reign. In any case, dating by native kings must be regarded as at least older than the artificial synchronism between Judah and Israel.

Dating by the years of kings was thus never systematically used by the Hebrews so long as they had national kings. They learned this useful method from the Babylonians, and then introduced it into their historical works compiled during the exile (cp. W. 47¹ *Untersuch.*, especially pp. 87-94). Thus the question how the Hebrews dealt with the year of a king's death (i.e., whether they reckoned the fraction of a year that remained before the beginning of the next year to the deceased king, or made the first year of the new king begin at once—disappears. There can be no doubt that the synchronisms, as well as the dates and years of reign in general, presuppose the Babylonian method (the only satisfactory one), according to which the rest of the year in which any king died was reckoned to the

¹ We need take no account of the independent narratives of CHRONICLES (2:13, § 2); they do not agree even with the traditional years of reign.

² Whether the account is correct need not here be considered.

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last of his reign, and the first year of the new king was the year at the beginning of which he already wore the crown.

By giving up the synchronisms we are thrown back for the chronology of the monarchy on the sums of the years of reign of the individual kings.

10. Years of reign.

The hope of finding in these numbers trustworthy material for chronology, and thus solving the singular equation $200 \text{ Judean years} = 242 \text{ Israelish years}$ represent 200 Judean years could be realised only on one condition. One might simply subtract the 242 Israelish years from the total for Judah, and regard the excess of 18 years as falling after the conquest of Samaria. Nor is there anything in the synchronism to prevent this operation, for that may have started from an incorrect calculation in putting the fall of Hoshai as late as the reign of Hezekiah. A *de facto* veto, however, is laid on this procedure on other grounds. If we subtract the supposed 18 years (6 years of Hezekiah and the last 12 of Ahaz) from the total for Judah, a total is left of Ahaz's reign parallel with the Israelish years of reign is the first 1 years. Therefore Pekah, who was murdered nine years before the fall of Samaria (2 K. 17:6), must, at the accession of Ahaz, have been already 6 years dead, which is impossible, since, according to 2 K. 16:5 ff., this king was attacked by him. The expectation of simple subtraction, therefore, fails; the embarrassing equation remains, about 242 Israelish years = 200 Judean years, since no objection can be raised against the contemporaneity of the deaths of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, 144 Israelish years = 105 Judean.

If the totals are thus unequal, very great inequalities appear, naturally, in the details. Efforts have been made to remove them; but this has not been achieved in any convincing way.

2 K. 1:3, e.g., states that during the attack of leprosy from which his father, Ahab, suffered in the last years of his life, 'Jehoram was over the palace, and ruled the people of the land'. Even were we to found on this statement the theory that the years of reign of father and son began parallel to each other, were counted year over in the numbers 52 and that, since to their respective deaths, and at the same time, during all these 49 years the father was still alive, there would still remain 144 Israelish years = 142 Judean.

Mistaken attempts of this kind are, moreover, the less to be taken into consideration that, as will appear (§ 35), even the lowest total of 144 years for the interval from Jehu to the fall of Samaria is more than 20 years too high. From all this it results that the individual numbers of years of reign, as well as the totals, are untrustworthy and useless for the purposes of a certain chronology, even if it be admitted that, within certain limits or in some points, they may agree with actual fact.

11. Basis of calculation. The untrustworthiness of the numbers becomes plainer when the principle according to which they are formed is clearly exhibited.

In 1877 E. Krey (see below, § 85) argued that, at least in the case of the Israelish kings, the several sums assigned to the respective reigns rest in general on an artificial fiction. He drew in this light that the series of kings of Judah, and indeed those also of the house of Jehu, 'show no such artificiality'; but (cp. to Bleek-We, *Leitf.* 265) he soon observed a playing with figures also in the items for Judah. To begin with the kings of Israel down to Jehoram, we find an exact reign of 12 years. In the case of Omri and Jehoram this is the exact number, whilst for Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab we have 22 (i.e., in round numbers 20-22), and for the rest—Nadab, Elah, and Ahaziah (the immediate successors of the king provided with the double period)—3 years each. This is as if we had 3 kings with 12 years each, making a total of 36—more exactly 35 years. Moreover, the totals for the first and the last four of these are each almost exactly 43. In the next part of the series, as we emphasised, we have for the 6 kings from Jehu to Hoshea a total of 144 years, which makes an average of 15 for each. One might also note the remarkable fact that, even as Jehu with his 28 years reigned about as long as his two successors, so the 40 years of Jeroboam II. also exactly equal the sum of the reigns of his successors. In the Judean line, on the other hand, a similar role is played by the figures 49 and 60. Thus, down to the destruction of Samaria in the 6th year of Hezekiah, we have from Jehu to Ahaziah 243 years, and from Ahaziah to Josiah 144 years.

¹ Strictly, Baasha has exactly 24 assigned him.

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1. Jehoiakim + Abiathar + Athaliah 40. Jehoshaphat 40. Amaziah + Azariah 41. Josiah + Manasse + Hezekiah 40 years, and from this point onwards till the last date, the 37th year of Jehoiachin, we have Hezekiah, Manasse, Azariah, and also Josiah's father Jehoram + Jehoshaphat 74 years. It would, of course, be a coincidence if the total of all these reigns should be 400 years. It would, of course, be a coincidence if the total of all these reigns should be 400 years. It would, of course, be a coincidence if the total of all these reigns should be 400 years.

There is, in fact, then, no mistake about the authenticity of the total as well as of the various items. If we take the origin of the present numbers for the years of reign of the individual kings, on which the synchronistic notices are founded, must fall in a period later than the victory of Cyrus over Babylon, and chronology cannot trust to the correctness of the numbers.

For all that, it may be conjectured the numbers in individual instances are correct. But which are such cases, can be known only in some way independent of the numbers. Sometimes, indeed, the narrative of kings or a prophetic writing can decide the point, but without help from outside we could not go far. In itself it cannot be more than probable that the last kings of Judah appear with the correct numbers. These numbers give Hezekiah 29 (2 K 18) + Manasse 55 (214), Azariah 1 (215), Josiah 31 (221), Jehoiakim 1 (232), Jehoiachin 11 (233), Jehoiachin 1 (213), and Zedekiah 11 years (214); thus, 141 years in all, embodying an estimate of 133 years from the fall of Samaria to the conquest of Jerusalem.

Thus, the earliest date that the dates according to years of kings can lay claim to consideration is in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Here grave mistakes in retrospective calculation (for even they rest on that) seem to be excluded by the nearness of the time. Naturally no account can be taken of the statements of the Book of Daniel, which did not originate till the second century B.C.; it knows the history of the fall of the kingdom of Judah and of the return, and only from tradition, and cannot be accused of grave mistakes (see DANIEL, in § 9 f.).

For the last period, reaching from the fall of Jerusalem to the beginning of the Christian era, we have in the Hebrew OT itself but few historical records.

13. From Fall of Jerusalem onwards.

Beyond the introduction of the law in the restored community the historical narrative does not conduct us. For the short interval preceding it we are referred to the statements in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. These, however, show that the Jews had learned in the interval how to date exactly by years of reign. The writings mentioned give dates by years of the Persian kings. All difficulties in the way of a chronology of this period, however, are not thus removed. The names Darius and Artaxerxes leave us to choose between the several bearers of these names among the Persian kings. Hence both the first and the second of the three Dariuses have been regarded as the Darius mentioned in the OT, and even all three Artaxerxes have been brought into connection with the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Neh. Then, again, the transpositions and actual additions that the Chronicler allows himself to make increase the difficulty of knowing the real order of events. In the case of Darius, indeed, only the first can, after all (in spite of Havet and Imbert), be seriously considered.

The chief interest, accordingly, lies in deciding as to the date in Ezra 7 f. which sets the return of Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes. It is to be noted that this passage (7:1-10) has been revised by the Chronicler (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, Books of), and in both verses the

14. Advent of Ezra. to be noted that this passage (7:1-10) has been revised by the Chronicler (see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH, Books of), and in both verses the

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date is open, from its position or lack of connection to the suspicion of not being original. K. is accordingly, leaving this datum wholly out of account, maintained (*Hebr. l. op.*) that Ezra made his first appearance in Jerusalem with the *Gola* (see ISRAEL, § 47) immediately after Nehemiah's second arrival there, while Artaxerxes I. was still on the throne, and introduced the law then. Van Hoonacker, on the other hand, accepted the datum of Ezra 7 f., but believed that it had reference to Artaxerxes II., and accordingly set down the date of Ezra's arrival as in the seventh year of that king (see p. 100). [Marquart, *Die Organisation der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem sogenannten Exil*, *Grundriss der bibl. Arch.* 1901] thinks that the careers of Nehemiah and Ezra can fall only a few decades earlier than the reported deportation of Jews to Babel under Artaxerxes III., claims Nehemiah's Artaxerxes was, he thinks, Artaxerxes II. Mnemon. He finds no trace of Ezra's presence in Jerusalem during the twelve years' governorship of Nehemiah, the reference to Ezra in Neh 12:16 is an addition of the Chronicler, Nehemiah, too, is nowhere mentioned in Ezra (Neh. 8:9-10) are interpolated. Internal evidence alone can determine the date of Ezra. Neh 13 is connected naturally with Ezra 9:10-14. Ezra's arrival then follows in the time after Nehemiah's return to Susa, the text of Ezra 7 (which belongs to the redactor) has suffered in transmission; 368 or 365 was the original date reported. Nehemiah's second arrival, at any rate, fell after the promulgation of the Law (Neh 13:1), Marquart proposes to read in Neh 13:6 'at the end of his days' (etc.) implying a date between 367 (364) and 359. Cheyne, in a work almost devoid of notes, but called the provisionally summing up of special researches, differs in some respects in his chronological view of the events alike from the scholars just referred to, and from Ed. Meyer, who is about to be mentioned. (See his *Hebrew Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898, translated, after revision by the author, by H. Stocks under the title *Das religiöse Leben der Juden nach dem Exil*, 1901.) Like Marquart he doubts the correctness of the text of Neh 5:14; but he is confident that the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Nehemiah is Artaxerxes I., and that Nehemiah's return to Susa precedes the arrival of Ezra with the *Gola*. The incapacity of Nehemiah's successor (the Firshatha?) probably stimulated Ezra to seek a man from the king, though the terms of the supposed man in Ezra 7 cannot be relied upon. Ezra seems to have failed at the outset of his career, and it was the news of this failure, according to Cheyne, that drew Nehemiah a second time from Susa. Klostermann's treatment of the chronology in Herzog cannot be here summarised. Etc.]

Ed. Meyer's thorough discussion (*Entst. '90*), however, has convinced the present writer that we are not entitled to call in question the arrival of Ezra before Nehemiah, and consequently that the datum of Ezra 7 f. may be right after all. If so, Ezra returned to Jerusalem with the *Gola* in 458 B.C., having it for his object to introduce the law there. In this, however, he did not succeed. It was not until after Nehemiah had arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C. clothed with ample powers, and had in the same year restored the city walls with his characteristic prudence and energy, that Ezra was at last able to come forward and introduce the law under Nehemiah's protection (445 B.C.). From this date onwards till 433 B.C. (cp. Neh. 13:6) Nehemiah continued in Jerusalem. Shortly after 433 B.C., perhaps in 432 B.C., he obtained a second furlough. How long this lasted we do not know; but its importance is clear from Neh. 13:4.

15. Later times. The OT offers no further chronological material for determining the dates of the last centuries before Christ.

¹ But the essay was 'completed' with August 1821 (in 1822).

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chronological data, we have to inquire whether the foreign nations, which so often come through the events of history into contact with Israel, can help us. In so doing we must consider in the first place the Egyptians. It is to Egypt that the narrative of the origin of the people of Israel points; thither escaped the remnant of the community of Gedaliah; and in the interval between these times, as also later, the fortunes of Palestine were often intertwined with those of Egypt.

The Egyptians themselves possessed no continuous era: for the quite unique monument, on a *stèle* from Tanis, of the 26th year of the king Nubti (according to Steindorff probably none other than the god Set of Fins), is too obscure and uncertain, and would not help us at all even were it more intelligible. Nor yet does the *Sethi-period* help us much. This was a period of 1461 years, at each recurrence of which the last days of the solar year and of the ordinary year of 365 days once again coincided for four years, or, what amounts to the same thing, the Dog star, from whose rising the solar year was reckoned, again appeared on the 1st of Thoth. The period was never used for chronological purposes.¹ Nor have the monuments fulfilled the expectation, not unreasonable in itself, that by the help of inscriptions giving dates according to two methods it would be possible, by calculation, to reach a more exact chronology for Egyptian history. The most learned Egyptologists, indeed, can themselves determine Egyptian chronology only through combination with data from outside sources. The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in the year 525 B.C. furnishes their cardinal point. From this event, the years of the reign of the kings of the 26th dynasty may be fixed with certainty by the help of the data supplied by the monuments, Herodotus, and Manetho. What lies before Psamtik I., the first pharaoh of this dynasty, however, is in the judgment of Egyptologists more or less uncertain, and therefore for other chronological determinations the records of that earlier time are either not to be used at all or to be used with the greatest caution.

Still, even this short period, from 664/3 (the accession of Psamtik I.) to 525 B.C., is a help to us by supplying points of reference. Through synchronisms of Egyptian and Jewish history several events of the time are to a certain extent fixed. Thus Necho II. (middle of 610 B.C. to beginning of 594 B.C.) is admitted to be the king who fought the battle at Megiddo that cost Josiah his life. So mention is made in the OT of Hophra (Apries), who reigned 588-569 B.C., and was even down to 564 nominally joint ruler with Amasis (see EGYPT, § 60). Thus we get fixed points for the contemporaries of Necho II., Josiah, Jehoahaz, and Jehoiakim;—and for the contemporaries of Hophra, Jeremiah, and the Jews in Egypt (Jer. 41-45)—although neither for the battle of Megiddo nor for that of Carchemish can the year be determined from Egyptian data. On the other hand, these Egyptian data are sufficient to prove that the astronomical edifice of Mahler is quite impossible.

For the time before Psamtik I., the rulers of the 25th dynasty may be fixed approximately. Tanutamon ruled alone only a short time, and therefore may fall out of account. The data for his three predecessors do not agree (cp EGYPT, § 60 f.). Taharqa reigned, according to the monuments, 26 years; according to Manetho, 12 (var. 8-9). Sabako reigned, according to the monuments, was uncertain; according to Manetho it was 14 (var. 12).

The confirmation that Mahler (*op. cit.*, p. 56 ff.) seeks for 1135 B.C., as the date of the Exodus in the statement that under Menephthah, whom he holds to be the pharaoh of the Exodus, was celebrated the beginning of a *Sethi-period*, which may have happened in the year 1138 B.C., is certainly weak, since the pharaoh who according to Ex. 11 was drowned could not have reigned after that for 17 years. See EXODUS.

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Sabako reigned, according to the monuments, 12 years; according to Manetho, 8 (var. 12).

If we assign to Sabatoko Manetho's number of years (fourteen) and take, as our basis for the rest, the numbers of the monuments, we get the following: Taharka, 690-664 B.C.; Sabako, 704-690 B.C.; and Sabako, 716-704 B.C. Still, according to the view of Steindorff, to whom we are indebted for these data, Taharka may have reigned even longer than twenty-six years, perhaps along with Sabatoko. Since, however, Ed. Meyer gives Sabako 728-716, Sabatoko *circa* 704, and makes Taharka as early as 704 real master, although not till 689 official ruler, of Egypt (cp *Gesch. Altg.* 343 ff.), all sure support is already gone. Besides, although according to Meyer (*op. cit.* 344) the identity of Sabako with the Assyrian Sabai and the Hebrew *שבו* (So', or, more correctly, Sava' or Seweh) in 2 K. 17.4 is indubitable, Steindorff has grave doubts as to the phonetic equivalence of these names, and finds no Egyptian datum for the battle of Altaku. It is, therefore, very difficult to get from Egyptian chronology any certain light on two OT statements relating to Egypt—viz., that Sennacherib sent messengers to Hezekiah when he heard of the expedition of Taharka (2 K. 19.4; Is. 37.9), and that Hoshea of Israel had dealings with *שבו* of Egypt, and was therefore bound and put into prison by Shalmaneser (2 K. 17.4).

For the chronology of the OT in still earlier times, there is, unfortunately, nothing at all to be gained from Egyptology. According to 1 K. 11.42-43 (cp 2 Ch. 12.1), Shishak (Sheshonk) was a contemporary of Solomon, and in the fifth year of Rehoboam went up against Jerusalem.

In spite, however, of the Egyptian monument at Karnak bearing the list of cities conquered by him, his date cannot be determined on Egyptological grounds (on biblical grounds it is usually given as about 930 B.C.). As to 'Zerah the Cushite' (2 Ch. 11.9 ff.), we need not expect to find any mention of him in Egyptian sources (Zerah).

The clay tablets found at Tell el Amarna (see ISRAEL, § 61), indeed, make some important contributions to our knowledge of the relations of Palestine to Egypt; but for the chronology they afford nothing certain. We must get help from the chronology of Babylonia before we can, even approximately, determine the date of the correspondence. Then it seems probable that Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. reigned in Egypt either about 1450 B.C. or about 1380 B.C., at which time, therefore, Palestine must have stood under the sceptre of Egypt; the contemporaries of Amen-hotep III. — Burnaburias I. and Kurigalzu I. of Babylon—are assigned by Winckler to 1493-1470 and 1475-1457 B.C. respectively, and the contemporary of Amen-hotep IV. — Burnaburias II. — to 1456-1422, whilst R. W. Rogers, on the other hand (*Outlines of the History of Early Babylonia*, 1895, p. 56), gives 1397-1373 as the probable date of Burnaburias II., and C. Niebuhr (*Chronol. der Gesch. Syr., Altg., Bab. u. Assy. von 2000-700 v. Chr.*, untersucht, 1806) accepts only one Burnaburias and places him and his contemporary Amen-hotep IV. in the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. As in these tablet inscriptions the name of the Hebrews has not so far been certainly discovered, so, in the Egyptian monuments generally, we cannot find any reminiscence of a stay of Israel in Egypt or of their departure. Theories about the pharaoh of the oppression and the pharaoh of the Exodus remain, therefore, in the highest degree uncertain. Neither Joseph nor Moses is to be found in Egyptian sources; supposed points of contact (a seven years famine, and the narrative of Manetho about Osarsiph Moses in Josephus, *c. Ap. 1. 1-28*; on this cp Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. Altg.* 276 f.) have proved, on

¹ On the inscription of Menephthah discovered in 1866, see EGYPT, § 58 ff., and EXODUS, §§ 6, 3.

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nearer examination, untenable.¹ Apart, therefore, from the dates of the rulers of the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth dynasties, there is very little to be gained for OT chronology from Egyptology. On Egyptian Chronology see also EGYPT, § 11.

Assyriology offers much more extensive help. It is much better supplied with chronological material, since

23. Help from Assyriology. It possesses, for a series of 228 years, inscriptions containing careful lists of Eponyms, lists, that is, giving the name of the officer after whom the year was called, and mentioning single important events falling within the year. These brief notes alone are quite enough to give the lists an extraordinary importance. Their value is further increased, however, by the fact that the office of Eponym had to be held in one of his first years, commonly the second full year of his reign, by each king. Hence the order of succession of the Assyrian kings and the length of their reign can be determined with ease, especially as names of kings are distinguished from those of other Eponyms by the addition of the royal title and of a line separating them from those that precede them (cp ASSYRIA, § 19 ff.). The monumental character, too, of these documents, exempting them, as it does, from the risk of alteration attaching to notes in books, gives assurance of their trustworthiness. Nor is the incompleteness of the list supposed by Oppert a fact. In regard to the order of succession no doubt is possible.

The establishment of this uninterrupted series of 228 years can be accomplished with absolute certainty (as

24. Method. we shall see below) by the help of an eclipse of the sun assigned by the list to the Eponym year of Pur Sugal of Gozan.² In order to be able to determine the eclipse intended, however, and thus to fix the year astronomically, we have first to bring into consideration the so-called Canon of Ptolemy³—next to these Assyrian Eponym lists, perhaps the most important chronological monument of antiquity. This Canon is a list giving the names of the rulers of Babylon, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian from Nabonassar to Alexander the Great (the Egyptian Ptolemies and the Romans are appended at the end), with the number of years each of them reigned, and the eclipses observed by the Babylonians and the Alexandrians—the years being reckoned according to the era of Nabonassar, i.e., from that prince's accession. The trustworthiness of this document is proved, once for all, by the astronomical observations it records,⁴ from which we learn that the beginning of the era of Nabonassar falls in the year 747 B.C.⁵

The Canon can be combined with the Assyrian Eponym lists, and the establishment of the latter with certainty effected in the following way. On the one hand, the Ptolemaic Canon assigns to the year 30 of the era of Nabonassar, 700 B.C., the accession of Arkeanos (= Sargina on the fragment of the Babylonian list of kings); and, on the other hand, Assyrian clay tablets identify this year, the first of the rule of Sarrukin (i.e., Sargon or Arkeanos) over Babylon with the

¹ Cp also Wiedemann's review (*PLZ*, 1894, No. 25, p. 611), of Eusebius's *Questiones chronologicae* (Amers, 1892), where the Eusebian is assigned to 1497. The judgment of this competent reviewer is that 'the book is well meant, but brings the question of the Eusebian no nearer to a solution.'

² *KR*, I 210 Z.

³ It bears the name 'Ptolemaic Canon' because it was included in his astronomical work by the geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemy, the contemporary of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (therefore c. 150 A.D.).

⁴ The proof is strengthened by the fragments of a Babylonian list of kings published by Pinches in *PSB*, III 142-151 (May, 1884), part of which constitute an exact parallel to the beginning of the Greek list, and completely confirming its statements concerning the names and reigns of the rulers.

⁵ More exactly (since the dates are reduced to the common Egyptian year) on the first of Thoth (= 29th Feb.), not (as according to Babylonian official usage might have been expected) on the 1st of Nisan (= 21st March) (cp Henrich, *GR I*, 488, and see below § 26).

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Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' (Schr. *KAT* 7², 491) the thirteenth of Sargon's rule in Assyria.¹ Hence we may identify this Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' (the thirteenth year of Sargon's reign in Assyria) likewise with the year 700 B.C.; and, as the series is uninterrupted, all its dates become known. We can, then, obtain astronomical confirmation of the correctness of this combination (and so also of the trustworthiness of the Ptolemaic Canon and the Assyrian Eponym lists) in the way hinted at already. For, if the Eponym year of Mannu-ki-Ašur-lī' is the year 700 B.C., the Eponym year of Pur Sugal, to which, as we saw above, there is assigned a solar eclipse, must be the year 763 B.C.; and astronomers have computed that on the 15th June of that year a solar eclipse occurred that would be almost total for Nineveh and its neighbourhood. Thus the Assyrian Eponym list may safely be used for chronological purposes.

On the ground of the statements of this list, then, we have, for the years 893-666 B.C., fixed points not to

25. Result. be called in question by which to date the events of this period in Israel; for the Assyrian inscriptions not only supply direct information concerning certain events in Israel's own history, but also in other cases fix the date of contemporaneous events which the narrative of the OT presupposes. Then the Ptolemaic Canon, which from 747 B.C. onwards accompanies the Assyrian Eponym list, continues when the Eponym list stops (in 666 B.C.), and conducts us with certainty down to Roman times.

We are thus enabled to determine beyond all doubt the background of the history of Israel and Judah from 893 downwards, and obtain down to Alexander the Great the following valuable dates:—

TABLE III. ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN DATES
893 B.C. TO ALEXANDER THE GREAT

893-885	Taklat-Adar.
884-880	Asim-er-pal.
885-882	Shalmaneser III. (Salma-nu-uššir)
884-882	Samši Kammān.
881-884	Rammān-nirari (III.).
882-881	Shalmaneser III. (Salma-nu-uššir)
882-881	Asur-dan III. (Asimdan III.)
881-880	Asur-nirari.
880-877	Tiglat-pileser III. (Taklat-habal-Sarra)
877-875	Shadnam-er III.
875-873	Sargon (Arkeanos, 700-805, king of Babylon).
873-871	Sennacherib (Sin-a-bi-ib).
870-868	Esarhaddon (Asarhaddon, Asur-ah-iddin = Asaridinos in Pt. Can.).
667	first year of the reign of Asur-bani-pad, who perhaps reigned till 626.
The continuation is supplied by the Ptolemaic Canon which specifies the rulers of Babylon:—	
667-648	Saodmehinos (= Samsa-Sum-ukin).
648-646	Kinilamallanos.
646-605	Nabopolassar (= Nabū-bahal-ussin).
604-562	Nabokollasros (= Nabū-kudurri-ugur, נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר and נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר).
562-560	Illoardamos (= Avil-Marduk, אֲוִיל־מַרְדֻּךְ).
560-556	Nerikasolassros (= Ningal-Sar-ugur).
556-549	Nabonahos (= Nabū-nā'id).
549-540	Kyrus (= Kuruš, כּוּרֻשׁ).
540-532	Kambyses (= Kambuyija).
532-486	Darius I. (= Dārayavus, דָּרְיָוֶשׁ).
486-485	Xerxes (= Khšayārša, חִשְׁתִּישָׁרְשָׁא).
485-474	Artaxerxes I. (= Artakšastā, אֲרַתַּחְשַׁשְׁטָא).
474-465	Darius II.
465-459	Artaxerxes II.
459-448	Ochus.
448-437	Artabanos (= Arsēs).
437-424	Darius III.

Here follows Alexander the Great, who died in 323 B.C.

With regard to this summary it is to be noted that (as is a matter of course in any rational dating by years of reign) it is certainly the case in the Ptolemaic Canon the actual con-

¹ From the thirteenth year of his reign down to his death in the seventeenth (and so, as the Ptolemaic Canon states, for five years) Sargon must have reigned over Babylon also.

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sidered as the first of any king is the earliest year at the beginning of which he was already really reigning; in the preceding year he had begun to reign on his predecessor's death. Short reigns, accordingly, which did not reach the beginning of the new year, had to remain unnoticed, as that of Labrosar-chad (Labasi-Marduk) in the year 556, which, according to Berossus, lasted only nine months. It is

26. Beginning of year.

further to be noted that the beginning of the year did not fall in the two lists on the same day. The Eponym lists make the year begin on the first of Nisan, the 21st of March, while the Ptolemaic Canon follows the reckoning of the ordinary Egyptian year of 365 days, the beginning of which, as compared with our mode of reckoning, falls one day earlier every four years. Thus, if in the year 747, as was indeed already the case in 748, the beginning of the year fell on the 20th of February, the year 744 would begin on the 25th. For a period of a hundred years this difference would amount to twenty-five days. Thus the beginning of the year 747 B.C. would fall on the 1st of February; and so on. Therefore for the period 747-723 B.C., the beginning of the year would always fall somewhat near the beginning of ours.

If, then, the chronological data of the OT were trustworthy, as soon as one cardinal point where the two series

27. Care necessary.

—that of the OT and that just obtained—came into contact could be established with certainty, the whole chronology of the OT would be at once determined, and the insertion of the history of Israel into the firm network of this general background would become possible. In the uncertainty, however, in which the chronological data of the OT are involved, this simple method can lead to no satisfactory result. All points of coincidence must be separately attended to; and, although we may start out from a fixed point in drawing our line, we must immediately see to it that we keep the next point of contact in view. Unfortunately, in going backwards from the earliest ascertainable date to a remoter antiquity such a check is not available.

The earliest date available, as being certain beyond doubt, for an attempt to set the chronology of the OT

28. Earliest certain OT dates.

on a firm basis is the year 854 B.C., in which Ahab king of Israel was one of the confederates defeated by Shalmaneser II. (859-825) at Karkar (Schr. *KGF*, 356-371 and *K. 17*², 193-200). Since, however, the OT contains no reference to the event, it is of no use for the purpose of bringing the history of Israel into connection with general history till we take into consideration also the next certain date, 842 B.C., in which year presents were offered in the same Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., by Jehu (*K. 17*², 208-211). Within these thirteen years (854-842) must fall the death of Ahab, the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and the accession of Jehu. Of this period the most that need be assigned to Jehu is the last year, which may have been at the same time also the year of Jehoram's death; for it may be regarded as quite probable that it would be immediately after his accession that Jehu would send presents to the Assyrian king to gain his recognition and favour. On the other hand, the traditional values of the reigns require for Ahaziah two years (1 K. 22:52), and for Jehoram alone twelve years (2 K. 3:1); so there appears to be no time left for Ahab after 854. The death of Ahab, however, cannot be assigned to so early a date as 854.¹ The reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram, therefore, must be curtailed by more than one year. The course of events from 854 to the death of Ahab in the struggle with the Syrians has, accordingly, been ranged in different ways.

Wellhausen (*Ug*², 71) supposes that, in consequence of the universal defeat in 854, Ahab abandoned the relation of vassalage to Aram that had lasted till then, and thus provoked a Syrian attack on Israel. Then, by the victory at Aphek in the second year and the capture of Benhadad, he compelled the Syrians to conclude peace and to promise to deliver up the Gileadite cities they had won from Israel (1 K. 20). As the

¹ Victor Floulet (*G. I.*, 1882, pp. 41-96), indeed, supposes that Ahab fell before Karkar (*Ug*², in 854), and not before Ramoth-Gilead; but to accomplish this he has to treat the narratives of the Syrian wars (1 K. 20:1-34:33-43:22:37) as quite trustworthy.

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Syrians did not keep their promise, he undertook in the third year of the peace the infamous expedition for the conquest of Ramoth-gilead, in which he met his death (1 K. 22). Thus the death of Ahab would fall about the year 851. Schrader, on the other hand, sees in Ahab's taking part in the battle of Karkar a consequence of the conclusion of peace with Aram that followed the battle of Aphek, and finds it thus possible to assign Ahab's death to so early a date as 851. Even if we inclined to follow the representation of Schrader (Wellhausen's is much more attractive), the Assyrian notice of the battle of Karkar in 854 establishes at least one point, that the beginning of Jehu's reign cannot be earlier than 842, and the traditional numbers must be curtailed. On the question just discussed see also Ahab.

The year 842 B.C. may, therefore, be assigned as that of the accession of Jehu. In the same year also perished Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, whilst Athaliah seized the reins of government in Jerusalem.

If from this date, equally important for both kingdoms, we try to go back, we can determine with approximate certainty the year of the division of the monarchy. The years of reign of the Israelitish kings down to the death of Jehoram make up the sum of ninety-eight, and those of the kings of Judah down to the death of Ahaziah the sum of ninety-five; whilst the synchronisms of the Books of Kings allow only eighty-eight years. Since the reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram of Israel must be curtailed (§ 28), if we assume ninety years as the interval that had elapsed since the partition of the kingdoms this will be too high rather than too low an estimate. The death of Solomon may, accordingly, be assigned to $\pm$ 930 B.C. Wellhausen (*Ug*², 9 f.), indeed, raises an objection against this, on the ground of a statement in the inscription of Mesha; but the expression in the doubtful passage is too awkward and obscure to lead us, on its account, to push back the death of Solomon to 950 B.C., or even farther.¹

In this connection it is not unimportant that the statements of Menander of Ephesus in regard to the

30. Menander. Tyrian list of kings confirm the assignment of 930 B.C. as the approximate date of the death of Solomon.

According to the careful discussion that Franz Rühl has devoted to this statement (see below, § 85 end), preserved to us in three forms (first, in Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.8; second, in the Chron. of Euseb., and third, in Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 100-102), we may, assuming v. Gutschmid's date of 814 B.C. for the foundation of Carthage, fix on 960-936 as the period of reign of Eriamos or Hiram, and on 878-866 B.C. as that of Eithobalos or Ethba'al. Now, Ahab was son-in-law of Ethba'al (1 K. 16:13) and since Ethba'al at his accession in the year 878 B.C. was thirty-six years old, he could quite well have had a marriageable daughter a few years later, when Ahab, who according to 1 K. 16:29 reigned twenty-two years (about 872-851 B.C.), ascended the throne. Moreover, Menander mentions a one-year famine under Eithobalos, which even Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 132) identifies with the three-year famine that, according to 1 K. 17, fell in the beginning of the reign of Ahab. Further, Eriamos (or 936) may be identified with Hiram, the friend of Solomon (cp. 1 K. 5:18 24 f. 32 39 to 46), and, whether we adopt the opinion that Hiram, the contemporary of David (2 S. 5:11), was the same person as this friend of Solomon's, or suppose that the name of the better-known contemporary of Solomon has simply been transferred to the Tyrian king who had relations with David, the year $\pm$ 930 B.C. for the death of Solomon, agrees excellently with this Phoenician synchronism.

¹ We translate lines 7-9 thus:—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and Israel dwelt there during his days and half the days of his son, forty years, and Kamos recovered it in my days.' He thus arrives at an estimate of at least sixty years for Omri's and Ahab's combined reigns, since only by adding the half of Ahab's reign to the part of Omri's reign during which Moab was tributary, is the total of forty years attained. It is to be noted, however, that 'Israel,' which We. (scilicet) Smeil and Socin, *Die Inschr. des K. Mesa von Moab*, 1886, p. 13) supplies as the subject to 'dwelt' (229), is lacking in the inscription, and that even with this insertion the construction is not beyond criticism. Is it, in the undoubted awkwardness of the passage, not possible to translate thus:—'Omri conquered the whole land of Medaba, and held it in possession as long as he reigned, and during the half of the years of my reign he held it in all forty years.' But yet in my reign Kamos recovered it. In that case there is no ground for ascribing so many as sixty years to the reigns of Omri and Ahab. Nay, the possibility is not excluded, that 2 K. 3:5 is right in making the revolt of Moab follow the death of Ahab, and then the futile expedition of Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah against Moab could be taken as marking the end of the forty years.

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If it has been difficult to attain sure ground in the early period of the divided monarchy, it is even less possible to determine anything with certainty about the period preceding Solomon's death. If the data of the OT concerning the reigns of Solomon and David (40 years each, 1 K. 2:11-1142) have any value, David must have attained to power about the year 1000 B.C. Concerning Saul, even 1 S. 13:1 gives us no real in-

31. Before the Schism.

formation, and regarding the premonarchic period the most that can be said is that, according to the discoveries at Tell-el-Amarna the Hebrews were, about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., not yet settled in Canaan.¹

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For the time, therefore, from the partition of the kingdom down to the year 842 B.C., we must be content with the following estimate:—

32. Schism to Jehu.

TABLE IV.—ESTIMATE OF REIGNS: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO ACCESSION OF JEHU.

KINGS OF ISRAEL.		KINGS OF JUDAH.	
930 (?)–854	Jeroboam of Israel and his contemporaries	Rehoboam and Abijah in Judah.	
	Nadab		
	Elah		
	Zimri		
	Omri		
	Ahab		
854	Ahab at battle of Karkar	Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, contemporary with Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram.	
854–842	Ahab's death		
	Ahaziah, king of Israel		
	Jehoram		
842	Death of Jehoram of Israel	Jehoram, king of Judah.	
		Death of Ahaziah of Judah.	

From 842 B.C. onwards, there is no fixed point till we come to the eighth century. Then we have one in the eighth year of the Assyrian king

33. Certain dates 842–721.

Tiglath-pileser III. (745–727) *loc. cit.* 738 B.C. In that year, according to the cuneiform inscriptions, this king of Assyria received the tribute of Menahem of Israel. When the OT tells of this (2 K. 15:19 ff.) it calls the Assyrian king Pul; although elsewhere (2 K. 15:29, 16:10) it uses the other name, Tiglath-pileser. Of the identity of the two names, however, there can be no doubt (*K. 17¹²* 223 ff., *COT*, 1210), and we are not to think of the reference being to a Babylonian king, or an Assyrian rival king, or to assume that Tiglath-pileser himself, at an earlier period, twenty years or more before he became king over Assyria, while still bearing the name of Pul, made an expedition against the land of Israel (so Klo. *Sam. u. Kd.* [87] p. 496). If we add that Ahaz of Judah procured for himself through a payment of tribute the help of Tiglath-pileser against the invading kings, Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus; that, accordingly, the Assyrian king took the field against Philistia and Damascus in 734 and 733; and that in 732, after the conquest of Damascus, Ahaz also appeared in Damascus to do homage to Tiglath-pileser, there remains to be mentioned only the equally certain date of the beginning of the year 721 B.C. (Hommel, *GB. I* 676) for the conquest of Samaria, to complete the list of assured dates between 842 and 721.

The attempt to arrange the kings of North Israel during this period is hampered by fewer difficulties in the interval 842–738 than are to be found in that between 738 and 721. If we assume that Menahem died soon after paying tribute, we shall still have in the 113 years reckoned by the traditional account from the accession of Jehu to the death of Menahem a slight excess, since for the period 842–738 we need only 104 years. Still, we can here give an approximate date for the individual reigns. The latest results of Kautzsch (in substantial agreement with Brandes, Kamphausen, and Riehm) are the following:—Jehu 841–815, Jehoahaz 814–798, Jehoash 797–783, Jeroboam II. 782–743 (or before 745), Zedekiah and Shallum perhaps also in 743, Menahem 742–737 (or $\pm$ 745 to after 738). For the last period, on the other hand, from the death of Menahem to the conquest of Samaria, the traditional reckoning gives thirty-one years, whilst from 737 to 721 we have hardly sixteen. The necessary shortening of the reigns

¹ We modify them only to the extent of giving as the first year of a reign the year at the beginning of which the king was already in power, and adding in parentheses the figures of We, in so far as they are to be found in his *ITC*.

is accomplished by Kautzsch in this way: Pekahiah 730, Pekah 735–730, Hoshea 720–721. Wellhausen has abandoned his former theory that Pekahiah and Pekah are identical, and makes the latter begin to reign in $\pm$ 735. To Hoshea, the last king of Israel, he assigns an actual reign of at least ten years, although he assumes that according to 2 K. 17:4 ff. he came under the power of Assyria before the fall of Samaria.

For the Judæan line of kings the starting-point is likewise the year 842 B.C., in which Ahaziah of Judah met his death at the hand of Jehu, and

35. Judah 842–734.

Athaliah assumed the direction of the government. On the other hand, we do not find, for the next hundred years, a single event independently determined with perfect exactness by years of the reigning king of Judah. We must come down as far as 734 B.C. before we attain certainty. We know that at that time Ahaz had already come to power, and we can only suppose (according to 2 K. 15:37 ff.) that he had not long before this succeeded his father, during whose lifetime Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus were already preparing for war. The presents of King Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser in the year 734 B.C. delivered Judah from the danger that threatened it, and in 732 B.C. in the conquered Damascus the same king did homage to the victorious Assyrian, and offered him his thanks (cp 2 K. 16:7 ff. and Schröder, *KAT²* 527 ff.). It is still difficult, however, to allot the intervening time to the several kings of Judah; for the traditional values for the reigns require no less than 143 years from the first year of Athaliah to the death of Jotham, whilst between 842 B.C. and 734 B.C. there are only 108 years at our disposal. It is, therefore, necessary to reduce several of the items by a considerable amount, and it is not to be wondered at that different methods of adjustment have been employed. The synchronism of events between the history of Israel and that of Judah is too inadequate to secure unanimity, and the mention (not quite certain) of Azariah of Judah in Assyrian inscriptions for the years 742–740 (cp Schr. *KAT²*, 217 ff.) does not make up the lack. On one point, however, there is agreement: that it is in the cases of Amaziah, Azariah (Uzziah), and Jotham that the deductions are to be made.

The years 841–830 B.C. for Athaliah are rendered tolerably certain by the data concerning Jehoash, the infant son of Ahaziah (2 K. 11:1 ff. 4 ff.). Then we need have no misgivings about giving Jehoash, who was raised to the throne at so young an age, about forty years. If we take these years fully, we obtain

¹ On early traces of certain elements afterwards forming part of Israel, see I. *NAH*, § 7 ff.; *LEVIT.*, § 50 ff.; *AMON.*, § 1 ff.

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for the reign of Jehoash 835-796 B.C. The date of his death may, indeed, be pushed still farther back; but in any case his time as determined by these data cannot be far wrong, for he must have been a contemporary of Jehoahaz the king of Israel (814-798), and, according to 2 K. 12:18 ff., also of Hazael of Aram (acc. to Winckler 841-about 804 [?]). From 795 to 734 there are left only 61 years, and in this interval room must be found for Amaziah with twenty-nine years, Azariah with fifty-two, and Jotham with sixteen—no less than ninety-seven years. Even if we allow the whole sixteen years of Jotham, who, according to 2 K. 15, conducted the government during the last illness of his father, to be merged in the fifty-two years of Azariah, we do not escape the necessity of seeking other ways of shortening the interval. Amaziah's reign is estimated too high at twenty-nine years. The only thing that is certain about him is that he was a contemporary of Jehoash of Israel (797-783; cp 2 K. 14:8 ff.). It is pure hypothesis to assign him nine years (We.), or nineteen years (Kamph. and Kau.), instead of twenty-nine. The smaller number has the greater probability, since the defeat that he brought on himself by his wanton challenge of Jehoash of Israel best explains the conspiracy against him (2 K. 14:12 ff.), and he would therefore hardly survive his conqueror, but much more probably meet his death by assassination at Lachish not long after 790 B.C. (cp also St. *GIJ*, 1559). From the death of Amaziah to 734 reigned Azariah and Jotham. To discover the boundary between the two, we must bear in mind the Assyrian inscriptions already mentioned, which apparently represent Azariah as still reigning in the years 742-740, and must keep in view that Isaiah, who cannot be thought of as an old man when Sennacherib marched against Jerusalem in the year 701, received his prophetic call in the year of the death of Uzziah (Isa. 6:1). Accordingly, we cannot be far wrong in assigning the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham as sole ruler to 740 B.C. More than this cannot be made out with the help of the materials at our disposal up to the present time.

If now the year of the conquest of Samaria (721 B.C.) were fixed with certainty according to the year of the king then reigning in Judah, this would appear the next resting-point after 734 B.C. The data of the OT do not agree, however, and none of them is to be relied upon. This is true even of the datum in 2 K. 18:13, lately much favoured by critics, that Sennacherib's expedition against Palestine in the year 701 B.C. was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (so We. *DIJ* [75] p. 635 ff.; Kamph. *Die Chronol. der Hebr. Könige* [83] p. 28; Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jec.* [85] p. 37, and St. *GIJ*, 1666 f.). In order to maintain the datum, it is not enough to say, 'The people of Judah are more likely to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which their whole land was laid waste and their capital, Jerusalem, escaped destruction only through enduring the direst distress, than to have preserved the year of Hezekiah in which Samaria fell.' The unusual (cp 2 K. 18:19) prefixing of the numeral before 722 (cp Duhm, *Jesaja*, 235) of itself indicates a later origin, and this is confirmed by what we have already found as to these chronological data not belonging to the original narrative. The number fourteen is based, not upon historical facts, but upon an exegetical inference from Is. 38:5, and a consideration of the twenty-nine years traditionally assigned to Hezekiah, and must therefore rank simply with the scribe's note Am. 1:1: 'two years before the earthquake.'¹

Even when we come to the seventh century, the expectation that at least the death of Josiah in the battle of Megiddo would admit of being dated with complete accuracy by material from inscriptions is not fulfilled. From Egyptian chronology, which does not mention

¹ This is forcibly urged by Kau. (cp. Kamph. *op. cit.* 64) and has received the assent of Duhm (*loc. cit.*) and Cheyne (*Introd. Is.* 218).

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the date of the battle, we gather only that it must have been after 610 B.C., since the conqueror, Necho II., did not begin to reign till that year. There is, therefore, nothing left but to take as our fixed point the conquest of Jerusalem in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar—i.e., 586 B.C. (2 K. 25:18). For the intervening time we have to take into consideration, besides the death of Josiah, the data supplied by Assyriology, which place Sennacherib's expedition against Hezekiah in 701 B.C., and imply Manasseh's being king of Judah in the years 681-667 (cp Schr. *KAT*², p. 466).

For the whole time from the death of Jotham to the conquest of Jerusalem, tradition requires 155 years of reign, whilst from 734 B.C., when Ahaz was already seated on the throne of Jerusalem—which year, if not that of his accession, must have been at least the first of his reign—to 586 B.C., we have only 148, or, since we may reckon also the year 734 B.C., 149 years. The smallness of the difference of seven years, however, shows that we have now to do with a better tradition. Where the mistake lies we cannot tell beforehand. All we can say is that it is not to be sought between the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem, since for this interval twenty-two years are required by tradition, and this agrees with our datum that Josiah must have died shortly after 610 B.C.

Let us see whether another cardinal point can be found. In 701 Hezekiah was reigning in Jerusalem. When it was that he came to the throne, whether before or after the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.), is the question. In Is. 14:28 we have an oracle against Philistia, dated from the year of the death of king Ahaz,—a chronological note which, like Is. 6:1, may have importance, if the oracle really belongs to Isaiah. Winckler and Cheyne (Int. cp *Isaiah*, *SBOT*, *Adhenda*) regard it as possible that the oracle may refer to agitation in Syria and Palestine, in which the Philistines shared, on the accession of Sargon (721 B.C.), when Hammur, king of Gaza, induced them to rebel, in reliance on the help of Sile'e, one of the Egyptian petty kings (cp above on Sile'e, Sab'i, So', Sewch, § 21). On this theory the death of Ahaz would have to be set down about the year 720 B.C. As, however, the authenticity of the oracle is not certain,—in fact hardly probable (cp Duhm, who even conjectures that originally there may have stood, instead of Ahaz, the name of the second last Persian king, Arsēs [= Arogos]) it is not safe to take it as fixing the death-year of Ahaz. Of greater value is the section relating to the embassy of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon to Hezekiah (2 K. 20=Is. 39). Merodach-Baladan was king of Babylon from 721 to 710. When, later, he attempted to recover his position, he held Babylon for so short a time that an embassy to the west would be impossible. Thus, Merodach-Baladan must have sought relations with Hezekiah between 721 and 709. The beginning of the reign of Merodach-Baladan, when in the year 721 or 720 he obtained possession of Babylon and held it against Sargon, commends itself as the point of time most suitable. After the battle of Dūr-ilu, which both parties regarded as a victory for themselves, it must have seemed natural to hope that the overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom would be possible, if the west joined in the attack. Moreover, Sargon once describes himself (Nimrud inscr., 18) as 'the subduer of Judah,'¹ which seems to mean that, on the suppression of the revolt in Philistia, Hezekiah resumed the payment of the tribute that had been imposed. In view of this, Winckler seems to be justified in placing the appearance of the embassy of Merodach-Baladan before Hezekiah in the year 720 or 710. Approximately, then, the year 721 may be regarded as assured for the year of the death of Ahaz.

The first year of Hezekiah's reign is thus 720 B.C., rather than 728 (Kau.), or 711 (We., and others). The discrepancy of four years, which in all that now remains

¹ For fuller details see ISAIAH, i. § 6, SARGON.

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TABLE V.—TABULAR SURVEY: DEATH OF SOLOMON TO HEROD THE GREAT.

Certain Dates.	Probable Dates.	ISRAEL.	JUDAH.
	cir. 930	1st year of Jeroboam .	1st year of Rehoboam .
	930-854	Reigns of Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri , part of reign of Ahab .	Reigns of Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa , part of reign of Jehoshaphat .
854		Ahab at battle of Karkar .	
	854-842	Rest of reign of Ahab ; reigns of Ahaziah and Jehoram .	Rest of reign of Jehoshaphat ; reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah .
842		Death of Jehoram (at the hands of Jehu). Tribute of Jehu to Shalmaneser II .	Death of Ahaziah (at the hands of Jehu).
	841-815	1st year of Jehu (841-815). 1st year of Jehoahaz (814-798). 1st year of Jehoash (797-783).	1st year of Athaliah (841-835). 1st year of Jehoash (835-797).
	783-738	1st year of Jeroboam II . (782-743). Zachariah, Shallum . 1st year Menahem (742-737).	1st year of Amaziah (795-790). 1st year of Azariah (789-740).
738	736	Tribute of Menahem to Tiglath-pileser III . Pekahiah .	1st year Jotham (739-734).
734	735	1st year of Pekah (735-730).	
732	733		Tribute of Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser . 1st year of Abaz (733-721).
721	729	1st year of Hoshea (729-721). Fall of Samaria .	Ahaz does homage to Tiglath-pileser at Damascus .
	720-604	1st year of Hezekiah (720-693). Embassy of Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem . 1st year of Manasseh (692-639). 1st year of Amon (638-608). 1st year of Josiah (637-608). Battle of Megiddo . Jehoahaz , king. 1st year of Jehoiakim (607-597). 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar (604-562). Jehoiachin , king. 1st year of Zedekiah (596-580). FALL OF JERUSALEM .	
604	597		
586	596		
Dates.	The more important dates of the succeeding centuries.		
561	1st year of Evil Merodach (561-560). Liberator of Jehoiachin from prison.		
538	1st year of Cyrus (538-530).		
521	1st year of Darius I . (521-486).		
515	Completion of building of second temple.		
474	1st year of Artaxerxes I . (474-424).		
445	1st visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. Building of city-wall.		
433	Return of Nehemiah .		
cir. 432	and visit of Nehemiah to Jerusalem. On the advent of Ezra and the Introduction of the law see above, § 14.		
332	End of Persian Power: Alexander the Great .		
320	Beginning of Ptolemaic dominion in Palestine, which continued with short interruptions till 198.		
312	Beginning of the Era of the Seleucids .		
197	Palestine under Syrian dominion.		
157-164	Antiochus IV. Epiphanes .		
167	Insurrection of Mattathias the priest, of Molein (166).		
165	Reintroduction of regular service in the temple.		
160	Judas Maccabeus (166-160) falls in battle against Racchides .		
143	Execution of Jonathan (leader of Maccabean revolt since 160).		
142-135	Simon , High-priest and Prince.		
134-104	Hyrcanus I .		
103	Aristobulus I , king.		
102-76	Jannæus .		
75-67	Alexandra .		
66-63	Hyrcanus II , and Aristobulus II . ¹		
63	Taking of Jerusalem by Pompey . Palestine a part of the Roman Province of Syria.		
62-40	Hyrcanus II under Roman sovereignty.		
40	Invasion of Parthians. Antigonius made king (40-37).		
37-4 B.C.	Herod the Great .		

¹ On the dates of the Maccabees cp We, *IJC*², 229, n. 2; 2nd ed. 203, n. 3; 3rd ed. 275, n. 2.

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between the sum of the years of reign from the death of Ahaz to the conquest of Jerusalem, and the interval 720-586 B.C. — i.e., between 130 years of reign and 135 actual years — cannot be removed otherwise than by shortening the reign of one or more of the kings. The account of the closing portion of the line of kings has already been found to merit our confidence. The shortening must therefore be undertaken somewhere near the beginning of the line of kings from Hezekiah to Josiah. The most obvious course is to reduce the long reign of Manasseh from fifty-five years to fifty-one (We., indeed, assigns him only forty-five). This, however, may seem arbitrary, and it will be simpler as well as less violent to divide the shortening among all the four reigns. If, that is to say, in the case of the years of reign of the kings from Hezekiah to Josiah, tradition included (according to popular practice) the year of accession and the year of death, we may reduce the numbers for Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amos, and Josiah by one each, and assign them twenty-eight, fifty-four, one, and thirty respectively. Thus we get the following series:—Hezekiah 720-693 (28 years), Manasseh 692-639 (54 years), Amos 638 (1 year), Josiah 637-608 (30 years), Jehoahaz 608 ($\frac{1}{2}$ year), Jehoiakim 607-597 (11 years), Jehoiachin 597 ($\frac{1}{2}$ year), and Zedekiah 596-586 (11 years). The control over the date of the death of Josiah from Egyptian history which is to a certain extent possible turns out to be not unfavourable to our results, since Pharaoh Necho II. began to reign in 610 B.C., and, as early as the end of 605, or the beginning of 605, encountered the crown prince Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish (cp. on the date of this battle which, in Jer. 46.2, is inaccurately assigned to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Winckler, *AT Untersuch.*, 81). Hence the year 608 B.C. for the battle of Megiddo possesses the greatest probability. That, among the numerous dates for the last decades of the kingdom of Judah which the OT furnishes, little inaccuracies, such as that in the passage (Jer. 46.2) just cited, appear, is intelligible on the ground (apart from others, as, e.g., in the case of Ezek. 33.21) of their being the result of later calculation. At all events, these variations are not to be accounted for, with Hommel (*GBI* 755), by the supposition that the Jews reckoned the years of Nebuchadnezzar, as well as those of their own kings, from the day on which they ascended the throne to the corresponding day in the following year. The Jews, in adopting the exact Babylonian chronological system, and applying it to their own past history, did not mutilate it and render it futile.

Beyond the points already referred to (§ 13 f.), the chronology of the times after the conquest of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. presents no difficulties worth mentioning. The Canon of Ptolemy supplies an assured framework into which the data that have been preserved can be fitted without trouble.

The tabular survey on the preceding page gathers together the dates we have established. At the end is appended a continuation indicating the most important dates down to the last century B.C. K. M.

B. NEW TESTAMENT.

The chronology of the New Testament is of great (subsidiary) importance for the study of the origins of Christianity. From the order of the events in the primitive period it will be possible to draw conclusions with regard to the influence of one event upon another; the rapidity of the historical development will enable us to measure the power of the original impulse; and only when the events have received their place in contemporary history can they be fully understood.

39. NT chronology: importance.

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Unfortunately, the task is attended with serious difficulty, the causes of which need to be briefly described.

40. Difficulty. (1) The first Christians themselves had no interest in chronology, whether with reference to events concerning them as Christians, or with reference to events of secular history. This was due not only to their separation from the world and their limited horizon, but also, and still more, to their sense of superiority to the world (Phil. 3.20), which seemed to them already in process of dissolution (1 Cor. 7.31), and to their feeling that they had already begun to live in eternity. (2) The historical traditions of the Christians were formed wholly with the purpose of promoting Christian piety, and were therefore restricted to a small number of events, the choice of which was often, as it were, accidental, and the arrangement according to subject rather than to time. Our chronological interest was, accordingly, to be satisfied with inferences and combinations which often remain, after all, very problematical; and the gaps in the traditions prevent us from constructing anywhere a long chronological sequence. (3) Of at least a part of the traditions the historical trustworthiness is subject to such grave doubt that we can venture to use them only with great reserve, if at all. (4) In the NT, apart from some vague notices in the Fourth Gospel, the only writer who professes to give chronological data is the author of the Third Gospel and Acts. He gives no account, however, of the means by which he obtained these data. We are, therefore, unable to check his statements, and can treat them only as hypotheses. As far as we know, the old Catholic fathers—Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, and Hippolytus—were the first to make chronological calculations. Whether they based them on any independent tradition or limited themselves to inferences from our Gospels is uncertain; the latter is the more probable view. Their data can receive only occasional mention here.¹ (5) It has not yet been found possible to give exact dates to certain of those events of profane history which come into question. (6) Further difficulty is caused by the complicated nature of the ancient calendar, and by the different usages in reckoning time and in beginning the year. Side by side with the various eras we have various methods of reckoning by the years of reigning monarchs.²

In the following article the years are designated by the numbers of our current Dionysian era, on the origin of which see Ideler (*Handb.* 2.65 ff.). By this reckoning the year 1 B.C. coincides with the year 753 A.U.C., and the year 1 A.D. with the year 754 A.U.C. The years are treated as beginning on 1st Jan., as was the case according to the Varronian reckoning in the period under consideration.

¹ The facts in detail are to a large extent given by Bratke and Hilgenfeld in articles on the chronological attempts of Hippolytus in *ZWT.*, 1892.

² An excellent guide through this labyrinth is Ideler's *Handb.* abridged and in part improved in his *Lehrb.* (see below, § 13). The most important tables (of the sun and moon, and of eras) are brought together from astronomical works by Gumpach, *Hilfsmittel d. rechnend. Chronol.*, 1853. See further Bouché, *Histoire de l'astronomie*, 1763; E. Müller in Pauly's *Realencyc.* d. class. Alt. 2.2, *Astr.*; Matrat, *Revue Chronol.*, two vols., 1852. Special service to NT chronology has also been rendered by Clinton, *Fasti Hellénici*, 1829, 2 ed., 1851; *Fasti Romani*, 1829-50; and by J. Klein, *Fasti Consulares*, Leipzig, 1881. Further bibliographical notices, and many original contributions to the subject, are to be found in Schürer, *GPB*, i. (1890), where, in an appendix, is given a table (taken from Clinton) of parallel years by Olympiads, and by the Seleucid, Varronian, and Dionysian eras. The third appendix discusses the months of the Jewish Calendar, and on p. 630 f. a bibliography of the very large literature of that subject is to be found.—Important for the chronology of the NT are also Wieseler, *Chronol. Syn. d. vier Evangelien*, 1843; *Chronol. d. ap. Zeitalters*, 1843; and an 'Zeitrechnung' in *PKF.*, 1866; *Beitr. zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangel.*, 1869; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, 1865; Lightfoot on 'The Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Epistles' in *Eccl. Essays* (posthumous), 215 ff. See also B. W. Bacon, 'A New Chronology of the Acts,' *Expositor*, Feb. 1898.

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AUGUSTUS CAESAR, p. 166. 19th Aug. 14 A.D., and
FURNISH, 19th Aug. 14 A.D. 16th March 37 A.D.

20 19 B.C., Temple begun (Jos. Ant. xv. 111; see Schürer,

4 B.C. 6 A.D., *Archelaus* ethnarch of Judea, Sannuri's, and Idumea (deposed and banished to Vienna in Gaul).

4 nat. 33 A.D., *Ant. par.*, tetrarch of Galilee and Perea (banished to Lugdunum). On his relations to Aretas see § 78.

4 Nov. 34 A.D.,¹ Philip, tetrarch of the north-eastern districts. (After his death his tetrarchy was governed as part of the province of Syria.)

641 A.D. by *Roman procurators*, with their residence in

26-beginning of 36 A.D., was *Pontius Pilate*.
30, *Pilate* sent to Rome to answer for his conduct.

37. Vitellius made war, at the Emperor's command, on Arminius, king of the Frisians.

At the news of the emperor's death hostilities suspended.

37. *Herod Agrippa I.* receives from Caligula the title of king, with the tetrarchies of Lysanias (see Schürer, *U. 100*) and of Philip, *ib.*

40, also that of *Antipas*; and in
41, also the provinces of Judæa and Samaria, previously

44. Death of *Herod Antipater*, in *Caesarea*, 37, 38.

44. Death of Herod Agrippa I. at Caesarea. The territory of Agrippa after his death governed by procurators. Expulsion of Jews from Rome.

52-50, 60, 2. *Antonius Felix*
56, 60-62 [61]. *Porcius Festus* - procurators of Judaea

64, 19th July, *Burning of Rome*,
66, Durburak of Turkish war.

ALBA, Orno, and VITELLUS, 9th June 68-20th Dec. 69.
ESPASIAN—Proclaimed Emperor 1st July 69 in Egypt while

engaged in putting down the Jewish insurrection. Recognised as Emperor in the East at once, throughout the Empire not until after the death of Vespasian.

70, *Destruction of Jerusalem.*

93-96, *Persecutions of Christians*, especially in Rome and

Asa Minor.

112-113, Correspondence with *Pliny*, governor of Bithynia, on the subject of the Christians in that province.

Insurrection of the Jews under *Bar-kokheba*.

Our investigation will treat the problems of NT chronology in the following order: the chronology of

2. Plan of article.

the first and second of these divisions are wholly

I. CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.—The

the year of his public appearance (§ 47 ff.), his age at

entrance upon his ministry (§ 43), the duration of
ministry (§ 44 ff.), and the year of his death (§ 50 ff.).

prising that tradition is meagre. In itself, as a

more tale of years, the matter had no interest for the early Christians. That

Jesus was a man of mature years was
ough: why should they care to inquire how long he

Legates in Syria who had occasion to interfere in the
 enuement of Palestine were:

perhaps at first 3 B.C.-2 B.C., and certainly later 6 A.D. (at latest) 11 A.D.

35-39 A.D., *L. Vitellius*.
 Had Felix entered on his office in 32 (or possibly 31) and

Albinus arrived in Palestine at latest in the summer of 62 and directly attested facts. That Festus succeeded Felix in 60 is only inferred. See below, 2.65-6.

On the day of his birth, for determining which there are no original data, but for which the church, after much vacillation,

ly settled on 25th Dec., see *Cham. Bot. graph. Chrys.*

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had lived quietly at Nazareth? We have to consider only two passages:—(1) In S. 57. If the foolish question, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?' were authentic, it would only give a superficial hint, plainly put as high as possible on the ground of the general impression from Jesus's appearance. From this no inference as to any definite number could be drawn, for among the Jews a man began to be elderly at fifty years, and the remark would merely have meant, 'You are still one of the younger men'. If the question is not authentic, it either testifies to the impression made by the account of Jesus in the tradition, that he was in the best years of life (cp. Nu. 40, 84; v. 1, or else the half-century, as an age which he had not yet attained, is intended to form an unusual contrast to the many centuries from Abraham to the then present time. In the ancient church, Irenæus (in 22) is the only writer to make use of this passage for chronology; he remarks that the presbyters in Asia Minor had on the ground of it ascribed to Jesus an age of forty to fifty years.

(2) Lk. 2:23. "The text is here not quite certain, and the sense of the most probable reading is obscure. (What does ἀρροῦμενος mean? In the Sin. SM. it is omitted from the translation.) In any case, the presence of ἀρτι ('about') forbids us to use the number as if it were exact. It merely tells us that Jesus stood in the beginning of adult manhood, and leaves undecided the question whether he had just entered on his thirtieth year or was already over thirty.

Moreover, whether the number comes from actual historical recollection at all is made uncertain by the fact that, according to No. 439, from thirty to fifty was the canonical age for certain ritual acts. It is significant that these two gospels, from Asia Minor, in so many points similar, give for the age of Jesus in these two passages the two limits of this canonical term of years.

44. Public Ministry.

designate a short period or are to be connected with the fact that the fig tree commonly bears fruit in three years (for the opposite view, see Wieseler, *Synops.*, 202 ff. 1). The 'three days' of Lk. 13.32 express only a proverbial number both brief time and fixed limit for the opposite view, Weizsacker, *Untersuchungen*, 191). From Mark and Matthew we get no light, because of the arrangement of the material by subjects. The plucking of the ears in Mk. 2.23 may indicate the time when the grain was ripe; but that must have been between the middle of April and the middle of June, before which time the harvest in Galilee is not ended. Thus, if the incident was in the early months of Jesus' ministry, it does not imply a duration of more than one year. One year seems to have been the idea of the third evangelist, who, like all the writers of the second century except Irenaeus, and like many Fathers of the third century, may very well have understood literally the notation from Is. 61.1f. which he puts (Lk. 4.19) into the mouth of Jesus.

In my case, a place can be found without difficulty within the limits of one year for the entire contents of the Synoptical gospels, while to fill out several years the material is rather meagre. The feeling, shared (for instance) by Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu*, I 133), that it is 'violent and unnatural process' to crowd the whole development into the space of one year, is balanced by a feeling of the men of the second and third centuries, when repeated visits to Jerusalem, if the Synoptical spels really imply them, are, in view of the nearness of Galilee to Jerusalem and of the many feasts (esp the spels of John), easily conceivable within one year. The early Christian Fathers were not disturbed in their summation of a single year by the Fourth Gospel with its journeys to the feasts.

In the Fourth Gospel, apart from 6.4, if we accept the

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most common interpretation of *ἐορτή* (Jn. 51) as meaning Pentecost, the feasts group themselves into the course of a single year: 213 Passover; 51 Pentecost; 72 Tabernacles; 1022 Dedication; 1155 Passover. Irenaeus alone (ii. 223) finds three passovers mentioned in the public life of Jesus; and, since he takes the second not from 64 but from 51, he, as well as Origen (on Jn. 435 tom. 1412), must have had at 64 a different text from any known to us. The Abbot, also, according to Epiphanius (*Her.* 5122), found mentioned in Jn. only a passover at the beginning and one at the end of the ministry. Positive ground for assuming the later interpolation of 64 (which could well have been suggested by the substance of the following conversation) may be found in the designation of the feast there, which is different from that in 213 and 1155, a designation combining (so to speak) 51 and 72. So also the introductory formula *ἦν δὲ ἔγγυς* ('was at hand') is suitable only in 213 72 1155, where a journey to the feast, which does not here come in question, is to be mentioned.

Moreover, the meagreness of the narrative in Jn. is much more comprehensible if the writer thought of the whole ministry as included between two passovers. He can hardly have regarded the narrative in chaps. 3-5, and again that in chaps. 7-11, as sufficient to fill out in each case a whole year. Otherwise, if the saying with reference to the harvest (Jn. 135) is to be regarded as anything more than a proverbial phrase (used for the purpose of the figure which Jesus is employing) there would be a period of nine months for which nothing would be told but the conversation with Nicodemus and the baptizing work of the disciples, and a stay of six months in Galilee for which we should have nothing but chap. 6. If, on the other hand, only one year elapsed from the purification of the temple to the destruction of the 'temple of his body,' we should have: 213-51, only fifty days; 51-72, perhaps 127 days; 72-1022, perhaps fifty-eight days; 1022-121, perhaps 119 days. In reality, however, even this year will have to be shortened somewhat at the beginning; for the purification of the temple, which the Synoptists likewise connect with a passover (but with the last one), cannot have happened twice, and while it is incomprehensible at the beginning, it cannot be spared at the end of the ministry. Whether, then, the baptism of Jesus was before a passover, or whether the journey to John in the wilderness may have followed a journey to the passover in Jerusalem, it is wholly impossible to decide. In the latter case the complete absence from the narrative of the baptism of all recollection of such a connection would be singular; in the former it would be strange that Jesus stayed away from the passover in Jerusalem. On the other hand, since the forty days of the temptation are surely a round number drawn from OT analogies, they may safely be somewhat reduced; and the walk with the disciples through the ripe cornfields in Galilee on the sabbath is then chronologically quite possible, even if the baptism was not until immediately after the passover.

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3. *The Year of the Public Appearance of Jesus.*—(1) In Lk. 31 f. we have, as the last of Lk.'s several chronological notes (15 26 21 f.), a

47. First appearance of the Baptist.

notice of the date of the public appearance of the Baptist. This notice is clearly the product of careful investigation, and it is extremely unlikely that the evangelist would have taken so much pains about fixing this date if he had not supposed himself to be at the same time fixing the year (for the Christian, the only year of real importance in the history of the world) of at least the beginning of the Messiah's ministry, which last, together with the baptism of Jesus, Lk. regarded, as appears from the whole tenor of his narrative, as the immediate consequence of the appearance of the Baptist. Whether

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he was right in this short allowance of time for the preaching of the Baptist we need not decide; if the ministry of the Baptist really did last longer, it is easily comprehensible that the previous time should have escaped his knowledge. What year, then, does Lk. mean? Following previous writers on the life of Jesus, B. Weiss and Deyschlag have taken as the starting-point for Lk.'s reckoning the year 12 A.D., in which Tiberius was made co-regent with Augustus. There is no proof, however, that such a method of reckoning was ever used. Neither the consuls, to which Wieseler¹ appealed, nor the great dignity of Tiberius, adduced by Schegg,² which is in any case to be ascribed to flatterers, can establish this hypothesis; and we shall have to take the death of Augustus as the starting-point. Now, Mommsen³ has proved that until the time of Nerva the reckoning usually employed was by consuls, but that when for any reason a reckoning by the years of the emperor's reign was desirable, the years were counted from the exact date of the beginning of the reign.⁴ Accordingly, Lk. must have reckoned the years of Tiberius as beginning with 19th August, 14 A.D.⁵ The fifteenth year ran from 19th August 28 A.D. to 18th August, 29 A.D. Although we cannot connect the sources from which Lk. derived his information,⁶ it is plain from the table of dates given above that the notices in Lk. 31 do not contradict one another, and we have no reason to doubt Lk.'s information. We say this in spite of the fact that in one point he shows himself not perfectly well-versed in Jewish affairs: the Roman custom of having two consuls has perhaps led him to misinterpret the fact that in the time of the high-priest Caiaphas (from about 18 A.D. to Easter 36 A.D.), the latter's father-in-law, Annas, who had been high priest in 6-15 A.D., was the real leader of the Sanhedrim. Lk. has taken this to mean that the *tax* were high priests at the same time (cp the same error in Acts 46).

(2) In Jn. 220, forty-six years are said to have elapsed from the beginning of the building of the temple to the beginning of Jesus' ministry and the

48. The temple. cleansing of the temple. If the forty-six years are treated as already past, this brings us to A.D. 28. Everything, however, is here uncertain—the position of the cleansing of the temple at the beginning of the ministry, and the authenticity of the conversation, as well as the evangelist's method of reckoning (on the supposition that the number comes from him).⁷

(3) The public appearance of Jesus was con-

¹ *Beitr.* 100-92.

² *Todesjahr des Königs Herodes und Todesjahr Jesu Christi*, 1832, pp. 61-63.

³ *Das römisch-germanische Herrscherjahr*, in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 1878, pp. 54-55.

⁴ The imperial era introduced by Nerva, which took as a basis the Julianian year beginning with 1st December, the triumphal year in which the emperor ascended the throne counting as the first of his reign, did not actually come into common use until the time of Trajan.

⁵ The method of reckoning the years of the emperor's reign (namely beginning with 1st Tishri 766 A.U.C.) represented by Gumplich (*l.c.* 93) as having been the universal custom, according to which he makes the fifteenth year of Tiberius begin with 1st Tishri 27 A.D., no one besides himself has ventured to accept.

⁶ Keim assumed without any foundation, that Lk. had Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3) before him, and that he supposed the two revolutions there mentioned as occurring in the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, which began in the twelfth year of Tiberius, to have been in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Tiberius, and so hit on the fifteenth year for the Baptist. This is, however, in contradiction with the fact of the large number of single notices in Lk. 31, which implies careful investigation, and is in itself impossible, since Josephus first mentions the Baptist in xviii. 52, and has already related the death of Philip, which happened so late as the twentieth year of Tiberius.

⁷ Has the evangelist perhaps used Nerva's method of reckoning? That yields the year 28 A.D. On the different interpretation of the number, see Sevin, *l.c.* 2^e 1022, pp. 11-14.

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temporaneous with the imprisonment of the Baptist

49. The Baptist. (Mk. 1:14 = Mt. 11:2; Mk. 6:17 f. = Mt. 11:3 f.; cp. Lk. 3:18-20.) Jesus was baptized shortly before that (Mk. 1:12 f. and parallels), and the execution of the Baptist happened in the course of Jesus' public ministry (Lk. 7:33 f. = Mt. 11:10 f.; Mk. 6:16-29 = Mt. 11:15-17; with Mk. 6:14-16 = Lk. 9:7-9 = Mt. 11:1 f.).

The execution is related also by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5 c. 7.4), who does not give the exact date, but is led to mention the matter in connection with the defeat of Antipas by Aretas (in the summer or autumn of 36 A.D.), which the nation believed to be a judgment of God for the murder of John. Aretas's reasons for making the war are said to have been two: (1) the divorce of his daughter by Antipas in order that the latter might marry Herodias; (2) boundary disputes. From this Keim, Holzmann, Hausrath, Schenkel, and Sevin have inferred that this divorce, to John's death, must have been not long before 36 A.D. A judgment of God, however, may well be delayed for six years, provided the crime which the people believe to be punished by it is not forgotten; whilst a favourable moment for executing human vengeance does not always arrive immediately. Moreover, it appears that boundary disputes were finally needed to bring about the actual conflict.¹

From this war, therefore, we can draw no inferences about the date of the Baptist's martyrdom. As to the marriage itself, there is, in the first place, no reason to doubt the synoptical tradition that the Baptist's contage occasioned his imprisonment. The account of Josephus neither excludes the assumption that the tetrarch waited for a good pretext before arresting John nor makes it impossible that his arrest and execution should have been separated by a short imprisonment (cp. Mk. 6:20; Mt. 11:2). That Herodias's daughter was too old to dance at the feast is shown by A. von Gutschmid (*Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1874, p. 522) to be wholly undemonstrable, and a banquet at Machaberis is not inconceivable. That, according to Josephus, Machaberis should have been at one time in the possession of Aretas and shortly afterwards in that of Antipas, we cannot indeed explain (cp. Schurer, 1:365); but since Josephus finds no difficulty in it, it has no force as an argument. Since, however, we cannot fix the date of the marriage, the whole matter does not help us much,² and we can only say that there is no sufficient evidence that the journey to Rome, on which Antipas made the acquaintance of his brother's wife, and his return to the tetrarchy, soon after which the marriage occurred, were not between 27 and 30 A.D.

The history of the Baptist presents, therefore, no insuperable obstacle to the view that the fifteenth year of Tiberius = 29 A.D.

4. The Year of Jesus' Death. Since the crucifixion certainly happened under Pontius Pilate, its earliest possible date is 26 A.D., the latest 35 A.D.

The complete publicity of Jesus' death and its character as a civil event, its well-understood importance as the starting-point of Christianity, its unique impressiveness, and its connection with the Jewish passover, must have made it a chief object of the awakening chronological interest of the early Christians, and at the same time have given ground for believing that the date could be fixed with reasonable certainty.

(a) This suggests that probably the chronological interest of the third Evangelist (Lk. 3:1 f.) was engaged as for little for the first public appearance of Jesus as for that of the Baptist: that it was directed towards the date of the Lord's death. He preferred, however, not to interrupt his narrative of the Passion by a chronological notice, and therefore worked back from the date of the crucifixion to the date of the beginning of Jesus' ministry, and so to that of the beginning of the ministry of the Baptist. This is confirmed by the fact that the date in Lk. 3:1 f. is, with the exception of the 'acceptable year of the Lord' in 49, the latest date that Lk. gives. If, as we have concluded above, Lk. really had a whole year in mind, he must have put the death of Jesus into the next (the sixteenth) year of Tiberius—that is, at the passover of 30 A.D.³

¹ See the account, with criticism, of Keim's theory and of Wieseler's objections to it, in Schurer, 1:363 f.

² Clemens, *Chron. der Paul. Briefe*, thinks otherwise, and reckons out 33 A.D.; but, as argument is wholly unconvincing.

³ A different view is held by Hase, *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1837, who holds that Lk. regarded the fifteenth year of Tiberius as

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That Lk. had worked back one year from the sixteenth year of Tiberius was the view of Julius Africanus.¹ On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria took Lk.'s fifteenth year of Tiberius as the year of Jesus' death; as did probably Tertullian, whose statement that Christ was crucified in the consulate of the two Censorius (30 A.D.) doubtless rests on Lk. 3:1 f., and was perhaps made on purpose to avoid confusion from the later method of reckoning (cp. above, § 47) which would have led him to the year 28 A.D. The statement in the revised text of Tertullian that Jesus revealed himself 'anno xvi. Tiberii Censorii' cannot be harmonised with Tertullian's other notices, and looks like an ancient correction intended to combine the statement in the text that Jesus was crucified in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with the later traditional view of a three year ministry.

(b) The theory explaining the conduct of Pilate at the trial of Jesus by the consule received from Rome

52. Pilate. Between 31 and 33 A.D. lacks all foundation; and so does the theory (Sevin, p. 135) that the hostility between Pilate and Herod (Lk. 23:12) was possible only after the complaint against Pilate (as to the date of the complaint, cp. Schurer 1:40), in which Antipas had a share. Hostility between the Roman procurator and Herod's heir must have been the rule, not the exception.

(c) If, in spite of what has been said above, the fourth Evangelist counted three passovers in the public life of Jesus (cp. above, § 45), and the period of forty-six years from the beginning of the building of the temple is to be taken seriously (cp. § 48), his chronology also would yield the year 30 for the death of Jesus.

(d) A final decision cannot be reached from the Jewish Calendar. On the one hand, the Synoptists put

54. Day of Crucifixion. the crucifixion on Friday, the 15th Nisan, John on Friday, the 14th (Mk. 15:42, Lk. 23:54, Mt. 27:62, Ju. 19:14).² On the other

hand, although the astronomical new moons have been computed for the possible years with a difference of but a few minutes between the computation of Wurm and that of Oudemans, and the days of the week can be found,³ difficulty is caused by various

55. Jewish Calendar. irregularities in the Jewish calendar-system. First, the beginning of the month

was determined, not by the astronomical new moon, but by the time when the new moon was first visible, which depends partly on the weather and on the season of the year, and is always at least from twenty-four to thirty hours later than the astronomical new moon. In order to prevent too great divergence of the calendar, it was prescribed, however, that no month should in any case last more than thirty days, and that no years should contain less than four or more than eight such 'full' months. Secondly, the intercalary years create complication.

A thirteenth month was added to the year whenever on the 16th Nisan the barley was not yet ripe; but this was forbidden in the sabbatical years, and two intercalary years in succession were not allowed. The only sabbatical year in our period (computed by the aid of *Maasch.* 6:4-5, and *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 10-2; cp. *Ex. 12*) was, according to Schurer, 1:431 A.D.; according to Sevin and others,⁴ 34-35 A.D. Any one of the six preceding years

identical with the 'acceptable year,' and put the death of Jesus into that year, 29 A.D. Arguments similar to Frakes's are to be found in Sanchoniate, *De vulgaria orre emendatione*, 1793, and in Caspari, *Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu*, 1869.

¹ So also Schurer, 1:369. Cp. Gelzer, *S. Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronologie*, 1880, 1:43.

² On the attempts to reconcile this discrepancy see the commentaries and the books there mentioned.

³ Cp. Wurm in Bengel's *Arch. f. d. Theol.*, 1886, vol. ii.; Meier, *Handb.* 1:477-583; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der Vier Ev.* (1843), and *Beitr. zur richtigen Wiedergabe der Zeit und der evangelischen Gesch.*, 1869; Gumpach, *Über den altjud. Kalender*, 1848; Oudemans, *Ker. de Theol.*, 1863; Caspari, *Chronol.-geogr. Einl. u. d. Leb. Jesu Christi*, 1869; Schwarz, *Der jüd. Kal. historisch u. astronomisch untersucht*, 1872; Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwerfung des altjud. Zeitrechn. im Talmud*, 1882.

⁴ Cp. besides the above-mentioned work of Gumpach, Caspari, 2:225; Sevin, 1866; Anger, *De temporum in Actis Apostolorum ratione*, 1833, p. 38; Herfford, *Gesch. d. Ev.* 2:458 ff.; Zuckermann, *Leben Jesu altjudisch dargestellt*, 1872; Bresslau, 1847; Graß, *Gesch. d. jüd.* iii. 1878, p. 636-639; Ritschl, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1870, p. 361 ff., 1875, p. 589 ff.;

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might have been an intercalary year. At the end of 28-29 A.D., however, there was no need of an intercalated month, because the 15th Nisan fell on 16th April 28 A.D., and on 5th April 29 A.D. (so according to Wurm; according to Traut and Schwarz one day later). At the end of 29-30 there may have been an intercalary month, for the 15th Nisan would otherwise have fallen on 26th or 27th March, 30 A.D., but with an intercalary month on 24th April. In 30 A.D. the 15th Nisan fell on 12th April; in 31 A.D. on 2nd April. If, however, 31-32 was a sabbatical year, an extra month would have led to the intercalated at the end of 32-33, and then the 15th Nisan would have fallen on 1st May, 33 A.D., and 21st April, 34 A.D.; whereas if 32-33 was the sabbatical year, the extra month would not have been inserted until the end of 33-34. Thus, in 33 A.D. the 15th Nisan would have remained 2nd April. The Jewish empirically determined dates all fell, however, one or two days later than these astronomical dates.

If we take the days of the week into account, in the years 29, 32, and 35 A.D., neither the 14th nor the 15th Nisan could possibly have fallen on Friday.

56. Days of week.

On the other hand, if 33-34 was not a sabbatical year (and so 32-33 not an intercalary year), the 14th Nisan may have been celebrated on Friday, 4th April 33, which would correspond to the view of the Fourth Gospel. This year, however, is excluded if Jesus died on the 15th Nisan, and it is impossible in either case if, as is more likely, 33-34 was the sabbatical year, and so 32-33 had thirteen months.¹ There is, therefore, no great probability on the side of 33 A.D. On the other hand, the 15th Nisan may have fallen on Friday, 23rd April 34 A.D. This is hardly possible for the 14th Nisan, as the astronomical new moon occurred at 6.42 p.m., 7th April, so that the 1st Nisan can have been put at the latest on 6th April (so Sevin, 144). No other line of evidence, however, points to the year 34, and this reckoning by the calendar suits just as well the year 30 of Lk. 31 f., for in that year the astronomical new moon occurred at 8.03 p.m., 22nd March, so that the 1st Nisan may have been put on Friday, 24th March, and the 15th have fallen on Friday, 7th April.²

5. *The Year of Jesus' Birth.*—Dionysius Exiguus, according to the proofs given by Sanelemente (l.c. 42) and confirmed by Ideler (*Handbuch*, 2383 f.), started in his reckoning from the incarnation, and followed the common method for the years of reigning monarchs.

His view was that Jesus was born on the 25th December, 754 A.U.C., and so he counted the whole year 754 as 1 A.U. The view defended by Noris and Pagi, that he assigned the nativity to 25th December 753, and ignored the five following days, is wrong.

In this reckoning, which gradually came to be universally accepted, Dionysius departed from the dating for which Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* iii. 25) and Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* 8) are the oldest witnesses; which dating, based only on the information given in the Gospels, put the nativity in 751 A.U.C. = 3 B.C. Dionysius, perhaps because he had no means of fixing the date of the census under Quirinus in Lk. 2, or the death of Herod in Mt. 2, seems to have reached his result by putting the public appearance of Jesus one year later than that of John (15th year of Tiberius, Lk. 31 f.), and reckoning back thirty years. Since we have seen that the thirty years of Lk. 31 f. is a round number, perhaps drawn from the O.T., we are thrown back on the narratives of the nativity.

(2) Lk. gives two points. (i.) He says (136) that Jesus was six months younger than the Baptist, whose

58. *The Baptist.* conception happened under Herod (15). It does not, however, follow that the birth of Jesus fifteen months later was also under Herod, and, even if the evangelist thought so,

Wieseler in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1805, p. 527 ff.; Caspari in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1877, pp. 181-190; Riess, *Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1880, p. 45 f. 229-230; and other works mentioned in Schürer, 124 f.

1 See for the year 33 A.D. the exact reckoning in Schegg, p. 49 f.

2 So also Gumpach, *Hilfsm. d. rechnend. Chronol.* 1853, p. 94.

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his view cannot have rested on documentary evidence. Perhaps Lk. may have drawn his inference from the fact that the Baptist died six months before Jesus (11.) Lk. says (21-3) that Jesus was born at the time when a census ordered by Augustus for the

59. *The Census.* empire, was being taken in Judaea, Galilee, and that this was while Quirinus (undoubtedly Publ. Sulpicius Quirinus) was king in Syria.¹ Such a census, however, was legally possible in the reign of Herod, and a governor Quirinus in Syria before Herod's death is chronologically impossible, since at the time of Herod's death Quirinus Varus (who put down the insurrection of that event) was still governor in Syria, whose predecessors were Sentius Saturninus (9-6 B.C.) and Tiberius (attested for 10 B.C.). Josephus, who relates the last years of Herod in much detail, has no knowledge of such a census, but says that the census of 7 A.D. was the first, and something altogether novel for the East. It may be that Quirinus was governor of Syria for a short time (3-2 B.C.) as successor to Varus, as is attested by the fact that he was afterwards from 6 A.D. until (at the latest) 11 A.D.; but in his first (problematical) governorship in Syria, which had fallen to the share of Archelaus, is likewise impossible. On the other hand, the census in Judaea under Quirinus in 6-7 A.D. after the deposition of Archelaus, is well attested (cp. Jos. vii. 125 xviii. 1 and 21 xx. 52, *BJ*, xi. 14, Acts 18: 12) and may have been in fulfilment of a general imperial command intended to be executed as occasion should arise in the several provinces. This could, however, have applied only to imperial provinces (including Judaea), not to senatorial provinces; that would not be universal. Further, (1) even this census could not have included the Galileans, who were subject to a poll and property tax, at the actual, not the ancestral, home of the subject, for the latter was in most cases hard to determine, and such a procedure was in general impracticable. (2) More Mary could not possibly be affected by it, because she was not of the lineage of David (cp. GEN. 22: 10-18), and in such cases the authorities dealt with the representatives of the women.

The account in Lk. rests, therefore, on a series of mistakes, and the most plausible view is that the evangelist, or the tradition which he followed, has for some reason combined the birth of Jesus with the census under Quirinus, and assigned the latter a wrong date.²

60. *Lk.'s method.* Perhaps Lk. simply confused Archelaus with his father, for the former was very probably, like Antipater, occasionally called Herod. This confusion of the Herods would have been all the easier if after Herod the Great's death Quirinus really was for a while governor of Syria. The same confusion may have caused Irenaeus and Tertullian to adopt the year 3 B.C. for the birth of Jesus. The imperial census of 6 A.D. perhaps a confusion of the census under Quirinus, incorrectly into the year 3 B.C., with the remembrance of the census of Roman citizens throughout the empire, which was actually ordered by Augustus in 6 B.C., the two events lay only two years apart. Lk., who (cp. § 47 above, on the two high priests in Lk. 3) was none too well informed on Jewish matters, may have inferred from 'the family of David' that Joseph's home was really in Bethlehem, and have supposed the fact to be the true means of combining the above current tradition of the birth in Bethlehem with the incontestable tradition that Jesus was a Nazarene.

1 See the conclusive investigation by Schürer, 1441 ff.

2 A chronological error is not without analogies in Lk. The case of Theudas (Acts 21: 38) is well known, and the confusion for the poor in Acts 11: 28 f. is perhaps confused with that in Acts 21, whilst the combination of the various famines in the time of Claudius into one world-wide famine (Acts 11: 28) is very closely analogous to the case of the census.

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these suppositions are admissible, the kernel of truth in the narrative would be that Jesus was born not far from the end of the Herodian period and that the Roman rule was set up in his earliest childhood. In both these political occurrences an inner connection with the events which brought in the Kingdom of God was doubtless observed in very early times, and the interest in making the closeness of this connection as clear as possible may have led to the enrichment of the narrative.

(b) From Mt. we have as chronological evidence the star and the slaughter of the innocents. Rationalising attempts, however, to subject this star to astronomical laws do violence to the idea of the narrative. The star moves in its own free path, appears and disappears, travels and stands still. Even if the evangelist is wrong, and a conjunction or a comet lies at the basis of the story, it is impossible to determine from what phenomena astrologers of 'the East' supposed themselves able to draw such inferences. The star shines only in the legend, and derives its origin from Mt. 21:7 and the apocalyptic imagery (cp. Rev. 12:1). It has been matched by similar legendary stars at the birth and at the death of many of the great men of the heathen world.

As to the murder of the innocents, if it were a historical fact, Jesus must be supposed, since the male children were killed 'from two years old and under, to have been not less than a year old, even if the murder was just before Herod's death; and in that case, since Herod died shortly before the Passover of 4 B.C., Jesus must have been born at the latest in 5 B.C. Josephus, however, although he narrates with the most scrupulous exactness all the horrors of Herod's last years, has no knowledge of the murder of the children. On the other hand, he gives almost exactly the same story as relating to Moses (Ant. vi. 9, 2).

All the other suspicious circumstances in the narrative in Mt. 2 cannot be set forth here. In view of the natural tendency of legends to connect important events with one another and to mirror their mutual relations, we cannot infer from Mt. more than that Jesus was probably born shortly before or after the death of Herod—the same result that we reached from Lk.

The only results which have a very high degree of probability are the date 30 A.D. for the death of Jesus, and the period of about one year for the length of his public ministry. Besides this, it is also probable that Jesus was born in the agitated times when death was snatching the sceptre from the hand of Herod the Great, and when with his successors the Roman rule in Judaea was coming again in sight.

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Albinus succeeded Festus, and for the events related of Festus's term of office one year will suffice. The objection to an earlier date is that it might not leave room for the events of the life of Paul, and that, according to Acts 24:10, at the imprisonment of Paul, Felix had already been in office 'many years' (καταλλὰ χρόνια). (That the count Josephus casually mentions Poppaea as Nero's wife, which she did not become till several years later, cannot be adduced as a serious argument in the same direction.)

By the side of this commonly received date, however, a much earlier one has been advocated recently.

Thus Kellner proposes Nov. 54 A.D., Weber and O. Holtzmann, the summer of 55, Blass and Harnack, 56 (Harnack, 55). Whilst O. Holtzmann takes his start from Tacitus, Harnack starts from the chronology of Eusebius, the claims of which to our confidence his labours have materially enhanced. He shows that there is no ground for the common supposition of the dates given by Eusebius for the procuratorships preceding and following that of Festus.

Eusebius's date for the year preceding the accession of Felix differs from that of Tacitus by only one year. Now is the difference any greater in the date of his removal. According to Tacitus, Pallas fell into disavour a few days before the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus, which fell in the middle of Feb. 55 A.D. According to Josephus, Felix obtained of Nero an acquittal for his brother Lix from an accusation made by the Jews after his recall. Now, as Nero ascended the throne on the 10th Oct. 54 A.D., the time left him by these two dates is hardly too short for the events narrated by Josephus. Two solutions are possible. Tacitus may be wrong by a year in the age of Britannicus; it may have been his thirteenth birthday, so that it was not till 10th Feb. 55 that Pallas fell into disavour, or else even after his fall Pallas may still have had access to the Emperor. Now, Eusebius in his Chronicle supports the year 55 as that of the accession of Festus, since he assigns it to the second year of Nero (Oct. 55 to Oct. 56), on the textual certainty of this date see Harnack, 26, n. 2). If Felix entered on his office, as according to Eusebius he did, between Jan. 55 and Jan. 56 (according to Tacitus between Jan. 54 and Jan. 55), he could in the summer of 56 be described in case of need, if we compare the average length of procuratorships, as having been in office *καταλλὰ χρόνια*.

Any objection, in fact, to this number 56 for the accession of Festus, supported by Tacitus and Eusebius, could come only from the requirements of the life of Paul. We shall, therefore, leave the question open for the present.

From the date thus obtained for the relegation of the prisoner to the tribunal at Rome, let us in the first place make our way backwards.

If, as we shall see to be probable, Paul carried out the plan mentioned in Acts 24:16, his arrest must have been at Puteoli under the procurator.

66. Felix. Felix, who (24:27) prolonged the proceedings for two years until his retirement from office. This mention of Felix and the two-years imprisonment in Caesarea are, indeed, regarded as unhistorical by Straatman (*Paulus*, 1874), van Maanen (*Paulus*, I, *De handelingen der Apostelen*, 1890), and especially by Weissacker (*Ap. Zeittafel*, 1880, pp. 433-461). But the improbability of certain details, on which they rely, is not conclusive, and, on the other hand, the rise of this circumstantial narrative cannot be explained on the ground that it is a doublet to Acts 25:1. That Felix should hold over the prisoner for the chance of a change of sentiment in Jerusalem, and, this change not having come about, should finally leave him in prison in the hope of leaving one popular deed to be remembered by, agrees with his character and the habit of procurators. That Acts tells nothing about these two years is much less surprising than its silence about the year and a half in Corinth and the three years in Ephesus. That a provisional imprisonment of two years could be imposed even on a Roman citizen is

1 By Kellner (the article 'Felix' in *Hergenröther's Kirchenlexikon*, Roman Catholic, 1887; *L. f. kath. Theol.*, 1888), Weber (*Kritische Geschichte des Festus des in Kap. des Kommerbriefs*, 1890, p. 177 ff.), O. Holtzmann (*z. c.*), Blass (*z. c.*), Harnack (*z. c.*) following such older scholars as Bengel, Siskind, and Ritting.

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shown by the two-year imprisonment in Rome. It is likewise obvious that Paul would not have had his case transferred to Rome except in dire necessity. The dry notice in Acts 21:27 is, therefore, without doubt trustworthy, and the arrest of Paul is to be put two years earlier than the arrival of Festus, that is, at Pentecost 54 or 55.

For the events before the arrest in Jerusalem we give the dates in two numbers: one on the assumption that this happened at Pentecost 54, the other, that it was in 58. The journey to Jerusalem from Philippi (Acts 20:1-21:10), which is related, with the exception of the episode at Miletus (20:17-18), from the two sources, was begun after the days of unleavened bread, and there is no reason for supposing that Paul did not carry out his plan of arriving at Jerusalem by Pentecost. The itinerary from the beginning of the Passover is given us as follows: At Philippi (Passover) seven days, to Troas five days, at Troas seven days, to Patara eight days, in all twenty-seven days. This leaves twenty-two days before Pentecost, which was ample for the journey to Jerusalem except in case of a very exceptionally unfavourable passage from Patara to the coast of Syria. Of these twenty-two days twelve were occupied as follows: At Tyre seven days, to Ptolemais one, to Caesarea one to Jerusalem two to three, so that ten days remain for the voyage from Patara to Tyre (which in ordinary weather required four to five days) and for the stay at Caesarea, the duration of neither of which is stated. From the stops, which in view of the brisk coasting-trade were surely not necessary, we may infer that satisfactory progress was made by the travellers. The departure from Philippi, which was the conclusion of Paul's missionary career, is, therefore, to be put just after the Passover of the year of the arrest.

For the dates earlier than this point, the chronologist would be wholly at sea without Acts; and no good reason appears for not trusting the

69. Ephesus to Philippi.

information which it gives. On the great journey which ended at Jerusalem, Paul had started from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:8 f.; Acts 19), and journeyed by way of Troas, where he carried on his work for a short time (Acts 20:6 does not mention Troas at all), to Macedonia (2 Cor. 2:13 f. 7:5). That he stayed there long is not likely; for, if he had done so, the length of his stay would probably have been given as in the case (Acts 20:1) of Greece (Corinth). Moreover, the plans made in Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:5; 2 Cor. 1:15 f.) had in view only a short stay in Macedonia, for (1 Cor. 16:8 ep. 6) Paul expected to leave Ephesus after Pentecost (which fell somewhere between 15th May and 15th June) and to be in Corinth so early that, even if he should not decide to pass the winter there, his visit should, nevertheless, not be too short. This would allow at most three months on the way. Now, he may have waited rather longer in Macedonia, in order to learn the impression made by Titus (the bearer of 2 Cor. 1); but, even so, we cannot reckon more than from four to five months for the whole journey. In Corinth itself he stayed (Acts 20:1) three months, and then returned to Macedonia, where he surely did not stay long, since he had been there just three months earlier. Moreover, he had, no doubt, formed in Corinth his plan of being in Jerusalem by Pentecost, and the additional time which the unexpectedly long journey (occasioned by Jewish plots, Acts 20:7, which made the direct route impossible) must have cost him would of itself have forbidden an unnecessarily long stay. He probably, therefore, reached Philippi but little before the Passover; and we have for the whole journey from Ephesus through Troas, Macedonia, Greece, and back to Macedonia perhaps eight to ten months—namely, about the space of time from Pentecost 53/57 to Passover 54/58. In the summer¹ of 53/57 in Macedonia

¹ Or autumn; see CORINTHIANS, § 3.

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Paul wrote 2 Cor. 1, at the end of this year or the beginning of the next in Corinth, Romans, and the letter of introduction for Phoebe to the Christians at Ephesus (Rom. 16:1-20). About this time may belong, too, the undoubtedly authentic note Tit. 3:12-14, in which case the Macedonian Nicomedia is meant, in the plan for the winter was not carried out.

The stay in Ephesus had lasted, according to Acts 19:8-12, over two years and a quarter (Acts 20:1 speaks

of three years), so that Paul must have come to Ephesus at Pentecost or in the summer of 50/54. From there, after he had already sent one letter to Corinth (1 Cor. 5:9), he wrote in the beginning of 54/57 our 1 Cor., and later had occasion to write to Corinth for yet a third time (2 Cor. 7:1). The letter is perhaps preserved in 21 or 16 B.C.

From this long stay in Ephesus, which doubtless formed the second great epoch in Paul's missionary

activity in the Greek world, we go back to the first, namely, the first visit to Corinth

(Acts 18:1-18, cp. 1 and 2 Cor.). This appears to have lasted about two years, since to the one year and a half of 18 Cor. it be added, in case 18 Cor. refers only to the time spent in the house of Titus Justus, the previous time, in which Paul was trying to work from the synagogue as a base, as well as the later *κατα τα εσθια* of 18:15. How much time lay, however, between the departure from Corinth and the arrival at Ephesus in 50/54 we cannot tell, although the very sketchiness of our only authority (Acts 18:1-19:1) makes it easier to believe that the author is drawing here (except for the words, *τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*) from a written source than that he relies on oral tradition or his own imagination. Oral tradition would either have omitted the journey altogether, or have narrated what happened at Jerusalem in some detail. All suspicion of 'tendency' is excluded by the brevity and obscurity of the passage. For the journey thus barely mentioned in Acts one year would be ample time. In that case Paul would have left Corinth in the summer of 49/53, having arrived there in the summer of 47/51. In the beginning of this period of two years 1 Thess. was written. (The genuineness of 2 Thess. must be left undetermined.)

Before the long stay in Corinth falls the Macedonian mission, with the necessary journeys, which, however, occupied but one day each (Acts 16:11-18:1). For the whole journey from Troas to Corinth a few months would suffice. It is, therefore, possible that Paul set out at the opening of navigation in March of the same year in the summer of which he arrived for his long stay in Corinth.

Up to this point the probability of the chronology is very considerable. The results may be

71. Results. summarised as follows:—

TABLE VIII.—LIFE OF PAUL: ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE TO IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

Spring 47/51. Departure from Troas, followed by mission in Macedonia.
Summer 47/51–Summer 49/53.—Corinth and Achaia. (1 Thess.)
Summer 49/53–Summer 50/54.—Visit to Jerusalem and Antioch; journey through Asia Minor to Ephesus.
Summer 50/54–Pentecost 53/57.—Ephesus.
Pentecost 53/57–Passover 54/58.—Journey by way of Troas and Macedonia to Achaia and return to Philippi.
Passover–Pentecost 54/58.—Journey, with the contribution, from Philippi to Jerusalem.
54/58–56/60.—Imprisonment in Caesarea.
Autumn 56/60–Spring 57/61.—Journey to Rome.
57/61–59/63.—Imprisonment in Rome.

Passing now to the period before 47/51 A.D., we find that Acts supplies us with far less trustworthy accounts and is wholly without dates; nor have we any Pauline epistles written in these years.

72. Earlier period.

Highly probable, nevertheless (just because of the peculiar way in which it is given), although not

¹ See, however, CORINTHIANS, § 13.

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without editorial additions, is the representation preserved in Acts 15:41-48, that Troas was the goal of a zigzag journey from Antioch in Syria through the interior of Asia Minor. The seeming restlessness (Acts 16:7-12) at any rate in the latter part of the inland journey may imply that the time occupied was comparatively short. In that case, the start from Antioch might fall in the year 48-50; but even that is very problematical. We are, therefore, thrown back for the chronology wholly

73. Gal. 1 ff. on Gal. 1:7. Here, however, is not perfectly plain whether the fourteen years in 2:1 include or follow the three years in 1:18. For the former view may be added the change of prepositions *meta* ('after') and *dei* ('in the course of, RV 1:18, but this can be explained better thus. An *hiera* ('then') having been introduced in 1:12 between the two *hiera* of 1:18 and 2:1, *dei* was used, in stead of *meta*, in order not to exclude the space of time between the two *hiera* of 1:18 and 2:1—namely, the fifteen days in Jerusalem. (Perhaps, also, in 2:1 the three years had completely elapsed before the first visit, whereas the second visit may have been made in the course of the fourteenth year.) On this view seventeen years would have elapsed from the conversion of Paul to the conference in Jerusalem, out of which time he had spent three years in Arabia and fourteen in Syria and Cilicia (1:27-28). The latter period was certainly, the former (at least for Damascus) probably, occupied in the work of an apostle (Gal. 1:21-27). After the conference in Jerusalem followed a stay in Antioch (2:14-25). Since 3:1 ff. is introduced without any sign of transition, the simplest supposition is that this *peripatēsis* (3:1; RV 'open setting forth') and its results (that is, the mission in Galatia) come chronologically after, but not too long after, the events narrated previously. This would agree, also, with the most natural interpretation of Gal. 2:5.

If we look now at the parallel narrative in Acts, there is, in the first place, no doubt that in 15:35 we have

74. Acts. Acts, as in Galatians, Paul and Barnabas come with others in their company to Jerusalem, and return to Antioch after arriving at an understanding with the church in Jerusalem. To Antioch come also, in both cases (although in Acts no mention is made of a visit of Peter), members of the Jerusalem church, who, in Acts also, just as in Galatians, have been said to come from James. In Acts 11:27-30 12:24 ff., however, we find, besides, mention of another earlier journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem and back again, after the journey from Damascus to Jerusalem (Acts 9:26-30 = Gal. 1:18). Since Gal. 1:20-21 makes this impossible as a separate visit to Jerusalem, the two visits from Antioch (Acts 11 ff. and Acts 15) must have been really one, and this would explain the further points of resemblance that on both occasions (in one case after, in the other before, the journey of the apostles) prophets come from Jerusalem to Antioch (11:27 15:32), and that both times, although in different ways, a contribution of money plays a part (Acts 11:28 ff. Gal. 2:10). It is also 'to the elders' (Acts 11:30 15:2). Now, although this visit is in general more accurately described by Acts 15, there are many reasons for thinking that it is chronologically placed more correctly by Acts 11:27 ff.

The insertion by mistake at the end of chap. 14 is easy to understand, for whilst large parts of chap. 14, and the whole of chap. 15, are certainly the work of the final author of Acts (once the style is the same as in Acts 1-12), at the same time the 'we source' can be detected (as is now more and more widely held) as far back as 13:1, and we can ascribe to it the return to Antioch (14:26-28) as well as the later departure for the journey of 14:28 ff. (without the intervening narrative), although we can no longer restore the original connection. Accordingly, since the author had not been able to use Acts 13:1 to give a correct account of any Gentile mission, an undated account (perhaps not perfectly accurate) of a conference in Jerusalem (to which the missionaries came from Antioch) which treated the subject of Gentile missions could be inserted after 13:1 better than earlier. The author may have had some reason to suppose that the contribution of money (the fact that the date of which he had learned: it was not mentioned in his source as the occasion

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of the last visit of Paul to Jerusalem, Acts 15) had been brought on the occasion of the earlier stay in Antioch. We can see how in consequence of the two visits to Antioch, he was led to suppose that the two visits to Jerusalem had occurred in contradistinction to 14:28. All this becomes still more probable if the date of the visit in Acts 14:27 could be dated earlier by Paul, a possibility which can now be regarded as probable, even the more so, since Paul should have reached Jerusalem (14:27) after the visit to the other hand, it can be seen in Acts 15:1-2 that at the conference the great question was about the Syrian Churches, not about those whose conversion is related in Acts 14:27.

If these hypotheses are correct, between the conference in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1 ff.) and the journey from Troas to Macedonia (Acts 16:1-17) lie the missionary journey (Acts 14:1-15) begun and ended at Antioch, and the zigzag tour through Asia Minor (Acts 15:16-18), the beginning of the original account of which has been, doubtless, somewhat confused by the insertion of Acts 15:1-2. One year, however, is not enough for these sojourns. The hindrance hinted at in Acts 16:6 ff. may perhaps have been connected with the winter season, if the date (March 47-48) which we have ventured to give above for the passage from Troas to Macedonia is correct. In that case the missionary would perhaps have passed the preceding winter in Antioch (Acts 14:1-2), the missionary journey of Acts 14:27 would then fall in the open season before this winter, and thus the departure from Antioch related in Acts 14:27 would have been two years before the passage from Troas to Europe (that is, in the spring of 48-49), and the conference in Jerusalem immediately before (perhaps at we may infer from analogies) at the time of the Passover. The conversion of Paul would fall (Gal. 1:21-22) fourteen or seventeen years earlier—that is, in the year 34, 35 or 28-32. When Gal. was written is for the general chronology a matter of indifference.¹

75. Results. To the table given above should therefore be prefixed—

TABLE IX.—LIFE OF PAUL: CONVERSION TO ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE.

31/32 or 38-42.	Conversion of Paul.
	Three years stay in Arabia and Damascus.
34/35 or 41-45.	First visit to Jerusalem.
	Eleven or fourteen years work in Syria and Cilicia.
47-49.	Conference in Jerusalem, mission in Galatia.
	One year journey through Asia Minor to Troas.

Three further passages can perhaps serve as proof of the results reached above.² The first (Acts 11:27-30) concerning the famine under

76. Famine. Claudius loses, indeed, its significance, if the visit there mentioned had as its object the agreement about the mission-fields, not the bringing of a contribution; but it perhaps explains the mistaken combination (Acts 11:30 12:1) of this journey (of 45/49 A.D.) with the death of James the son of Zebedee, which happened (Acts 12:19-23) between 42 and 44. Josephus tells (*J. Ant.* xx. 5, 2 and 26 m. 15) of a famine in Judea, which can well be put in one of these years, and so could have been foreseen in the preceding year (cp. Schürer, 1:474, n. 8). By a singular coincidence there was in 49 also one of the alternative years for the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, a much more widely extended famine (see, for authorities, Schürer, *ib.*). It is possible, then, that the author knew that the conference was in a famine year, but connected it by mistake with the famine of 44 instead of that of 49, and that this assisted the confusion which resulted in the creation of an extra visit to

¹ For the different possibilities see the Introductions to the NT, for the latest hypotheses, Clément, *Chronol. d. paulin. Briefe*, 18-19.

² We can make nothing of the statement in Acts 11:38. Even were its authenticity beyond dispute, we have no means whatever of determining the year of the famine referred to, and Wieseler's choice of 36 or 37 A.D. (*Chron.* 79) is devoid of any solid foundation. Nor is it possible to infer any date from the account in Acts 25:1 of Agrippa and Herod's presence in Caesarea at the time when Paul's case was decided.

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Jerusalem. The confusion of the two famine years is the more pardonable because both fell under Claudius; the transformation of the two local famines into one which affected the whole empire is easily explicable.

All this, however, is simply a possibility. If the year of the conference was 45 A.D., the two journeys distinguished by I.k. would fall so close together that we can easily understand their being regarded as distinct, on the supposition that I.k. knew nothing of the raising of a collection and its delivery on the occasion of Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, but did know of a famine about the time of the conference and of succour given to the primitive church through Paul.

The second notice is that of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius, which was (Acts 18:17).

77. Expulsion of Jews.

before Paul's arrival at Corinth. The year, however, of this edict, which Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) also mentions, is not certain. Wieseler (*Chronol.* 120-128) conjectures, without conclusive arguments, that it was issued in the year of the expulsion of the mathematici (i.e. *Ann.* xi. 32; Dio Cassius 606) that is, in 52 A.D. — whilst Orosius (76, 15 ed. Zangemeister, 1882) gives as the date, on the authority of Josephus (in the existing text of whose writings we find no mention of the matter), the ninth year of Claudius, 49 A.D. a date not favourable to the earlier alternative reached above for the year of Paul's arrival in Corinth, the summer of 47/51. Orosius's statement, however, cannot be verified.

Finally, from Acts 19:4 ff. and 2 Cor. 11:32 ff., it appears that Paul's first visit to Jerusalem was

78. Aretas: Paul's conversion.

occasioned by a persecution at a time when a viceroy of Aretas, king of the Nabateans, resided at Damascus. The latest Damascene coins with the head of Tiberius (which form one of the proofs brought together by Schnurr, 1615 f. n. 14, to prove, against Marquardt and Mommsen, that Damascus was not all the time under Arabian rule) belong to the year 33-34, and it is in itself not probable, though it is possible, that Damascus was given to Aretas by Tiberius, who died in March 37 A.D., while under Caligula such favours are well known. If Caligula's reign had already begun, the flight of Paul would have fallen at least two years later than all but one of the dates assigned for it above. However, the argument is uncertain. Nothing known to us makes the possession of Damascus by Aretas in the last years of Tiberius actually impossible. If that should be excluded by discoveries of coins or other new evidence, we should then (the often assailed genuineness of 2 Cor. 11:32 ff. being presupposed) have to combine the numbers in Gal. 1:13-21 so that there would be only fourteen years between Paul's conversion and the conference in Jerusalem, or to shorten the time estimated for the mission in Asia Minor and Europe, or else to omit from the life of Paul the two-year imprisonment in Caesarea under the procurator Felix.

At the same time, the coins of Tiberius for the year 33-34 exclude the year 28 as that of Paul's conversion. If we assign the imprisonment to 51, the date of Gal. 1:1 must be explained as referring to the total of fourteen years, so that Paul's conversion would fall in 31. In favour of this is its nearness to the death of Jesus. For 1 Cor. 15:1 ff. does not well permit an interval of any length between Jesus' death and Paul's arrival at Damascus. Conversely, the same consideration demands that, if we regard 58 as the date of the imprisonment, we should calculate from the statements in Gal. 1:1 a period of seventeen years, so that 32 would be the year of Paul's conversion. Neither series, accordingly, conflicts with what we know of those times; but it may readily be asked: Are we warranted in casting discredit on the statements of Eusebius?

How now stands the case with reference to the close of Paul's life? The travellers set out for

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Rome in the autumn of 56 or 60, and arrived in the spring of the subsequent year (Acts 27:1). For the next two years Paul was kept in ease imprisonment, and to this period belong Colossians and Philemon, though some assign them to the Caesarean imprisonment.

After the lapse of the two years began the trial, about which we have some information from a note to Timothy now incorporated in 2 Tim., and from Philippians. Of its duration and issue we know nothing. The prediction that Paul would the without meeting his friends again (Acts 20:35-38), the sudden breaking off of Acts, and the utter absence of all trace of any later activity on the part of the apostle, will always incline one to believe that Paul's presentment was fulfilled, and that his trial ended in a sentence of death. If so, the great apostle died in the course of the year 59 or 63. In either case his martyrdom was before the persecution of Nero, and had no connection with it.

Nor does any of the older narratives conflict with this. When Eusebius in his *Chronicle* assigns the death of Peter and Paul to the fourteenth or thirteenth year of Nero (the number varies in different texts) — i.e., 68 or 67 A.D. — he is in conflict with himself, for he elsewhere sets this event in the beginning of the persecution of Nero, which beyond all question was in the summer of 64; and moreover, as Harnack insists (*l.c.* 241 f.), his date lies under the suspicion of being occasioned by the legendary twenty-five years stay of Peter at Rome, in combination with the story that the apostles left Jerusalem twelve years after the death of Jesus: 30 + 12 + 25 make 67.

But neither is the tradition of the contemporaneous death of the two apostolic leaders by any means so well grounded as Harnack assumes (*l.c.*). In Eusebius, the contemporaneousness lies under the same suspicion as the date. Clem. Rom. chap. 5 gives no hint of it, and the summary introduction of other sufferers in chap. 6 gives us no right, in face of the enumeration of the sufferings endured by Peter and Paul during the whole of their apostolic activity, to apply all that is said in chap. 6, and therefore the death of these apostles, to the persecution of Nero. The testimony of Dionysius (*Eus. HE* ii. 25:8, ἀμφω εἰς τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴμ διώσει διδάξαντες ἐπαγρότησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ('After both teaching together as far as to Italy, they suffered martyrdom at the same time') is to be taken *cum grano salis*. If the two great apostles died a violent death for their faith in Rome under Nero, it is easy to see how tradition might lose sight of the interval of one year or five years, and bring the two martyrdoms together. The rapidity with which in the popular memory Paul receded behind Peter, a phenomenon already noticeable in Clem. Rom. and Ignat. (*ad Rom.* 4), admits of a peculiarly simple explanation if Paul was withdrawn from the scene so much sooner.

Whatever testimony can be found in the literature down to Eusebius for the liberation of Paul from his

80. Was Paul liberated?

first imprisonment at Rome has been collected anew by Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Christ.* 1). In truth, all that can be taken account of before Eusebius is the apostle's intention intimated in Rom. 15:24 and mentioned in the Muratorian fragment (except that the apostle's plans were so often upset by events), the Pauline fragments of the Pastoral Epistles (if they ought not also to be brought within the period of missionary activity known to us, since otherwise they would present the post-captivity labours as a strange repetition of what preceded the captivity), and the expression *τοῦα τῆς ἀνατολῆς* 'boundary of the west' in Clem. Rom. It is only the last that we can take seriously. Since, however, Ignatius speaks of Rome as *δύσις* ('west', *ad Rom.* 2), and Clement himself has immediately before opposed *δύσις* to *ἀνατολή* ('east'), meaning therefore at least Rome among other places, it is not at all

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difficult, especially keeping in view the Pauline metaphor of the *ἀγών* (contest), to suppose that it is this *ἀγών*, (i.e., Rome) that is indicated as *τελευταία*. If, in spite of this, the hypothesis of the liberation of Paul should be accepted, we should have to add to our chronological table: 59/63.—Liberation of Paul; July-Aug. 64.—Martyrdom. The apostle's eventful life would thus end with a period completely obscured in the popular memory, a period the events of which have not left a trace behind.

TABLE X.—LIFE OF PAUL: LAST PERIOD.

56/60 (approx.)	Paul set out for Rome.
57/61 (approx.)	Arrival in Rome.
57/61/2	Easy imprisonment; Col. Philem.
59/63	Death of Paul.
	[otherwise]
54/63	Liberation of Paul.
64 July-Aug.	Martyrdom.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHURCHES IN PALESTINE.—1. If the dates so far accepted are correct, the whole Palestinian development described by the author of Acts (almost our only authority for this period) between the death of Jesus and the conversion of Paul, finally culminating in the death of Stephen and the dispersion of the church in Jerusalem, must be crowded into the limits of two years, or possibly even of a single year.

The traditions are, however, very scanty. According to 1 Cor. 15:1-7 there happened in this space of time the appearance of Jesus to Peter and the twelve (as to the time and place of which it is not possible to reach a certain conclusion, but with which the return to Jerusalem is most clearly connected), his appearance to the brethren (perhaps to be identified with the occurrence narrated in Acts 2, which in that case was in Jerusalem, and, if Acts 2 is correct, fifty days after the death of Jesus), the conversion of him who afterwards became head of the church in Jerusalem, James the Lord's brother (since this beyond doubt happened at the time of the appearance to him mentioned in 1 Cor. 15:7), and the conversion (by the same means) of many who afterwards became missionaries. The necessity of a representation of the Hellenists (Acts 6:1-6) suggests that from the return of the twelve until that time a considerable period had elapsed, which is, however, very insufficiently filled out by the narratives in chaps. 3-5.

2. As to the later events, in the narratives in Acts 8:4-9:30-10:9-11:13-11:22-11:23-11:24 illustrating the geographical extension of Christianity, the author plainly does not mean to assert that the events described followed one another in mutually exclusive periods of time. If the accounts are historical, the missionary operations of Philip and Peter were undertaken while Paul was working in Damascus and Antioch (including Syria) in 31/35 or 32/36 *A.D.* The anonymous beginnings of Christianity in Damascus and Antioch belong, of course, to the time before Paul took hold in those places. If the recollections lying at the basis of Acts 11:22-26 are approximately correct, Barnabas must have left Jerusalem finally for Antioch not very long after Paul's first visit to Jerusalem in 34/38 or 35/39 *A.D.*, and Philip may by that time have already removed to Caesarea (Acts 8:40).

3. After these events we hear nothing until the death of James the son of Zebedee between 41, the year in which Herod Agrippa I. began to rule over Judaea, and 44, the year of his death (Acts 12:1-13). If the account in Acts is correct, about this same time Peter left Jerusalem permanently (Acts 12:17), and James the Lord's brother must have already become the leader of the church (Acts 12:17). With this agrees excellently the abundantly attested old Christian tradition that the twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Jesus' death (see, e.g., in Harnack, *Chronologie*, 243). It may be in error simply in transferring to the twelve what applied only to their head, Peter. At all events, Acts tells us nothing

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of the ten left after the death of James. The twelfth year would be 42 *A.D.* In that case Herod must have sought, immediately after his accession, by his proceedings against the Christians to secure the confidence of the Jews.

4. If the results reached above with reference to what we read in Acts 15:11-27 *ff.* and 13:1, are right, our next information relates to the year 45 or 46, when Peter, Paul, and Barnabas gather again at the conference round James, at whose side (Gal. 2:9) appears John, the son of Zebedee. Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch; Peter leaves Jerusalem again very soon, and lives for a while among the Christians at Antioch (Gal. 2:11 *ff.*).

5. In 54/58, when Paul comes to Jerusalem with the contribution, James is master of the situation (Acts 21:17). This is the last information from the N.T. about the church in Palestine.

6. According to the received text of Josephus (*Ant.* xv, 91), James suffered martyrdom in 62—that is, under the high priest Ananias (son of the high priest of the same name known to us from the Gospels). But before the arrival in Judaea of Ananias, the successor of the procurator Festus. (After Festus's early death Ananias had been appointed high priest by Agrippa II.) The passage is not free, however, from the suspicion of Christian interpolation. Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* ii, 23:1-6) seems to have put the death of James somewhat nearer to the destruction of Jerusalem.¹

Shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (*A.D.* 70) the Christians removed to Pella in Ptolemaea. The year is not certain, but was probably 67, when, after the downfall of Festus, Jewish fanaticism overreached itself.

IV. OTHER DATES IN THE HISTORY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.—Here can be mentioned only those few points on which a stray ray of light happens to fall. In the nature of the case, detailed discussions can be given only in the special articles.

1. *Peter*. That Peter, the last trace of whom we found in *A.D.* 45/46, or somewhat later, at Antioch, was later a travelling missionary after the manner of Paul, is to be inferred from the allusions to him in 1 Cor. 1:12-13:22 *ff.* (1 Pet. 5:1 *ff.*), even if the epistle was not written by Peter, implies his intimate association with Paul's former companions Silvanus and Mark, and 1 Pet. 1:17. His missionary activity in the provinces of Asia Minor. For this latter there was room at any rate after the imprisonment of Paul in 54/58, and for most of the provinces even before that time; namely, from the moment when Paul transferred his chief activity to Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia. In regard to Peter's stay in Rome, for which 1 Pet. 5:13 is an argument (it is certainly to be put later than the end of Paul's trial), and in regard to the question whether it was in the persecution after the fire in Rome (July 64) that he suffered martyrdom (cp. Clem. Rom. 5), see *PETER*. The assumption of a contemporaneous martyrdom of Paul and Peter finds no support in the earliest documents; see above, § 79.

2. *John*. As to John's residence in Ephesus and his end, see *JOHN*.

3. Whilst the persecution under Nero was doubtless in the main limited to Rome, the last years of Domitian, especially in Asia Minor, in consequence of the insistence on the worship of the Emperor, may have been a period of many conflicts with Christianity.²

To this time (say 93-96) many scholars assign Hebrews and 1 Peter (while others carry them down to the reign of Trajan), as well as the A. apocryse of John (see the special articles). Not much later, perhaps about the end of the first

64. NT writings.

¹ For further discussion, with references to sources and bibliography, see Schürer, *U. A. G.*

² Cp. especially Neumann, *Der römische Staat u. die allgemeine Geschichte*, i, 312 *ff.*; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, *U. A. G.* 252 *ff.*

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century, were written Ephesians, the Third Gospel, and Acts. Our Gospel of Mark must, apart possibly from some later additions, have been written before this; there is no need to suppose a much later date than 70. The Fourth Gospel, after which, probably, came the Johannine epistles, can well, by reason of its near relation to Lk. and for other reasons, have been written at the same time as, or not long after, the Third Gospel. The first third of the second century best suits the latest books of the NT—Matthew, the Pastoral Epistles, and James, all of them doubtless products of the Roman church. Jude may have been written somewhat earlier, 2 Peter somewhat later. See the Introductions to the NT and Harnack, *Chronologie*, 246-50, 245 f., 451-64, 475-91, 651-81.

TABLE XI.—SOME OTHER DATES (APPROXIMATIONS).

31/35 or 32/36 <i>ff.</i> —Work of Philip and Peter in Palestine.
34/38 or 35/39 <i>ff.</i> —Harnadus removes to Antioch.
Between 41 and 44.—Death of James, son of Zebedee; Peter leaves Jerusalem; James leader.
45/49.—Conference (Gal. 2.9).—Peter soon resides at Antioch (Gal. 2.11 <i>ff.</i>).
54/53.—Paul brings contribution to Jerusalem (Acts 21.18).
Later.—Peter becomes a travelling missionary.
62 or later?—Death of James.
67? Christians remove from Jerusalem to Pella.
70.—Destruction of Jerusalem.
Not much after 70.—Our Gospel of Mark written.
95/6 (7)—Heb. and 1 Pet. (acc. to many); Apoc.
About end of century.—Eph., Lk., Acts, Jn., Epp. of Jn.
First third of 2nd century.—Jude, Mt., Past. Epp., Ja., 2 Pet.

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B. *New Testament*.—See the literature cited in the course of the article, especially § 40 (note) and §§ 51-56 (notes). Cp also C. H. Turner in Hastings' *DB*.

K.M. (§§ 1-33, 85); H.V.S. (§§ 39-84).

CHRYSOLE (χρυσολίθος), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21.10). It is not improbable that in ancient times the term was applied to a particular shade of BERYL (*q.v.*). See PRECIOUS STONES. In modern usage Chrysolite is the name generally given to the yellow or yellowish-green varieties of olivine, the transparent varieties being known as peridot (*cp* TOPAZ).

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χρυσόλιθος in *Θ* is used to translate *תַּרְשִׁי* in Ex. 28.20 30.31 Ezek. 28.13 (*cp* Ezek. 1.16 *Aq* [BAQ transliterated], Dan. 10.6 Theod. [see SW.]). In Ezek. 28.13 AVmg. has 'chrysolite', but elsewhere EV 'beryl', which more probably represents *יהואב*; see BERYL, § 3. TARGUMS, STONE OF.

CHRYSOPRASE, CHRYSOPRASUS (χρυσοπρασός), one of the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse (Rev. 21.10). In ancient times the term was perhaps applied to a shade of BERYL; *cp* PRECIOUS STONES.

The word does not occur in *Θ*; but AVmg. has 'chrysolite' for *ἡμέτερος*, *καὶ ἡμέτερος* in Ezek. 27.16 where AV has 'agate' and RV 'ruby' (see CHALCEDONY); and has 'chrysolite' also for *ἡμέτερος*, *καὶ ἡμέτερος* in Ezek. 28.13, where EV has 'emerald' and AVmg. 'carbuncle' (see CARBUNCLE, EMERALD). In mod. mineralogy the chrysolite is an agate coloured apple-green by the presence of oxide of nickel.

CHUB, RV CUB (212; AV, Sym., Theod. χοῦβαλ), if correct, is the name of a people (Ezek. 30.5†); but *Θ* has *ΛΙΒΥΕΕ*, and Cornil is doubtless right in regarding *222*, *Chub*, as a corruption of *222*, *Lub*, which occurs repeatedly in the plural form *LUBIM* (*q.v.*). See also MISGILD PEOPLE.

CHUN, RV CYN (312, 1 Ch. 188), an Aramæan city identified by Ges. Buhl (following *ZDF* 8.34) with the modern Kuna (Rom. *Cannus*) between Laodicea and Hierapolis. The reading *Chun* is, however, certainly corrupt (*cp* KI. in *SBO*).? See BEROETHAI, and, for a suggested emendation, MEROM.

CHURCH (ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ). 1. *Name and Idea*.—The word *Ecclesia* has an important history behind it when it first appears in Christian literature. It

1. **History of word**. It was the regular designation of the assembly of the whole body of citizens in a free Greek state, 'called out' or summoned to the transaction of public business. It had then been employed by the Greek translators of the OT as a natural rendering of the Hebrew *קָהָל* (see ASSEMBLY), the whole 'congregation' of Israel, regarded in its entirety as the people of God. A less technical Greek usage, current in the apostolic age, is illustrated by the disorderly assemblage in the theatre at Ephesus (Acts 19.32-41), where we find also by way of contrast a reference to 'the lawful assembly' (19.39, *ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*). The Jewish usage is found in Stephen's speech when he speaks of Moses as having been 'in the church in the wilderness' (7.38). Thus the traditions of the word enabled it to appeal alike to Jews and Gentiles as a fitting designation of the new people of God, the Christian society regarded as a corporate whole.

In this full sense we find it in Jesus' declaration to Peter, 'I will build my church' (*οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*; Mt. 16.18). Here it is re-

2. **NT usage in Gospels**. regarded as the divine house that is to be builded, 'the keys' of which are to be placed in the apostle's hands; see BINDING AND LOOSING. It is thus equated with 'the kingdom of heaven' which Christ has come to establish, each of the designations being derived from the past history of the sacred commonwealth. The force of the phrase, as well as the emphasis given by the position of the pronoun in the original, comes out if for a moment we venture to substitute the word 'Israel' for the word 'church' (Hort); and the thought thus finds a parallel in the quotation of Amos 9.11 f. in Acts 15.16 f., 'I will build again the tabernacle of David which is fallen down.'

The only other passage where the word occurs in the Gospels is Mt. 18.17, where 'the church' is contrasted with the 'one or two more' whom the erring brother has refused to hear. We are here again reminded of the whole congregation of Israel from which offenders were cut off: the delinquent becomes henceforth as one who belongs to the 'nations' outside, and as a traitor

1 Though ο *ΛΙΘΟΣ* *ὁ* *πράσινος* represents *עֶזְרָא* (H. RVL) in Gen. 21.2.

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to the chosen people (*ὡς περὶ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης*). It is possible indeed that the primary reference in this place may be to the Jewish *ecclesia*; but if so, the principle remains unchanged for the Christian *ecclesia*; and in either case, while some local embodiment of the Church is thought of as the means by which action is taken, the meaning is that the whole weight of the divine society is to be brought to bear upon the offender.

While the Christian society is still confined within the walls of Jerusalem, 'the church' is the designation of the whole body of the believers, as contrasted with the other residents in the city (Acts 5:42 cp 8:13); but it is possible that the appellation is here due to the historian himself, recounting the events many years later. When, as the result of Stephen's testimony and death, believers are to be found in all parts of Palestine, they are still summed up in the same single word: 'the church' (RV; not 'the churches,' AV) throughout the whole of Judea and Galilee and Samaria had peace, being builded' (Acts 9:31; cp 21:16-18 as above). The same full sense of the word is found in Paul's epistles at a time when Christian communities were established in various cities of Asia Minor and of Greece; apostles, prophets, and teachers are set 'in the church' by God (1 Cor. 12:23); 'the church of God' is contrasted with Jews and Greeks (10:32).

The Church is thus the new chosen people; it is 'the Israel of God' (cp Gal. 6:16). Jews and Gentiles who enter it are merged into unity; the two are made one (Eph. 2:14-16). It is 'the body of Christ,' and as such inseparable from him. Christ and the Church are not two, but one—as it was written of earthly marriage, 'they twain shall be one flesh' (Eph. 5:31 f.). The main practical anxiety of Paul's life appears to have been the preservation of the scattered communities of Christians, which had sprung up under his preaching, in a living unity with the earlier communities of Palestine, so as to form with them a single whole, the undivided and indivisible representative of Christ in the world.

It is noteworthy that Peter never uses the word *ecclesia*. Yet, in spite of the absence both of this word and of the Pauline metaphor of 'the body,' no writer displays such a wealth of imagery in describing the holy society. Once he speaks of it as 'a holy nation' (1 Pet. 2:9), twice as a 'people' (2:10), twice as a 'house' (2:5, 17), twice as a 'flock' (5:2, 3), twice as a 'priesthood' (2:5, 9), and twice again, in a word wholly his own, as a 'brotherhood' ('Love the brotherhood,' 2:17; 'your brotherhood which is in the world,' 5:9).

Side by side with the full sense of the word *ecclesia* we find another and a wholly natural use of it, which seems at first sight to conflict with the conception of unity which is dominant in the passages we have hitherto examined. The new 'Israel of God,' like its predecessor, was scattered over a wide area. Wherever Christians were gathered as such, there was the Church of God. Hence we find such an expression as 'at Antioch, in the church, there were prophets and teachers' (*κατὰ τὴν οἶκον ἐκκλησίαν*, the participle throwing emphasis upon the noun, 'in what was the church,' Acts 13:1); and again, 'the church of God which is in Corinth'; and even, 'the church that is in their house' (Rom. 16:5). In all these cases the sense of unity may be felt: it is the one Church, thought of as existing in various localities. From this, however, it is an easy passage to speak of 'the church of the Thessalonians' (1 Thess. 1:1, 2 Thess. 1:1); and even to use the word in the plural, 'the churches of Galatia' or 'of Asia' (1 Cor. 16:19), 'the churches of God' (2 Thess. 1:4). The transition is naturally found on Greek ground, where the use of *ecclesia* in the plural would be helped by its common employment for the *ecclesiae* of Greek cities; whereas in Palestine, where the Jewish connotation of the word was more

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sensibly felt, it was more natural to speak of the local representative of the *ecclesia* under the designation of *synagoga* (cp Jas. 2:2).

The churches, then, are the local embodiments of the Church: the distribution of the one into many is purely geographical. The unity remains unaffected: there is no other Church than 'the church of God.' When we pass outside the canon we find the same conception of the Church both as a living unity and as the divinely pre-ordained successor to the ancient Israel. Thus in the *Shepherd* the Church appears to Hermas as an aged woman, even as Zion had appeared to Edras as a barren woman (4 Esd. 9:3, 10:4). She is aged, 'because she was created first of all things, and for her sake the world was made' (Herm. *Vis.* 2:4). Again, in the ancient homily formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome (chap. 14), we read of the pre-existent, spiritual Church, 'created before sun and moon,' and manifested at length in the flesh. In the Valentinian system, moreover, *Ecclesia* appears as one of the aeons. (Cp. too, Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 8, *Strom.* iv. 8. The earliest use of the term 'the Catholic Church' (Ignat. *Smyrn.* 8; *cf.* 117, 118, 119) emphasises the unity and universality of the whole in contrast with the individual congregations; not, as in the later technical sense, its orthodoxy in contrast with heretical systems: 'Wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church' (*ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*).

7. Outside Canon.

The primitive conception of the Church thus regards it (a) as essentially one, admitting of no plurality except such as is due to local distribution, and (b) as succeeding to the peculiar position of privilege hitherto occupied by the sacred Jewish Commonwealth, so that even Paul in writing to Gentiles thinks of it as 'the Israel of God.' In correspondence with the two parts of this conception it is natural to expect in the development of its organisation (a) a general unity in spite of local and temporary variety, and (b) a tendency, both at the outset and from time to time afterwards, to look back to the more prominent features of Jewish religious institutions. Weekly gatherings for liturgical worship, the recognition of holy seasons and holy books, are examples of elements of religious life which passed over naturally and at once from the Jewish to the Christian Church; and these were elements which the experience of the scattered Judaism of the Dispersion had proved and warranted as amongst the strongest bonds of practical unity.

Had the apostles separated immediately after Pentecost for the evangelisation of the world, it might easily have happened that, while the general needs of the societies founded by their labours were, to a large extent, the same in various districts, the institutions developed to meet those needs might have presented a most astonishing variety. As a matter of fact such a mode of procedure on their part was impossible. The direct command of Christ had indicated Jerusalem as the first scene of their work; but, even apart from this, the very clearness with which from the first they recognised the new society to be the divinely appointed issue and climax of the old, must have hindered them from perceiving at once all that was involved in the complementary truth of its universality. As a matter of fact they clung to the sacred centre of the old national life until the development of events gradually forced them into a wider sphere. Hence a period of years was passed within Jerusalem itself, and in the most intimate relation with the religious institutions of the Jewish people, of whom, at that time, all the believers formed an integral part. Accordingly the new society had time to grow into a consciousness of its own corporate life within a limited area; the pressure of practical difficulties led to the experiment of institu-

8. Primitive conception.

9. Earliest period.

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tions specially designed to meet them; and, when the earlier limitations began gradually to disappear in consequence of Stephen's wider conceptions and the crisis which they brought upon his fellow-believers, and the society was now scattered like seed over the country, this corporate life had already given signs of an organised growth, and the home church at Jerusalem had become in some sense a pattern which could not fail to influence all subsequent foundations. These first years in Jerusalem, then, demand careful study, if the development of Christian institutions is to be securely traced.

The brotherhood which was formed by the baptism of the earliest converts was, at the outset, practically a guild of Judaism, faithful to the ancient creed and worship, and with no thought of a severance from the religious life of the nation. Its distinctive mark was not the neglect of Jewish ordinances, but the adherence to new duties and privileges of its own. They were continuing steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers' (Acts 2.42). The temple worship was not forsaken (3.1); but it was supplemented (2.46) by the 'breaking of bread at home.' The first note of this brotherhood was its unity: 'they had one heart and soul' (4.12); they claimed nothing that they possessed as their private right, but held all as a trust for the good of the whole; they would even on occasion sell their property and bring the proceeds to the apostles for distribution to the needy (4.32-35). As the numbers increased, these simple and extemporaneous methods were found to be inadequate. Thus the common tables, at which the poorer dependants received their daily provision, proved an occasion of friction between the two elements of Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jews, of which the brotherhood, from the outset, was composed. Organisation was necessitated, if the unity of the body was to remain unimpaired, and seven men were accordingly appointed to 'serve tables' (6.1-6). [On the criticism of these narratives cf. *COMMUNITY OF GOODS*.]

This was made the first essay in providing for the discharge of the functions of the whole body through representative members. No distinctive title is given by the historian to these seven men. Their office was to serve (*διακονεῖν*); in respect of it, therefore, they could be termed servants (*διδάκοντες*); but it is probable that the word 'deacon' remained for some time a mere description of function, rather than a title such as it afterwards became. The naturalness of this institution—the response to a new need which was certain in some form or other to recur, wherever the society was planted—is a most important feature of it. There is no reason to suppose that it was suggested by any Jewish institution. The number of the persons chosen was a natural number in a community consisting of Jews; but the institution itself was a purely spontaneous development, designed to meet a necessity which was wholly new.

Thus far we find but two kinds of distinction which in any way mark off individual members of the society from the general mass. The apostles are the natural leaders; to them all look, both for religious teaching and for practical guidance; through their discipline on one memorable occasion is enforced; it is they who suggest a remedy for the first difficulty which was occasioned by increasing numbers; and their hands are laid on the seven men whom, at their bidding, the whole brotherhood has selected to serve on its behalf. The seven, on the other hand, are ordained to humble duties; their function is not to rule, but to serve; through them the society fulfils its common responsibility of providing for the needs of its poorer members.

The dispersion after Stephen's death distracts our attention from the Church in Jerusalem for a while. Some years later, when the apostles had begun to evangelise other parts of Palestine, we get another glimpse of it at a time of threatened famine. Contributions are sent from the disciples at Antioch to aid the poorer brethren in Judea; it is not to the apostles, however, that the gifts are brought, but to 'the elders' (Acts 11.30), a class of which we now hear for the first time in the Christian Church. Thus it would seem that the necessity of leaving the apostles free for wider work had issued in a further development of organisation in Jerusalem; but it is only incidentally that we learn that a new step has been taken. We have no indication in Acts of the relation of 'the seven' to these 'elders.'

Peter's imprisonment, which immediately follows, is the occasion of a further notice bearing on the practical government of the church in Jerusalem. 'Tell these things to James and to the brethren,' says the apostle after his release (12.17). The position of prominence thus indicated for 'the brother of the Lord' prepares us for the leading part which he subsequently takes in the conference of the apostles and elders, when a question of vital importance has been referred from Antioch to Jerusalem (15.1). Many years later, when Paul arrives on an important errand, his first act is thus described by an eye-witness: 'On the morrow Paul entered in with us unto James, and all the elders came together' (21.18). It is clear, then, that James had come to occupy a unique position in the church at Jerusalem—a position gained, it may be, by no formal accession to power, resulting rather from his relationship to Jesus and his well-known sanctity of life; yet a position clearly recognised by the apostles, and foreshadowing the climax of a series of developments in the universally established rule of the monarchical episcopate.

We have thus, in the early history of the church in Jerusalem, notices, for the most part merely incidental, of the gradual development of organisation in response to the growing necessities of a corporate life. The humblest offices of the daily service (*ἡ καθημερινὴ διακονία*) by which the bodily needs of the poorer members were supplied, are discharged by the church through seven representatives. The guidance of the whole body is found to have devolved upon men whose title of 'elders' reminds us of the elders of the Jewish people; and in this case there is no reason for doubting that the new institution was directly suggested by the old. These elders are the medium by which the church in Jerusalem holds formal intercourse with the church elsewhere. Lastly, at the head of all, but acting in close concert with the elders, we see James holding an undefined but unmistakable position of authority.

We must be careful to avoid a confusion between this development of administrative organs of the body and that other form of service, rendered to it by those who discharged the various functions of evangelisation, exhortation, and instruction (*ἡ διακονία τοῦ λόγου*, Acts 6.4). The two kinds of service might often meet in the same persons: thus, at the outset, the apostles themselves were, necessarily, at once the instructors and the administrators of the society—at their feet, for example, gifts for the community were laid, as at a later time they were brought to the elders—and, on the other hand, we read of 'Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven' (21.8). Quite apart from these, however, we have a mention of 'prophets,' of whom Agabus is one, as coming from Jerusalem (11.27).

The incidental nature of the references to those who discharged these functions of administration and instruction prevents us from knowing to what extent the church in Antioch resembled in its organisation the church in Jerusalem. We only learn that it contained

13. The elders.

14. James.

15. Summary.

16. Teachers, etc.

¹ On the fact that they are nowhere styled *διδάκοντες*, see also *COMMUNITY OF GOODS*, § 5.

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prophets and teachers (13), we hear nothing of its elders or other officers. When, however, Paul and

17. Paul's churches. Barnabas, going forth from the church in Antioch, founded communities in various cities of Asia Minor, they appointed, we are expressly told, elders to administer them (14.23). In this they probably reproduced an institution already known at Antioch, with which both of them had together been brought into contact in Jerusalem (11.30).

As Paul travelled farther west, and Christian societies sprang up in a more purely Greek soil, the Church's independence of Judaism became continually clearer; and we might reasonably expect to find elements of Greek social life exerting an influence upon the development of Christian organisation. At the same time we must bear in mind that Paul himself was a Jew, that to the Jews in every place he made his first appeal, that his epistles indicate that there was a considerable Jewish element among those to whom he wrote, and that we have clear evidence that, at first, at any rate, his organisation of administration was based upon a Jewish precedent. In his earliest letters to a European church Paul urges the recognition and esteem of 'those who labour among you and preside over you in the Lord, and admonish you,' thus implying a local administration, though not further defining it (1 Thess. 5.12); but at the same time he demands absolute obedience to the injunctions which he sends them in the joint names of himself and Silvanus and Timotheus (2 Thess. 3.4).

If we try to draw from the study of Paul's epistles a picture of a Christian society in a Greek city, we may start by observing that the members of it are distinguished one from another mainly by their spiritual 'gifts' (*χαρίσματα*). Of these the highest is prophecy, which is freely and sometimes distractingly exercised, by any who possess it, in the ordinary meetings of the society. Other gifts too, such as those of healing, give a certain natural pre-eminence to their possessors. Over all we recognise the undefined but overshadowing authority of the apostolic founder. Such is the most elementary stage, and we cannot sharply distinguish it from that which immediately follows. Leading men fall into classes, with obvious divisions (not in any sense stereotyped orders) separating them from the general mass: apostles, prophets, teachers, clear grades of spiritual prestige, though by no means marked off as a hierarchy. The teachers are mainly local in the exercise of their functions; the prophets are local to some extent, but moving from church to church, and recognised everywhere in virtue of their gift; the apostles are not local, but essentially itinerant, belonging to the whole Church.

This ministry expresses the more distinctly spiritual side of the Church's activities. But the community needs, besides, to be governed; and discipline must be exercised in the case of unworthy members. It must have representatives who can formally act on its behalf, either in dealing with individuals or in carrying on communications with sister communities.

Again, there are other functions of the Church's life which call for executive officers. The care of the sick and the poor was a primary duty; so, too, was the exercise of the Church's hospitality to travelling brethren. These duties involved an administration of the common funds collected for such purposes, and generally of corporate property. Servants of the Church were thus called for to perform these humble but necessary functions, and responsible superintendents to see that they were duly performed. This class of executive ministers we find in the 'bishops and deacons' (*ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διακονοὶ*) whom Paul greets in the opening words of his epistle to the Philippians; and the qualifications demanded of them in the Pastoral Epistles afford valuable indications of the nature of their service.

All these elements of moral or formal authority would

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be more or less distinctly present in every community, expressing the activity and life of the community itself in various forms. In different localities development would proceed at different rates of progress; but in all, the same general needs would have to be met, and inter-communication would help towards a comparatively uniform result. The earlier and the more rapidly developing societies would serve as a natural model to the rest.

In speaking thus we do not lose sight of the controlling inspiration of the divine Spirit promised by Jesus to be the Church's guide. We rather recognise the presence of a continuous inspiration, developing from within the growth of a living organism, not promulgating a code of rules to be imposed from without upon each community at its foundation.

The scanty and scattered notices of church organisation in the NT need, for their interpretation, all the light that can be thrown upon them by the practice of Christian communities, so far as it can be ascertained from the remains of their earliest literature. Here again, however, the evidence is still sparse and incidental, though of late years it has been increased, especially by the recovery (1883) of the *Teaching of the Apostles*. The date of this book is quite uncertain. It is of a composite nature and preserves very early documents in a modified form. There is no agreement among scholars as to the locality to which it belongs. It may represent a community lying outside the general stream of development and preserving, even to the middle of the second century, a primitive condition which had elsewhere, for the most part, passed away. This view does not materially lessen its value as an illustration of an early stage of Christian life; but we must be careful not to generalise hastily from its statements when they lack confirmation from other quarters.

In the *Teaching* (chaps. 7 ff.), then, we have instructions relating to BAPTISM (9.7), § 3), fasting, and the Eucharist (9.7.1). The following chapters introduce us to apostles and prophets; they provide tests for their genuineness, and instructions as to the honour to be paid to them. The apostles travel from place to place, making but the briefest stay; the prophets appear to be the most prominent persons in the community in which they reside (see PROPHECY). In comparison with them, bishops and deacons seem to hold but a secondary place. The community is charged to appoint fit persons to these offices, and not to despise them; 'for they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.' There is no mention whatever of presbyters. In all this we seem to be on the verge of a transition. The ministry of extraordinary gifts is still dominant; but the abuses to which it is liable are keenly felt; the humbler local ministry, though despised by comparison, has the future before it.¹

Other illustrations from the early literature will be found under BISHOP (§ 14 f.). It must suffice here to say in conclusion that, before the close of the second century, the long process of development had issued in a threefold ministry—a bishop, presbyters, and deacons—being at length generally recognised in all Christian churches. In point of time, as well as of method, we have an exact parallel to this development both in the settlement of the canon and in the formulation of the Apostolic Creed. The more abundant literature of the end of the second century shows us a generally accepted standard of ministry, of canon, and of creed. In each case the need of definiteness and of general uniformity had gradually made itself felt, and the Christian consciousness, guided and expressed by eminent leaders, had slowly solved the problems presented to it. In each case we have evidence of that growth which is the

19. End of 2nd cent.

¹ Cp Harnack on 3 Jn., *St. Kr.* 17.

CHURNING

prerogative and proof of life in the social as in the individual organism. J. A. R.

CHURNING (כִּיּוּן), Prov. 30³³; see MILK.

CHUSHAN RISHATHAIM (כִּשְׁתָּן רִישָׁתַּיִם), Judg. 3⁸; RV CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM.

CHUSI (חֹזֵי [BS], -cei [A], חֹזֵי), a locality mentioned in Judith 7¹⁸ to define the position of Ekrebel (see AKRABATTINE). It may possibly be the mod. *Kuzah*, 5 m. W. of Akrabeh.

CHUZA (חֹזָא [Ti. WII]; Amer. RV prefers CITUZAS), the house-steward of Herod (Lk. 8³), husband of JOANNA. The name is probably identical with the Nabatean חזא. The steward may well have been of foreign origin as were the Herods themselves. See Burkitt, *Expos.* Feb. 1899, 118-122.

CEILING. See CEILING.

CILICIA (ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑ [Ti. WII]). From southern Cappadocia the range of Taurus descends in a SW.

1. **Physical.** direction to the sea, reaching it in a complex of mountains constituting that projection of coast which divides the bay of Issus (Skanderin) from that of Pamphylia. The Cilicians extended partly over the Taurus itself, and partly between it and the sea (Strabo, 668), thus bordering upon Pamphylia in the W., and Lycania and Cappadocia in the N.; in the E. the lofty range of Amanus separated them from Syria. The country within these boundaries falls into two strongly marked sections.

Of Cilicia beyond Taurus a part [W.] is called Tracheia (rugged), and the rest [E.] Pedias (plain). The former has a narrow seaboard, and little or no level country; that part of it which lies under Taurus is equally mountainous, and is thinly inhabited as far as the northern flanks of the range—as far, that is, as Isauria and Pisidia. This district bears the name Tracheioris. Cilicia Pedias extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus, and as far N. as the Cappadocians on the N. flank of Taurus. This section consists for the most part of plains and fertile land (*loc.*).

Four considerable streams—Pyramus, Sarus, Cydnus, and Calycadnus—descend from Taurus to the bay of Issus. For a long time the ride W. district remained practically outside the pale of civilisation; we are here concerned only with the eastern part, Cilicia Pedias or Campestris. Difficult passes, of which there are only a few, lead through the mountains into the neighbouring districts. The famous Pyle Cilicior, some 30 miles N. of Tarsus, gave access to Cappadocia and W. Asia Minor; in the other direction the Syrian Gates and the pass of *Beilan* communicated with Syria; through these two passes ran the E. trade route from Ephesus. The military importance of the Cilician plain thus included within the angle of the Taurus and Amanus ranges is finely expressed by Herodian (34).

Owing to the barriers of Mount Taurus, the geographical affinity of Cilicia is with Syria rather than with Asia

Minor. It would be only natural, therefore, that there should be references to it in OT (cp also ASUR-BANI-PAL, § 4, end). Nor are these wanting. Archaeological criticism indicates three OT names¹ as more or less certainly meaning Cilicia.² The first is CAPHTOR (*g. v.*, § 4), which, however, probably had a more extended application, and referred to coast-regions of Asia Minor besides Cilicia. Caphtor was the first home of the Philistines; it probably represents the Egyptian Keftu. The second is Kue or Kuah (כִּיּוּ), *i. e.*, E. Cilicia³—from which Solomon imported horses, as we learn from the emended text of 1 K. 10²³ (see HORSE, § 3, n.). The third is Helak, the Ilakkku

¹ Josephus identified with Cilicia the Tarshish of Gen. 10⁴, Jon. 1 (Ant. i. 61).

² The land of Musri also, which adjoined Kue (W. *Geogr. Bab. u. Ass.* 175), must have included a part of Cilicia (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 a).

³ According to Maspero (*Recueil*, 10210), Cilicia is the Keti (cp Kēti) which is often mentioned with Nuhari in the Egyptian inscriptions. Is this name connected with Kue?

CINNAMON

of the Assyrians, which has been restored by Halévy (*Mélanges*, 74, p. 69), Gieger (*Jud. Zt.* 11242), and Lagarde (*Mittheil.* 1211) in Ezek. 27¹¹ (MT has the impossible חֲזִי 'thine army'; read 'the sons of Arvad and of Helak'). The same name probably occurs in Egyptian inscriptions under the form Ka-ra-ki-Sa, originally Kilakk(u).¹ It follows from Halévy's restoration that there was, according to Ezekiel, a Cilician as well as a Phœnician and a Syrian element in the garrison of Tyre in 586 B.C.

The close physical relation of Cilicia and Syria explains their political connection during the early Roman Empire. Cilicia was usually under the legatus of Syria (Dio Cass. 51¹² where Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Cyprus are ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι; cp Tac. *Ann.* 278). Cilicia is found under a separate governor, however, in 57 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 13¹¹), perhaps as a temporary measure after the disturbances of 52 A.D. (*Ann.* 12⁵⁵). Vespasian is credited with its reconstruction as a distinct province, in 74 A.D.; but his action was apparently confined to the reduction of part of Cilicia Tracheia to the form of a province, which was united with that of eastern Cilicia (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). In 117-138 A.D. Cilicia, including Tracheia, was certainly an imperial province, under a praetorian *legatus Augusti*; but in what year this state of things began is not known. No inference can be drawn from the use of the word 'province' (*ἐπαρχία*) in the question of Felix (Acts 21³⁴).

The connection between Cilicia and Syria is illustrated in the NT by such passages as Acts 15²³ Gal. 1²¹, where 'Syria and Cilicia' are almost a single term; and conversely the omission of Cilicia from the superscription of 1 Pet. 1¹, where the enumeration of provinces sums up all Asia Minor N. of the Taurus, is based upon the close connection between the churches in Cilicia and the church of Antioch in Syria.

The presence of Jews in Cilicia must date principally from the time when it became part of the Syrian kingdom (cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 34). It must have been the hill-men of Cilicia Tracheia that served in the guard of Alexander Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 115, *Ant.* 13). In apostolic times the Jewish settlers were many and influential (Acts 6⁹).

Paul visited his native province soon after his conversion (Acts 9³⁰ Gal. 1²¹), and possibly founded then the churches of which we hear in Acts 15²³ 21³⁴. It is probable that in his 'second missionary journey' he followed the usual commercial route across the Taurus to Derbe (Acts 15⁴¹; cp Str. 537).

One article of Cilician export is interesting to the student of the NT. The goats'-hair cloth called *Cilicium* was exported to be used in tent-making (cp Varro, *R. R.* 211). Paul was taught this trade, and supported himself by means of it in the house of Aquila at Corinth (Acts 18³ and elsewhere; cp Acts 20³⁴) (See Sterrett, 'Routes in Cilicia,' in *Arch. Inst. Amer.* 36.) W. J. W.

CINNAMON (כִּינָמֹן; KINNAMOMON [-oc] [BS. MT. Ti. WII]; Ex 30²³ Pr. 7¹⁷ Cant. 1¹⁴ Rev. 18¹³) bears the same name in Hebrew as in Greek and English, and this is almost certainly a word borrowed from the farther East.² Lagarde (*Ubers.* 199) maintains that Hebrew borrowed the name from Greek; but against this there is the statement of Herodotus (311) that the Greeks learned the word from the Phœnicians.

Kinnamon is the fragrant inner bark of *Cinnamomum zeylanicum*. Nees that is now called cinnamon. As is correctly stated by Fluck. and Hanb. (520), however, 'none of the cinnamon of the ancients was obtained from Ceylon.'³ and 'the early notices of cinnamon as a product of Ceylon are not prior to the thirteenth century' (*ib.* 462). Accordingly, it is probable that, as these writers suggest, the cinnamon of the ancients was

¹ W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 352.

² The derivation from כִּינָּ is most unlikely.

³ Cp Tennent, *Ceylon* 1575.

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Cassia lignea, which was obtained, as it is still, from S. China.¹ The source of this is *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Bl., as has been shown by Sir W. Thibault-Dyer in *Journ. Linn. Soc.* 20, 13 ff. The name *cinnamomifera* *regio*, given to the district W. of Cape Good Hope, must be taken in a loose sense as referring to the commerce of the Erythraean Sea. Like lign-aloes, cinnamon was thus brought along the regular trade-route from E. Asia. See *Atoks*, § 3.

From whatever source cinnamon was obtained, it appears thrice in the OT among aromatic spices, and in Rev. 18.13 among the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon. Thus the Jews must have been tolerably familiar with it. See *CASSIA, INCENSE*, § 6.

N. M. — W. T. T. — D.

CINNEROTH (כִּנְרוֹת), 1 K. 15.20, RV CINNEROTH.

CIRAMA (κίραμα [A]), 1 Esd. 5.20, AV = Ezra 2.26 RAMAH.

CIRCLE OF JORDAN (בֶּכֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן), Gen. 13.10. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUIT (הֶבְרָה), Neh. 3.22, RVmq. See PLAIN (4).

CIRCUMCISION (כְּתִיכָה, περιτομή), the cutting away of the foreskin (קְטִיעָה, ἀκροβυστία). For surgical

and other details of the operation as practised in later Judaism, reference may be made to the Mishna (*Shabb.* 19.2 *Tôre d'Ed.*, § 264) and to the literature cited at the end of this article. It was performed not only on the (male) children of the Israelites, but also upon all slaves (as being members of the household and sharers in its worship), whether born within the house or brought in from abroad (Gen. 17.22 ff.)—a usage which plainly points to a great antiquity. In P it is enjoined that all aliens (גרִים) who desire to join in the Passover shall be circumcised (Ex. 12.48; in the Graeco-Roman period it was also the condition for the admission of proselytes).

The age for receiving the rite is fixed by the Law for the eighth day after birth (Lev. 12.3, cp. Gen. 21.4 [P], etc.); even on the sabbath the sacred ordinance had to be observed (Jn. 7.22 *Shabb.* 19.2 ff.), although in case of sickness of the child a short delay was permitted (cp. *ZDMG* 20.529 [66]). For the performance of the office all adult male Israelites were fully qualified; but customarily the duty fell to the head of the house (Gen. 17.23 ff.). That in the earlier times it could be performed (of course only in exceptional cases) by women appears from Ex. 4.25; but this was not allowed by later custom. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2.4) it was not unusual to employ the physician; at the present day it is the business of a specially-appointed official, the *mshel*.

At the close of the first century B.C. the naming of the child accompanied his circumcision (cp. Lk. 1.59 2.21); but there is no indication of any such usage in the OT; indeed, in the older times, the two things were wholly dissociated, the child receiving its name as soon as it was born (cp. for example, Gen. 21.3 29.31 ff. 30.6 ff. 35.13 38.23 ff., etc.).

The origin of the rite among the Hebrews is obscure. One of the views represented in the OT is that it was

introduced by Joshua (Josh. 5.2 ff.), who, at the 'Hill of the Foreskins,'² by divine command circumcised the people with knives of flint, and thereby rolled away 'the reproach of Egypt,' 'wherefore the name of that place was called Gilgal *i.e.* "rolling"') unto this day.' Verses 4-7 are an interpolation designed to bring the narrative into conformity with the view of P that circumcision had merely been in abeyance during the years of wandering; cp. Hollenberg in *St. Kr.*, 74. 493 ff., St. in *ZATW* 6.132 ff. ('86), and see JOSHUA, § 7. The 'reproach of Egypt,' unless we

¹ Hence in Persian and Arabic it is called *Darjini* (Chinese wood).

² So EV, EVmg. *Gilbeath ha-araloth*; βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστίων [BAF]. According to *GBAL* in Josh. 24.30a the knives of flint referred to were buried with Joshua in Timnath-serah.

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are to do violence to the narrative, can only be interpreted as meaning that in that country the children of Israel had been uncircumcised, and therefore objects of contempt and scorn. It is impossible, however, to regard the narrative in Joshua as strictly historical; it belongs rather to the category of etymologizing legend, being designed to explain the name and origin of the sanctuary of Gilgal. Possibly Stade is right in his conjecture (see above) that the legend arose from the circumstance that in ancient times the young men of Benjamin or of certain Benjamite families were circumcised on the Hill of the Foreskins at Gilgal. See GILGAL.

Another view of the origin of the rite is given in the account of the circumcision of the son of Moses (Ex. 4.25 ff. [J]), for here also the intention manifestly is to describe its first introduction among the Israelites; there is no suggestion of any idea that it had been a long-standing Hebrew custom. The general meaning of the story is that Moses had incurred the anger of Yahwé, and made himself liable to the penalty of death, because he was not 'a bridegroom of blood'—*i.e.*, because he had not, before his marriage, submitted himself to this rite. Zipporah accordingly takes a flint, circumcises the son instead of her husband, and thereby symbolically makes the latter a 'bridegroom of blood,' whereby the wrath of Yahwé is appeased (see We. *Prot.* 345).

Both narratives notwithstanding, it is necessary to carry back the origin of this rite among the Hebrews to a much earlier date. True, it is no sufficient

proof of this that P (Gen. 17) carries it back to Abraham, and that everywhere in the Law

the custom is assumed to be of extreme antiquity. More to the point are the facts that Gen. 31 also represents it as pre-Mosaic, while the use of knives of flint (which was long kept up; see Ex. 12.5 Josh. 5.2 ff.) also indicates a high antiquity. What most of all compels us to this conclusion, however, is the well-ascertained fact that circumcision was in no way a practice peculiar to the Israelites. It was common to a number of Semitic peoples in antiquity: Edom, Ammon, Moab all were circumcised (Jer. 9.25 [26]); of the nations of Palestine the Philistines alone were not (cp. for example, Herod. 2.6 f. 104); the Arabs also practised this rite, which, in the Koran, is taken for granted as a firmly established custom. Nor is it less widely diffused among non-Semitic races.¹ Of special interest for us here is its existence among the Egyptians; for from a very early period we meet with the view that, within the lands of the ancient civilisations, circumcision had its native home in Egypt, from which it had spread not only to the other peoples of Africa, but also to the Semites of Asia (so Herod. 2.6204 Diod. Sic. 3.31 Strabo 17.241). It certainly was known in Egypt from the earliest times (Ebers, *Egypt. u. d. Bk. Mss.* 1.233), and we have the express testimony of Herodotus (2.36) and Philo (2.21, ed. Mangey) that all Egyptians were circumcised (cp. Josh. 5.2 ff.), where the same thing is presupposed; Erman, *Egypt.* 32 f., 539; Ebers, *op. cit.* 278 f.), although, it is true, their testimony has not been allowed to pass wholly unquestioned. One piece of evidence for the Egyptian origin of the rite would be the fact that to the Semites of the Euphrates, who had no direct contact with Egypt, circumcision was unknown. In any case, however, it would be illegitimate to suppose that it was borrowed from Egypt directly by the Hebrews—say, for example, at the time of the sojourn in Egypt; for the nomads of the Sinaitic peninsula appear to have practised it from a very remote period.

As to the original meaning of the rite equally divergent views have been held. The explanations offered fall in the main into two groups—(1) The sanitary: Herodotus asserts that the Egyptians had adopted it simply for the sake of cleanliness, whilst other ancient writers regard it

¹ The facts of its present diffusion have been collected most fully by Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte der Völker*, 1. 342 f. [22].

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as a prophylactic against certain forms of disease (Phil. *de Circumc.* 2200, ed. Mangey; Jos. *c. Ap.* 213). A similar theory is still put forward here and there by various nations (cp Ploss, *op. cit.*), and it was in great favour with the rationalists of last century (see, e.g., Michaelis, *Mon. Kecht*, 1186; also Saalschütz, *Mon. Kecht*, 1246). Recent anthropologists, such as Ploss, give greater prominence to the fact that with many peoples (if not with most) circumcision stands, or originally stood, closely connected with marriage, and regard it as an operation preparatory to the exercise of the marital functions, suggested by the belief that fruitfulness is thereby promoted (so already Philo, *ib. cit.*; cp CUTTINGS OF THE FLINT, § 4). (2) The religious: It is impossible to decide the question by mere reference to the present conditions, or to the explanation which ancient or modern peoples themselves give. On the one hand, it is not to be expected that the original meaning of the act should be permanently remembered, on the other hand, evidence can be adduced in support of either theory. There are broad general considerations, however, which lead inevitably to the conclusion that, in the last resort, the explanation is to be sought in the sphere of religion. All the world over, in every uncivilised people, whether of ancient or of modern times, practices such as this are called into existence, not by medical knowledge, but by religious ideas. It is to the belief about the gods and to the worship of the gods that all primitive ethics must be traced. In this there is nothing to prevent practices, grown unintelligible through the religious motives having gradually faded into the background, being supplied with other reasons, in this case, sanitary. On the other hand, inasmuch as, to judge by its wide diffusion, circumcision must have arisen spontaneously and independently in more places than one, there is nothing to exclude the possibility of diverse origins.

The primarily religious nature of circumcision being granted, we must nevertheless be careful not to carry back to the earlier times the interpretation put upon it by later Judaism. According to P the rite is a symbolical act of purification (in the ritual sense); the foreskin represents the unclean. This conception of circumcision is presupposed in the symbolical applications of the expression to be met with in the discourses of the prophets (see below, § 7). For the earlier period, however, we have no evidence of the presence of any such idea, nor is there any analogous conception to make its existence probable. The notion so frequently brought forward in explanation of the idea,—that the sexual life, as such, was regarded as sinful,—is in truth nowhere to be met with in the OT. The ancient conceptions of clean and unclean are all of them of a wholly different nature; see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

In general, circumcision is to be regarded as a ritual tribal mark. This view is favoured by several considerations. Not only among the Jews,

5. A tribal badge.

but also among the Egyptians and most other peoples by whom circumcision is practised, the uncircumcised are regarded as unclean—i.e., as aliens from the tribe and its worship—and as such are looked upon by the circumcised with contempt. Among peoples who do not practise circumcision we find analogous tribal marks; biting or removal of teeth, special tattooings, in some cases still more drastic mutilations of the sexual organs (semi-castration and the like). Finally, with most peoples, circumcision used to be performed at the age of puberty. By its means the grown-up youth was formally admitted among the men, received all the rights due to this position, and, in particular, the permission to marry (hence the frequent connection already alluded to between circumcision and marriage). The full-grown man becomes for the first time the fully-invested member of the tribe, and, in particular, capable of taking part in its religious

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functions. It is fitting then that he should wear the badge of his tribe.

Such a badge has always a religious significance, since membership of a clan carries with it the right to participate in the tribal worship (see GOVERNMENT, § 8), and, for early times, to be outside the tribe and outside its worship meant the same thing. Thus the act of circumcision had, in the earliest times, a sacred meaning. Like all other initiation ceremonies of the kind in the Semitic religions, circumcision had attributed to it also the effect of accomplishing a sacramental communion, bringing about a union with the godhead. To this extent the explanation of circumcision as of the nature of a sacrifice (Lwald) is just, originally circumcision and sacrifice served the same end.

For the old Israelite, in particular, the view just stated is confirmed by the identification of the two conceptions

6. In early Israel.

'uncircumcised' and 'unclean'; see especially, in this connection, Ezek. 31:18-22:32, where in the under-world the uncircumcised have assigned to them a place by themselves, away from the members of the circumcised people. The receiving of the tribal mark is a condition of communion (Gen. 34). Among the Israelites also it was the marriageable young men who were circumcised (Josh. 5:2 ff., see above, § 2). In like manner, as already noticed, in Ex. 4:25 circumcision, as a token of marriageability, is brought into connection with marriage itself; cp the expression 'bridegroom of blood.' The same narrative also explains the circumcision of young boys as a surrogate for that of men (cp We. *Prot.* 345 f.). This custom—of circumcising boys when quite young—may have arisen very early, as soon as the political aspects of the rite fell into the background. When the rite loses political significance, and becomes purely religious, it is not necessary that it should be deferred to the age of full manhood; indeed the natural tendency of pious parents will be to dedicate their child as early as possible to the god who is to be his protector through life' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 328). This last general statement is particularly apposite in the case of circumcision.

No mention of circumcision is made either in the decalogue or in any other of the old laws. This silence

7. Later.

cannot be explained on the ground merely that as a firmly established custom the rite did not require to be specially enjoined; rather does it prove that, for the religion of Yahwé in the pre-exilic period, circumcision had ceased to possess the great importance which we are compelled to assume for it in the old Semitic religion; nor was the same weight assigned to it which it subsequently acquired in Judaism. In particular the prophets took up towards it the same attitude as they held towards sacrifice, that is to say, they looked upon it as of no consequence so far as the worship of Yahwé was concerned. Such a prophet as Jeremiah, for example, sets himself in the most marked manner against the high appreciation of circumcision still prevalent among the masses in his day, when he places the circumcision of the Israelites exactly on the same level with that of the Egyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites, and threatens all alike with the divine judgment as being 'circumcised in uncircumcision' or as 'uncircumcised'—that is, as not having the circumcision of the heart (Jer. 9:25 [24] f., cp 14:6-17, 26:41). By this very fact—that they contrast with the circumcision of the flesh that of the heart, the ears, the lips—the prophets gave the first impulse to the later symbolical interpretation of the rite as an act of purification.

This last, as already stated, is dominant in Judaism. In the post-exilic period the rite acquired a quite different position from that which it had

8. In Judaism.

previously held. As substitutes for the sacrificed worship, no longer possible, the sabbath and circumcision became the cardinal com-

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CITY OF MOAB

in 1 Macc. 1:14 2 Macc. 4:12 was only a temporary innovation.

(f) *Shore-cities*.—This phrase¹ means cities in which grain (2 Ch. 32:2) or other royal provisions, valuable for war or for peace, were stored (1 K. 9:19 etc.). It is implied that such cities were fortified. In Ex. 14:6 gives πόλεις ἀχυράς; cp Pl. nom. ΚΑΥΜΕΣ.

On citizenship, cp GOVERNMENT, § 4; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14; and DISCIPLINE, § 16.

For the **cities of the Plain** (עָרֵי הַבְּרָצָה) see ADMAH, etc.; on the **cities of refuge** (עָרֵי בְּרִיחַ), see ASYLUM, § 3.

CITY OF MOAB (עִיר מוֹאָב), Nu. 22:36. See AR OF MOAB.

CITY OF SALT. See SALT, CITY OF.

CLASPS (קֶרְכִּים), Ex. 28:6 RV; AV 'taches.' See TABERNACLE.

CLAUDA, RV ΚΑΥΔΑ (κλαυδα [Ti. with N° 13, etc.], ΚΑΥΔΑ [WH with N° 13], *Caulda*, Act. 27:16), is described as a small island (νησίον) under the lee of which Paul's ship ran for shelter (ἐκπορεύμενος) when blown off the Cretan shore. She was driving before an ENE. wind (τ. 14), which caught her between Cape Lithinos (called also Cape Matala) and Lutro harbour (see PHOENIX, 2). Hence Clauda must be the small island now called *Gavdhonisi* (Γαυδονήσι) or *Gavdo*, lying about 20 m. due S. of Lutro. Its only (int. 17 α) has Κλαύδιος νῆπος ἐν τῇ πόλει, and remains of a small town are found on the island. There is some variety in the ancient appellation (Κλαυδία, *Stud. m. m.*, § 328; Gaudos, *Pomp. Mela*, 2:104; Pliny, *Pl. v. 12* 61). It became the seat of a bishop (cp *Theor. Syn.* p. 14. Νῆσος Κλαυδίου, and *Notit. Epis.* 8:249, etc.).

W. J. W.

CLAUDIA (κλαυδία [Ti. WH]) unites with Paul at Rome in sending greeting to Timothy at Ephesus (2 Tim. 4:21). Nothing further is known concerning her.

For the ingenious but unconvincing argument by which it has been sought to identify her with the Claudia who marries Pudens in Martial's epigram (4:16), and to prove her the daughter of the British king Venerius Claudius Cogidubnus, see Alford, *NT*, vol. iii, *Prol.* to 2 Tim.

CLAUDIUS, the fourth emperor of Rome (41-54), was the son of Nero Claudius Drusus and the successor of Caius Caligula. His advancement to this position came chiefly through the energies of Herod Agrippa I., whom he rewarded with consular honours and the enlargement of his territories by the addition of Judea, Samaria, and certain districts in Lebanon. For the history of the Jews during his reign, see ISRAEL. Claudius is twice mentioned in the NT. In Acts 11:28 the famine foretold by AGABUS is said to have been in the time of Claudius Caesar (cp Κλαύδιον [Ti. WH]; AV after TR, ε. K. α. Καίσαρος; but see CAESAR), and in 18:1 f. reference is made to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome which he was induced to order (as Suet., *Claud.* 25 tells us) on account of their tumults; 'Judaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.' The precise dates of both famine and expulsion have been disputed; see CHRONOLOGY, § 76 f.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS (κλαυδίου λυσίας [Ti. WH], Acts 23:26), 'chief captain' (military tribune, or chiliarch) in command of the Roman garrison of Jerusalem in the governorship of Felix (Acts 21:1 ff.).

CLAY is derived mostly from the decomposition of felspathic rocks (especially granite and gneiss) and of

¹ The Heb. phrase is עָרֵי בְּרִיחַ; cp Ex. 14:6 (AV 'treasure cities'), 2 Ch. 32:2 (L adds τῶν πόλεων), 17:12 (EV 'cities of store'). 'Br' is omitted in 2 Ch. 32:28 (L V 'storehouses', πόλεις [BAL]). In 1 K. 9:19 (עָרֵי בְּרִיחַ) BA renders πόλεις τῶν σκευῶν μάκρων, apparently עָרֵי בְּרִיחַ. Pl. (*rule* 10:23) omit. עָרֵי בְּרִיחַ in 2 Ch. 36:4 is corrupt; see 1 K. 15:29, and cp CHASSINER, etc.

² For the question of the identity of Chrestus, see CHRISTIAN, NAME OF, § 6, iii.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN

the crystalline; but the materials are so varying that there is clay of several kinds suitable for several uses. The term 'clay' is often applied loosely to 'loam'; of such, for example, is the clay of Egypt and of Palestine, although a bituminous shale, easily convertible into clay, is said to occur at the source of the Jordan and near the Dead Sea; see BITUMEN.

In Palestine, and indeed throughout the E., clay is used chiefly (1) in building, either retained in its natural state (for ceilings and floors) or manufactured into bricks (see BABYLONIA, § 15, BRICK, CHAMBER, HOUSE); (2) in the manufacture of utensils (see POTTERY); (3) in providing a material for documents public and private and a means of safely preserving them. Very many deeds and other records have been found in the form of inscribed clay tablets in Assyria and Babylonia. The deed or record was first written on a small tablet, or block, of clay, with the names of the principals, witnesses, etc., appended. This tablet was then enclosed in an envelope of clay, on which was written, apparently from memory, the contents of the document, the names of the witnesses, etc. (letters). In Palestine, where, so far as we know, clay tablets were not customary in the historic Israelitish period, clay, instead of wax, was used for sealing. So e. *besnes*, Job 38:14 14:7, where AV's 'sewest up' should rather be 'sealed' (clay) over '—parallel to 'sealed up' in 17:17. In Egypt jars, mummy-pots, etc., were frequently sealed with clay.

The Heb. and Gr. word, which are rendered 'clay' are (1) עֶפֶר *homer*, Gen. 11:3, etc.; (2) עֶפֶר *homer*, used of the mire of streets, also of brick (Nah. 3:14) and potter's clay (Is. 11:2); (3) the biblical Aram. representative עֶפֶר *hānaph* (Dan. 2:33); and (4) πηλός, Rom. 9:21; see further POTTERY. עֶפֶר *meret*, Jer. 47:1 AV (RV 'mortal') is uncertain (cp *propheta* [BAL] *ἐν τῇ πηλῶν* [Quesd]). A possible meaning is 'earth' (Gieseler); but it may be a corruption for עֶפֶר 'secretly'; see Gen. 4:10.

CLEAN and UNCLEAN, HOLY and PROFANE. Of the Heb. terms which convey the idea of cleanness

or holiness the most prominent is טָהוֹר of the Terms. טָהוֹר (טָהַר, טָהַר, etc.), the original meaning of which is not clear. Smend in *AT Rel.-gesch.* (1) 334 (cp, however, 2nd ed. 150, 223, 325), expresses the common uncertainty of the moment. The older view of Ges. (*Theol.*), appended now only in a much modified form, is that the root means 'clear', 'brilliant'. Bandissin,² writing in 1878, finds the fundamental idea in 'separation,' a view which is still widely held.

Bandissin says, 'A comparison with טָהוֹר makes it natural to conjecture that טָהַר meant from the first "to be separated" "to be pure"—i.e., that טָהַר was from the beginning synonymous with טָהוֹר; cp טָהַר, "pure," from טָהַר, "to cut," "cut out." It is certain, too, that Yahweh's holiness and his glory are correlative ideas (as, in the *Araya*, *Alph. Mazhar*). In Is. 6:3 this is very clearly indicated, and in 7:5 the thought of Yahweh's holiness suggests to Isaiah that of his own (mortal) unholiness (cp Is. 6:3, 7:5). May there not have been a time when טָהַר suggested the idea of purity without any moral reference? Zimmern, followed by Whitehouse (*Thinker*, July 1892, p. 50), connects טָהַר with Ass. *ṭāhu* (*Rasspalmen*, 37, p. 11; *Beitr. zur. Assyriol.*, 1:105; *Palst. Schol. Fürsprecher*, 11, p. 3), which means 'bright,' 'pure,' or, more precisely (*recluse*), 'bright,' 'pure' (very frequently), 'illustrious,' 'holy' (so Sayce, in a private letter). According to Abel (in Bandissin, etc.) words which originally denoted 'purity' are used in Coptic to denote the divine or the consecrated. This is quite in accordance with the spirit of the old Egyptian religions and with that of the Semitic religions. If, however, this tempting comparison is accepted, we must frankly admit that the original meaning had become forgotten, or was but obscurely felt, by the OT writers. Only once is 'the Holy One' distinctly parallel to 'holy' (Is. 10:15); but the ideas are, at any rate, implicitly synonymous, in Is. 31:6 33:14 f. In usage, as Davidson (*Exek.* xxxv), remarks, the term 'holy' expresses, not any particular attribute

¹ Possibly, however, *ἐν προφουοις* represents טָהוֹר, and טָהוֹר is omitted by BAAL.

² *Studien zur semit. Rel.-gesch.* 2:20 (in his important dissertation, 'Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament').

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE

but rather the general notion of godliness. In a secondary though still early sense, it is applied to that 'which belongs to the sphere of deity, with his near God's presence or has come into it (Ex. 35 Nu. 16:17 f. [17:2 f.]), or which belongs to him, whether as part of himself or as his property.' Davidson also remarks that the root 'probably expressed some physical idea, though the idea is not now reasonable.' See also WRS *Proph.* 224, who points out (after Noldeke) that the Arabic evidence for the supposed red idea of purity will not hold. In RV 2:130, the so-called 'scholar finds 'some probability' that the original meaning was 'separation' or 'withdrawal'.

Other less prominent terms are *ḥṣṣ* (22), *ṣāḥḥ* (23), and *ṣāḥṣ* (24), all of which are rendered indifferently by 'clean' and 'pure.' (2) Of these the most definitely religious in its application is *ṣāḥṣ*. No doubt gold may be *ṣāḥṣ*, i.e., refined (Ex. 25:11; Job 28:19); so also a turban (Zech. 3:5), vessels (Lev. 19:15), etc.; but the levitical sense is specially prominent (Lev. 7:19 Nu. 9:14, etc.). The eyes of God also can be *ṣāḥṣ* (Hab. 1:13); therefore he cannot be unclean. Similarly innocence in man: Job 17:9 Ps. 61:12 [11]. God's promises are *ṣāḥṣ*, i.e., perfectly veridical (Ps. 125:1).

(3) *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ*, also means refined (as oil, Ex. 27:25) incense (Ex. 30:34), morally pure, 'upright' (Job 22:17 Prov. 2:11; 21:6). It is used of a prayer (Job 16:17), of the heart (it has to be made or kept 'pure' or 'clean,' Ps. 73:13 Prov. 20:9 [27:2]), or the conduct (Ps. 139:4).

(4) *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ*, 'separated'—i.e., 'pure' (cp (1) above). Some Rabbins interpret *ṣṭ* in Ps. 2:12, 'selected'—*ṣṭ*; but it would be easier (though not the best solution) to read *ṣṭ*—*ṣṭ*. In a physical sense *ṣṭ* is spotlessly beautiful (Cant. 6:7 f.). Spotless purity belongs to God's commandments (Ps. 19:9). It is used of moral purity (Job 11:4 Ps. 24:7 f.).

The NT terms which have to be noticed are (1) *ṣṭ* 'pure' (= *ṣāḥṣ*), in a physical sense of modesty or chastity (2 Cor. 11:2 Tit. 2:3 1 Pet. 3:2); sacred, for ceremonial use (2 Mac. 13:19); pure—ethically—of men (2 Cor. 7:13 Phil. 1:10 1 Tim. 5:22), of God (1 Jn. 3), and of his wisdom (1 Jn. 3:3).

(2) *ṣṭ*, worthy of veneration, whether of things connected with God (1 K. 14:14 Heb. 9:24) or of persons (e.g., John the Baptist, Mk. 6:2); Christian disciples, Acts 8:14, etc.). Thus the church—like Israel (Tit. 2:14; see PULCHER PRIDE)—is called *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ* (cp 1 Th. 5:5, *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ*). *ṣṭ* stands in the same relation *ṣṭ* as *ṣṭ* (see LOVING-KINDNESS and CP ASSISTANCE) to *ṣṭ* (see Thayer, *loc. cit.* NT, *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ*).

(3) *ṣṭ* corresponds chiefly with *ṣṭ*; see (6) above; (so also in (5)). It is used of men (Tit. 1:14 Heb. 7:26) of the Messiah (Acts 2:27 13:35), of Abissianic blessings (Acts 13:14 *ṣṭ* *ṣṭ* David), and of God (Rev. 15:4 16:5 cp 1 Th. 3:24 Heb. 7:26).

(4) *ṣṭ*, consecrated to the deity, belonging to God, used of the 'sacred' writings (2 Tim. 3:15 RV, AV 'holy'). In 1 Cor. 15:24 *ṣṭ* means all the sacred objects pertaining to the worship of God in the temple. For the negatives of these qualities, see COMMON, PROFANE.]

Baudissin's view (above [1]) suits many passages: the holiness of the *Ṣāḥṣ* and the *Ṣāḥṣ*! (see IDOLATRY, § 6), who were certainly found in Israel very early, can have consisted only in their separation either they were dedicated to foreign gods, or perhaps they were set apart at puberty from the households in which they grew up, according to a custom which ranges from the Gold Coast to Tahiti (see Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 225 ff.), and never returned to them or entered others. The fate of the 'harlot' Tyre (Is. 23:18) is to be 'holiness unto Yahweh,' not because the reviving trade of Tyre is to be conducted in a better spirit than before, but because it is to be taxed at the new Jerusalem (which is presumably to be a staple town of the wool and spice trade) in a way to absorb all its profits. Again (Zech. 14:20 f.), everything in the new Jerusalem after its last great trial is to be so holy, so perfectly the property of God, that the very horse-bells will bear the same motto as the High Priest's mitre; the pots in which the sacrificial flesh is boiled for priests are to be as holy as the bowls which hold the sacrificial blood reserved for God; the common cooking pots of Jerusalem are to be holy enough for pilgrims to boil their sacrifices in. Jerusalem (Joel 3[4]:17) is to be 'holy'; no stranger is to pass

through. There is to be through the wilderness of Judah a 'holy' way (Is. 35:9), in which no unclean shall walk.

So far it seems as if holiness might be explained as a rule or rather than a quality. The flesh and blood of the sacrifice are holy because they belong to God; the pots and bowls have to be holy that they may hold the flesh and blood. So, too, the vessels (the bodies) of the wallets of David's followers (1 S. 21:5 f.) have to be holy that they may receive the shewbread, which is holy because it is set before God. David (whom all the writers who speak of him regard, from their several points of view, as a model of wisdom and piety) comes for the negative holiness of his men, and any accidental defilement which he does not know will have had time to wear off—he appears to think that the shewbread will sanctify their 'vessels,' and implies that if they had been specially sanctified, as for a holy war or a pilgrimage, they might have eaten the shewbread though they were not priests.

The 'sanctification' of persons and things falls under the same notion. 'Holiness,' as Robertson Smith observed (RS² 440 ff.), is contagious:

2. Contagion of holiness.

Whatever a 'holy' thing or a 'holy' person touches becomes holy. When Elmhurst his mantle over Elisha, the latter has to follow till Elijah releases him; the worshippers of Baal, whose ordinary dress might 'profane' the house, are provided with special vestments from the stores of the house of Baal; otherwise, when they came outside, their ordinary dress would make whatever it touched 'holy to Baal,' and unavailable to the former owners. The priest on the great Day of Atonement (the rule is older than the days to take off the holy linen garments and leave them in the holy place, and to wash his flesh in water lest any of the contagion of holiness should cling to him). In a text which, though belonging to the main stock of P, seems to represent a later state of the law, the consecration of Aaron and his successors seems to consist in their investiture with the hereditary state dress of Ex. 28; cp Nu. 20:25-28. According to another view, which is older than Zech. 4:14, the consecration consists in the anointing (cp ANOINTING, § 3, c). The doctrine of the contagion of holiness is at its height in Ezek. (16:24), who provides special kitchens where the priests are to cook the most holy things, and special chambers in which they are to eat them, without bringing them forth into the outer court to sanctify the people (who are eating their own sacrifices). Otherwise, they might become the property of the sanctuary, or at least would be subject to the same obligations as the priests. For the same reason, it is expressly stated, they are to leave the holy garments in the holy place, though all the top of the mountain is most holy. So, too, a little later, the profane sacrificers² of Is. 66:5 either threaten to sanctify the poor who approach them, or claim to be too holy to be approached. In Hag. 2:12 f. we find a distinct change. The contagion of uncleanness is stronger than the contagion of holiness. A garment in which holy flesh is carried does not sanctify; a garment which has touched the dead pollutes (cp EGYPT, § 19, and so DRESS, § 8). The stricter view is still presupposed, at least for the 'most holy' things; any garment sprinkled with blood has to be washed in the holy place (Lev. 6:27 [28]);³ otherwise it would sanctify. For the same reason the earthen pots used in cooking are to be broken; brass pots (too valuable to break) may be used, but only after having been rinsed and scoured—obviously to remove the last vestige of the

¹ Everybody dedicated a new house (Dt. 20:1); was it ever a custom to dedicate vessels?

² They wish to forsake God's holy mountain and set up a temple of their own; they are rebuked in a way to imply that no temple exists or is needed (cp Is. 66:1 ff. and see ISRAEL, iii, § 21).

³ Is this the reason why the holy garments are of linen? Woollen garments would naturally be sent to the fuller at long intervals.

¹ [See Dr. Dt. 26:4 f.; St. GUL 1473 f.; Movers, *Die Phön.* 1 679 ff. Beninger (*II*), § 61] remarks, 'It may safely be affirmed that this form of consecration to the deity, and especially the violation of nature combined with it, was unknown to the Israelitish nomads; but also, that with so many other details of Baal-worship, it penetrated into the service of Yahweh, and there spread to a considerable extent.'

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE

holy food. The rank of the priests is determined by their right to eat of both the holy and the most

3. Holiness of priests.

holy, which are often cited as if they were known, and never described, though we are told that the 'sin' and the 'trespass' offering are most holy and must be eaten in the holy place, and hence could not be eaten by the households of the priests. Why these special offerings are specially holy is discussed elsewhere (see SACRIFICE). The scribes, to whom we owe this law, are the fathers of those who decided that a book was or was not canonical according as it did or did not 'defile the hands'. After touching a really holy book, a man had to wash before touching common food lest his hands should sanctify it (cp CANON, § 4). In the oldest practice, it would seem, it is the contact with the holy flesh that is the essence of the consecration of priests: the sacrificer who wishes to institute a priest 'fills his hand'.¹ As sacrifice and slaughter are nearly synonymous (as here in Is. 34:6; EXOD. II, § 14), we seem to find in one of the stories of the golden calf that the share of the Levites in the slaughter of the worshippers is virtually their consecration. 'They have filled your hand for Yahweh' (i.e., 'Ye have been to-day appointed priests'), 'for every man was against his son and his brother' (EX. 32:26).² In 1 K. 13:31 Jeroboam fills the hand for the priests of the high places; in 2 Ch. 13:6 each candidate brings a bullock and seven rams to fill his hand.³ This seems an echo of old tradition, for in EX. 29:19, Moses takes only two rams and a bullock when he fills the hand of Aaron and his sons: the blood of the ram of the 'fill offering' is put on the right ear, the right thumb, the right great toe, of each priest; the pieces, which as a rule are burnt, and one of those which in ordinary sacrifices fell to the priest as his fee, are both laid with cake on the hand of each priest and waved before God (to assert the priest's right to the 'wave-breast' and the 'heave-shoulder') and then burnt. There seems to be an afterthought (v. 26) in which Moses as the officiating priest takes the wave-breast to himself; the priests eat the rest of the sacrifice (which in ordinary cases the worshipper would eat) in the holy place. The idea seems to be that just as the worshipper in the old profession (Dt. 26:3) declares 'I have put away the holy out of my house,' so the sacrificer passes on the dangerous holy food to a priest who will take the risk and the privilege of sharing the table of God, and bear the iniquity of the people in their holy things. Possibly the Levites in EX. 32:26 ff. may point to a time when the priest was not chosen by the sacrificer, but handed his office by laying hands on the holy flesh.

The question whether 'holiness' to begin with is nothing more than 'separateness' bears very directly on the 'holiness' of God. If holiness is

4. Of God.

originally a relation rather than a quality, if things and persons are holy to God as persons and acts are righteous before him, then God himself is holy simply as the centre of the circle of sanctity; if all that belongs to the sanctuary is holy, how much more he who dwelleth between the cherubim, who inhabiteth the praises of Israel (Ps. 22:3[1])? He is the object of worship whom his worshippers 'sanctify.' He is the 'Holy One': 'I am God and not man, the Holy One

¹ If Micah (Judg. 17:6) had begun with the Levite we might suppose that the filling of his hand consisted in his salary. He is not likely to have given his son a salary; yet he 'filled his hands.'

² So Bacon (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 137), who remarks, 'In the story before us the consecration of the bene Levi to the priesthood is explained etymologically by their having filled their hand with the blood of their brethren.' It is doubtful whether 'they have filled your hands' (of this he is the meaning) of the Heb. The expression, 'I fill your hands' (cf. *AT Priesthood*, 65) to be 'very suspicious.' It is always another who fills the new priest's hands. Perhaps in an interpolation (see Kue. *Hex.* 247) the phrase may be corrected to 'I fill your hands.'

³ Can we suppose that if anybody was allowed to qualify Jeroboam found the qualification for all comers?

of Israel in the midst of these' (Hos. 11:9 cited Is. 12:6: 'Rejoice and shout, O inhabitant of Zion, for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of these'). Yahweh is the God, the Holy One of the prophet (Hab. 1:12). So Jacob (Gen. 31:42, cp 28:22) [1] swears by the fear of his father Isaac—i.e., the God whom his father feared.

There are other texts, however, in which holiness seems to be absolute. The men of Beth shemesh (1 Sam. 6:2) ask, 'Who can stand before Yahwe, this holy god?' In Am. 4:2 Yahwe swears by his holiness. Does that mean his character? or the reverence due to him? The answer will govern the sense in which his name is holy in 27. In Is. 5:16 (authoritative enough by whomsoever written) God's being exalted through judgment and sanctified through righteousness are closely parallel. The song ascribed to the mother of Simeon (1 S. 2) is an unambiguous echo of the song of the seraphim (Is. 6:3): 'Holy, holy, holy is Yahwe. Salath, the whole earth is full of his glory,'—where holiness and glory are clearly parallel. See too in Jer. 17:12, 'a high throne is the place of our sanctuary,' and in Ex. 15:11, 'Who is like thee, glorious in holiness, fearful to praises, doing wonders?' the holiness, the praises, the wonders, seem to belong to God's external majesty. Throughout the OT God's worshippers rehearse his acts much oftener than his attributes. We find his 'righteous acts' as early as the song of Deborah (Judg. 5:10); but not till Jer. 12:1 do we read, 'righteous art thou, Yahwe, when I plead with thee'; where the sense is still half forensic, as in Ex. 9:27 (JE) Ps. 51:4-6]. In Ps. 117 we have 'The righteous Yahwe loveth righteousness.' The parallel between holiness and glory is reinforced by the contrast between holy and profane, for profane certainly seems to mean what is cast down to be trodden under foot (Ezek. 28:16, 'Cast thee as profane out of the holy mount'; Ps. 89:9[4]). 'Thou hast profaned his crown to the ground' (cp 143). Israel, again (Dt. 26:6), is made high above all people, that it may be a holy people.

The demand that Israel shall be holy is common to every stage and aspect of the Law. In Ex. 22:31 (LXX)

5. Of Israel.

(JE) and Dt. 14:21, it is the ground on which Israel is to abstain from all meat not killed by men for human food; in Dt. 14:17, Israel as a holy people is forbidden to make to the dead blood- or hair-offerings, intended, doubtless, to keep up a physical communion with them (cp EX. 14:17, 18, 19). The spiritual tie between God and his peculiar people who are his children is not to be impaired by a rite the sense of which was still clear when the book which Hilkiah found was written, though in Jer. 16:6 the rite seems harmless and unmeaning. Again, the title of the third year is profane if any of it has been 'eaten in mourning' or 'given for the dead' (Dt. 26:14). As we to think of the mere unheekiness of any thing connected with the dead (Hos. 9:4) or of some form of worship, as in Is. 8:19? Consecration for one mode of worship would be a defilement for another. In Lev. 19:27 (cp 21:5) we have the law against cuttings for the dead preceded by a law against an Arab totem, which probably marked consecration to an Arab god. This might go back to Hezekiah, who, according to Sennacherib (AR. 204), entertained Arab mercenaries. Glaim adopted the dress of his Alan guard. If we suspect with Robertson Smith² an invasion of Arab totemism in the

¹ Holiness in the same sense is ascribed to other gods; I Shemzar of Zidon on his sarcophagus (1890 400 B.C.) speaks of the holy gods in the same way as do Nebuchadnezzar and the queen-mother in the Book of Daniel.

² Here, therefore, we have a clear case of the re-emergence into the light of day of a cult of the most primitive totem type which had been banished for centuries from public religion, but must have been kept alive in obscure circles of private or local superstition, and sprang up again on the rising of the national faith, like some noxious weed in the courts of a deserted temple' (RS², 357). See the context, and cp Che. *Intr.* in 308 ff.

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time of Ezek. (87-93), Lev. 19^d will forbid the tattooing of totem marks.

In the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy the holiness of the covenant people is demanded, so that speak, incidentally, and without express reference to the holiness of the covenant God. If one were to try to find a keynote for the older book it would be 'Justice'; for Deuteronomy perhaps 'Loving kindness, *hevel*, the dutiful love of the worshipper to his God, which includes kindness for God's sake to men (see also LOVINGKINDNESS). 'Holiness' is certainly the keynote of the oldest stratum of the Levitical law (see LAVERGNE).

Deuteronomy is clearly a development, as compared with the Book of the Covenant; a deeper insight into the vocation of the chosen people has been gained. Is the Law of Holiness a development in the same sense, compared with Deuteronomy? The interval between Ezekiel and Jeremiah is shorter than that between Deuteronomy and the Book of the Covenant; yet Ezekiel is almost as full of the ideas of H (i.e., the Law of Holiness) as Jeremiah of those of D. Has he inherited a relatively old tradition? Short as H is, it is full of variations and repetitions. Would not an elder or a younger contemporary of Ezekiel, giving expression to a new religious movement that had grown out of Jeremiah's covenant, have imparted more unity to his work? Again in more than one way H seems to be older. No reader of Frazer (see especially *Golden Bough*, 1279 n. 2) would think the law which forbids the reaping of corners later than the law against gleanings (Lev. 19a f.). Nor is the holiness required of priests yet extended to the whole people; thus if a layman eats ²² he is defiled for the day and must wash his clothes; but for priests the prohibition is absolute. There seems, too, to be a recognition of other gods (Dt. 213 f.); if a man curses his own god he shall bear his iniquity (i.e., he must not come to the priest of the God of Israel to make atonement for him). Certainly in D the demand for 'holiness' is based on the more characteristic demand for monotheism, whilst in H, though the demand for monotheism is not superfluous—Israel, we are told, went after the Shulim (see DEMOS, § 4) in the wilderness (Lev. 17 f.)—it is not fundamental. The giving of the seed to Moloch is treated as analogous to the moral abominations of the nations, for which the land spewed them out, rather than to turning away to idols or making molten gods. It was a profanation of God's holy name just because those under his wrath (Ezek. 2025 f.) regarded it as part of his service. Upon the whole, the demand for holiness in H seems to be an intensification of the demand that worshippers shall sanctify themselves, which we may suppose the better priests to have insisted upon as long as there were feasts in Israel. In many ways the holiness is still external; 'Ye shall be holy, for I Yahweh am holy,' appears (Lev. 2026) as a sanction for the law against abominable food (cp 1144 f.); in 192 218 the context takes off nothing from the text. These passages mark the culmination, not the starting point, of a line of teaching. Generally the sanction of the precept is, 'I am Yahweh,' 'I am Yahweh your god,' 'I am Yahweh your god who brought you out of Egypt,' 'I am Yahweh who sanctify you.' Logically and theologically God's holiness is the source of all others; he is holy in himself and therefore what he takes for his must be holy too; but possibly, as Robertson Smith held, holiness may in the beginning have been regarded as a mysterious virtue inherent in things external to the worshipper—in trees, in waters, in stones, in the mysterious animal life of well-wooded and well-watered spots,—each of which may have served to suggest a higher power beyond the phenomena in which it was first recognised. Historically, however, the evidence that holiness is an attribute of the object of worship is neither so early nor so copious as the evidence that holiness is a relation

bringing the worshipper and his holy things into a new sphere with something worshipped at its centre.

Obviously 'holy and profane,' 'clean and unclean,' is a cross division; holy things and persons are, or may be, as uncleanable for common life as if they were unclean, though, on the other hand, holiness necessarily presupposes and includes cleanness. Again, uncleanness often seems, like holiness, to have something supernatural about it: unclean animals often seem to be 'abominable,' like idols; the uncleanness of the dead, and of women at certain times, is as likely to savour of awe as of disgust.

In historical times clean and unclean beasts are those which are fit or unfit for food rather than for sacrifice.

8. Quadrupeds. The law (cp below, § 113) but the law of clean and unclean animals is puzzling.² The law forbids the eating of quadrupeds to the ordinary Israelite, with the exception of the camel, which is clean on the hygienic point of view. If the law, it must be an observation.

may have noted that camels graze in the pastures of the Israelites, and that they are as fit for food as the other animals. The patriarchs have camels (Gen. 3032), the teraphim have camels (Judg. 188), more horses and camels than oxen and asses (cp GEN. 3032, 3033). The camel is the only of clean (Judg. 188) and the necks of the camels are the only ones of the oldest stratum of the story (Gen. 3032) and the Amalekites escape on camels (Gen. 3032). Camels have always killed and so, then camels, though the meat is not to be eaten and mutton. Possibly the camel was unclean because it was the domestic animal of alien nomads. If so, the rule 'whatsoever divideth the hoof and cheweth the cud shall be clean' may have been settled before the question of eating camels became practical. This question was decided by the observation that the camel does not strictly divide the hoof, or at least rests part of its weight on an unhooved pad.

The express prohibition of eating hares, rock badgers, and swine, as food, is curious. No reason except a possible connection with totemism has yet been suggested why the rock badger was forbidden; and for the prohibition of the hare we have only guesses—perhaps it is worth while to mention the idea that hare's flesh is unhealthy. The uncleanness of swine is (its height when they are kept in sties and left dirty; but in OT and NT times they seem to have fed in herds out of doors. Compared with sheep and goats, they are fond of mud—but so are buffaloes in modern Palestine, which are not regarded with the same horror as swine. On the other hand, tribes of herdsmen and shepherds have much more in common with each other than with swineherds, and if we are to look for a natural explanation of the abhorrence of swine we may look for it here: the droves of swine of the alien were abominable to the flocks and herds of the Hebrew. As for the actual feeling, whatever its cause, it is significant that in Harran, traditionally the last station of Abraham on his way to Canaan and the land to which Jacob returned, the land where he won his wives and his wealth, swine were sacrificed once a year and eaten only then. A sacrifice which is, for whatever

¹ With regard to sacrifices it is men that are clean or unclean. When men sacrifice of the flock and the herd, only the clean may eat (when Saul misses David at table the first thought that occurs to him is 'he is unclean'); that was the common law till slaughter without sacrifice was allowed in D in the interest of the one sanctuary. Of game, on the other hand, of the roebuck and the hare the clean and the unclean may eat alike—though possibly there is a trace of a blood-offering by hunters in the rule in H (Lev. 1713) that the blood is to be not simply poured out but covered with earth—a prescription which might be either a survival or a development.

² [Cp Dr. DE. 164 WRS OT/C² 366; Now. H. I. 116 f.]

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reason, rate, is also mysterious, awful, and potent. Dogs too were sacred in Harran; and both swine and dogs seem to figure in the profane sacrifices of Is. 65 and 66.¹ See Doi, § 4.

Whatever the reason for the express prohibition of camels, hares, rock badgers, and swine, the prohibition is as old as any part of the law which we can trace; but the list of prohibited animals in Lev. 11 29 ff. (P) has integral relation to the rest of the law; the weasel, the mouse, and different kinds of lizards are 'the uncleanest with you of swarming things'; except dry sowing seed, everything that comes into contact with their carcase is unclean.

The rule is meant to work; one of these abominations does not defile a whole cistern or fountain; every earthenware vessel which they touch is to be broken; other vessels are to be washed in water and to be unclean until even; the water which washes the vessels pollutes all meat on which it falls; any drink in the polluted vessels is of course unclean.

Two questions arise: Why should people wish to eat weasels, mice, and different kinds of lizards? and why are these charged with special uncleanness? The traditional answer to the second is that they are in a sense domestic vermin which hunt houses and are always getting into whatever is stored there, and so are worse than vermin out of doors; but, as most commentators think that one of the lizards enumerated is an iguana or a land crocodile 3 or 4 ft. long (see LIZARD [1]), the explanation has to bear a heavy strain. If Robertson Smith's theory of totemism is established, much will become clear.² The elders of Israel who worshipped 'creeping things' in 'chambers of imagery' (Ezek. 8 10 ff.) made it necessary to cultivate a special religious horror of their low-class totems; they were at the same stage as the Harranians, who are said to have worshipped field mice. Indications of high class totems, however, are not wanting; see LEOPARD, WOLF.

There is neither a category nor a list of clean birds; of the unclean, as enumerated, most are uncleanable.

9. Birds. Either birds of prey or feeders on carrion. The lawing is especially forbidden; the only possible reason yet discovered is that it haunts marshy places and that its flesh has sometimes a bad smell. Nothing is said one way or other of doves or pigeons, — which is remarkable, as they do not appear at Solomon's table, and, though they are the only birds which, as far as we know, were sacrificed, they were used for sacrifices of which the worshipper at least did not eat. In Syria, at any rate, they were always associated with the worship of Astarte, and wherever that worship spread to the West, they went with it, and according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 14, 54) none of the worshippers at Hierapolis ventured to eat or touch them — they were too holy, — and whoever touched them was *évayēs* or 'unclean' for a day, and it was a question whether swine were 'holy' or 'abominable.' Probably the question of clean or unclean birds was only of secondary importance; it was not easy to keep ducks or geese; there were no cocks (see COCK) or hens; the 'fowls of heaven' generally appear as feeding on sacrifices or corpses; the 'fowler' (who appears as early as Hos. 9 8) probably caught small birds for the rich.³

The prohibition of 'flying swarming things that go on all fours' looks as if at first it included locusts, the only insects which anybody could wish to eat;

10. Insects. if so, subsequent scribes discovered that, as they leap on their hind legs and do not strictly go on

¹ [See WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 200 ff. Were these sacrificial rites practised by the early Samaritans? Cp. the *Int. Is.* p. 2.]

² [Cp. Stadel, *Ph. LZG* 1896, n. 1, col. 10, who remarks against Nowack that 'W. R. Smith's hypothesis has the special merit of explaining why certain animals are sacred, and why certain kinds of flesh may not be eaten. The theory that these animals were regarded as the property of the Godhead only throws the question back. For how came people to embrace such a remarkable theory?' For Nowack's view see his *H. I.* 1 181.]

³ [See FOWL, § 1. In 1 S. 24 20, if the text is right, partridge-hunting seems to be beneath the dignity of a king. See PARTRIDGE.]

all fours, they might be eaten in all stages of their growth.

The law of aquatic food is clear: 'whatever hath fins and scales' is clean; this limits the dietary to true fishes,

11. Fish. and, among these, excludes eels and shads, — popular and common articles of food in Egypt, Greece, and Italy. According to Pliny (*IV* 88 xii. 104), Numa thought fish without scales unfit for funeral banquets; Planktū Meri-Amen thought well of a king of Lower Egypt who ate no fish; according to Lucian (*Dea Syria*, 54), fish in general is forbidden food. The Law knows nothing of sacrificial fish. Perhaps the prohibition of fish was general, and the permission of what had fins and scales an exception; see FISH, § 8 ff. There is certainly a tendency to identify what is clean and what is fit for sacrifice. Thus Hosea (9 4) regards food eaten

12. Plants. out of the land of Israel as unclean, because it cannot be purified by acceptable sacrifice to the God of Israel; in Amos 7 17 a foreign land is polluted for the same reason — and in II the fruit of all trees is to be unencumbered the first three years (*i.e.*, the fruit is to be picked off as fast as it forms while the trees are establishing themselves); for the fourth year the whole crop is to be holy to praise Yahwe withal (*i.e.*, to be used for sacrificial feasts). There is no distinction anywhere between clean and unclean herbs; the first fruits of all are to be offered, though only corn and wine and oil figure in sacrifice. In P (Gen. 1 29) every herb

13. Different periods. and tree that yieldeth seed is given for meat from the first; so after the flood is all animal food; as sacrifice was instituted (according to P) for the first time at Sinai, the distinction between clean and unclean animals was still in abeyance. The distinction between clean and sacrificial animals, which is presupposed throughout D is perhaps to be explained by the transition from the nomadic state. If Levi the sacred tribe be a metonymic formed from Leah the wild cow, wild animals must have been sacred once (see 1 10).

The Law of clean and unclean meats obtained special prominence in the Greek period; the first proof of the religious fidelity of Daniel and his companions is their resolution not to defile themselves with the king's meat; when Antiochus Epiphanes resolved to abolish 'Jewish particularism' eating swine's flesh was the test of conformity. If we go back fifty or seventy years, Joseph, the enterprising revenue farmer, whom his namesake idealised (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 1 10) as Machiavelli did Caesar Borgia, had clearly no scruple of the kind; ² yet even he, though his kindred in the next generation (*ib.* 5 6) were prominent on the heathen side and he himself fell in love with a pagan (*ib.* 8), was heartily thankful when his own niece was substituted for her in order to save him from polluting his seed among the heathen. A psalmist (see Ps. 111), who still instinctively draws his imagery from a time before the institution or revival of the evening burnt sacrifice, may be an older witness for the view (hardly to be traced in Ezra or Nehemiah) that the Law of clean and unclean meats is given to separate Israel from the heathen; he appears to be thinking simply of fellowship at the table, not, like the author of Is. 65, of sacrificial communion. If so, a Maccabean editor may have revived a psalm which suited the times. Probably older psalms from 1 S onwards lay the stress rather on cleanness of hands and innocence; in Is. 65 the unclean lips of prophets and people are generally explained as relating to sins of speech, after the analogy of Zeph. 3 4 13. After the destruction of the temple, and still more after Palestine ceased to be the centre of Jewish life, the law of clean and unclean was less zealously observed, though portions of it prove still

¹ Observe that in P's account of the deluge there is no distinction between clean and unclean beasts (1 1 20), § 12 3.

² His son Hyrcanus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 6) is the first person we know of whom they tell the story of the wise man whose place at the king's board is piled with bones by envious detractors.

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to be of considerable sanitary value. See FOOT, § 10 ff.

Human uncleanness¹ is of two kinds. It may arise from external contact, or from something in the man or woman who is unclean. The uncleanness of death falls under both; the dead is unclean and makes others unclean.

14. Human uncleanness.

Diseases like leprosy or issues, natural processes like menstruation and probably copulation, cause uncleanness too. If, as Wellhausen holds (*JH* 151; but cp *JH* 108), Lev. 12 implies Lev. 15, the law of uncleanness after childbearing might be an extension by analogy of the older law of the uncleanness of menstruation.² If so, as the Vendidad has much to say respecting the uncleanness of childbirth, we might suspect Persian influence; the rather that there is no hint of it in the older Hebrew literature, while the 'menstruous cloth' appears (Is. 30.22) in a passage still generally assigned to the Assyrian period. Cp LAMITY, § 11.

Perhaps a common element in all cases of uncleanness not caused by external contact is that the unclean in some way is disgusting or alarming. The law of leprosy is not to be explained from the risk of contagion; ordinary sickness, even pestilence, does not occasion uncleanness; the leper is 'unclean' because he is smitten of God, just as the madman in Moslem countries is 'holy,' and epilepsy was the *tepa poros* in Greece. In general, persons who are in a state to make ordinary people shunk from them, because their neighbourhood is uncomfortable or terrifying, are unclean.

Casual uncleanness, according to P in its final state, does not require an offering for its removal. It is enough to observe the prescribed term of seclusion, generally 'until the even,' and the prescribed washing; if either

15. Purification.

be neglected and the unclean negligently or ignorantly intrude among the clean, a 'sin-offering' is necessary. This is Dillmann's inference from Lev. 5.2. According to Nu. 5.2, the unclean is excluded not only from 'the congregation,' but also from 'the camp,' i.e., not only from the temple, but also from, at any rate, walled towns. No offering is prescribed for the menstruous woman; but after childbirth and after issues a 'sin-offering' is prescribed, whilst the leper has also to bring a 'trespass' offering before he can come into 'the congregation,' though he is admitted to 'the camp' after the performance of an (older?) rite with two birds, running water, cedar, hyssop, and scarlet. After he comes into the camp he must still wait several days before he comes to his 'tent.' Here it is hard to doubt that the law has a sanitary purpose; it imposes a short quarantine to make sure that the cure is complete, and not improbably to guard against the hereditary transmission of the disease. The 'trespass' offering of the leper looks like a 'development'; it is necessary to assert expressly that it belongs to the priest (Lev. 14.33); the leper is anointed with the blood and oil of the trespass offering, exactly as Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8.22) are anointed with the blood of the ram of consecration, whose flesh is boiled for Aaron and his sons to eat, while the 'wave breast' falls to Moses as the sacrificer's fee. Possibly the re-consecration of the leper as one of the holy people by sacrificial blood is older than the theory that he was not to eat of the sacrifice. The sin and the burnt-offering prescribed after all the graver kinds of uncleanness are to 'make an atonement,' which may imply that the uncleanness was a penal infliction, though this is nowhere stated. The (older?) rite, which readmits the leper to the camp, is the only one prescribed for the cleansing of a house from the plague of leprosy, whilst

leprosy in a garment, if it ceases to spread, is sufficiently purged by two washings.¹ Much of the rite is still transparent. One of the birds is to be held over an earthen vessel full of living water into which the blood of the dead bird falls; the living bird, the cedar, the scarlet, and the hyssop are to be dipped in the water and blood; the leper who is to be cleansed is to be sprinkled with both; and then the living bird is to fly away with the plague of leprosy, as the women with the wind in their wings (Zech. 5.4) fly away with the wickedness of the land of Israel, or as the goat for Azazel (see AZAZEL) carries away the sin of the congregation into the wilderness. Probably the living bird is dipped in the blood and water to establish a kind of blood brotherhood between it and the leper. If the blood and water were on the leper alone, the release of the living bird might symbolise that he who was hitherto shut up in Israel was now free as the fowls of the air. Living water is, of course, a natural element of all purifications; Hyssop (*JH* 2.1), certainly a popular means of purification (Ps. 51.7 [9]), according to Phry (*JH* XVI, 76) is good for the complexion, and according to others is a saponeaceous herb. What are the cedar and the scarlet for? Cedar wood is aromatic; the bright colour of scarlet may betoken strength and splendour. In the ancient domestic rites of India (*SHR* 30.2-4) children are made to touch gold and *ghae*, that when they grow up they may have riches and food. Remote as the analogy is, we may ask, Is the leper, in virtue of the rite, to dwell in cedar and be clothed with scarlet? See CHADAR.

The cedar, hyssop, and scarlet appear again in the mysterious rite of the Red Heifer whose ashes are used for the water of separation. It had a whole treatise to itself in the Mishna, where its qualifications were elaborated to such a point that at last R. Nism said that no one since the days of Moses had been able to find one fit to be slain. There is an analogous rite in D (*Dr* 21.7). When the land is defiled with blood the ordinary way of putting away bloodguiltiness is to shed the blood of the slayer. If he cannot be found the land is made clean again with the blood of an invoked heifer killed, either by beheading or by breaking the neck (the meaning of the verb *h'ch* is not clear), in a barren valley with a running stream in it, where the elders of the city nearest the place where the dead man is found wash their hands of bloodguiltiness over the heifer. A barren valley is chosen, according to Dillmann, Ewald, and Keil, in order that the polluting blood may not be uncovered and lose its virtue; according to Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* 371), to avoid all risk of contact with sacrosanct flesh. We might ask, Would running water in a fertile valley used for such a rite pollute the fields of offerings? The goat for Azazel is sent into the wilderness. If the heifer is beheaded, her blood is almost certainly intended to 'cover' the blood of the slain. If not, are we to think of Sam's first muster (*JH* 14.7)? Do the elders by implication invoke on themselves the doom of the heifer if their protestation is false? What is the meaning of the obviously popular rite (see COVENANT, § 5) of dividing victims when a covenant is made (Gen. 15.6 [Jer. 31.18 f.]? The rite of the Red Heifer is more general in its intention. Its principal use is not to do away bloodguiltiness, but to cleanse those who are defiled by contact with the dead. Incidentally we learn that it was required for the purification of the vessels of all spoil which will not ate to the fire (Nu. 31.23); and the Levites on their consecration are to be purified by what is probably the same, 'the water of sin' (*JH* 8.7). [Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29. and parallels) are washed at their consecration with common

17. Red Heifer, etc.

Neither of these laws belongs to the main stock of P, though, if they were later developments, we should expect that the cleansing of a house, at any rate, would have required an offering. In D the dedication of a house has all the look of a survival, and was probably accomplished at one time by sacrifice.

¹ Cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 4.2, 44-5.

² According to surviving folklore, many things will not 'keep' if made or handled by a person in a state of Levitical 'uncleanliness.'

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water.] Both texts are late, and represent the views of antiquaries rather than the claims of legists with practical interests to satisfy. The tendency to ascribe the whole law to Moses naturally brought with it an increasing zeal for the oldest rites that could be recollected; it does not follow that the water of separation was invented in or after the Exile, because the occasions for its application were prescribed then. Possibly, as the Persians removed the uncleanness of the dead by elaborate ceremonies with *šmē*, the priests thought that in similar cases water hallowed with the ashes of a cow would be specially efficacious. The law of a purification on the third and the seventh day (Nu. 19:11-13 or 13-16?) looks older than the original law of the Red Heifer, which seems to end at v. 13; in v. 17 ff. we have the rule for its application.

The rite itself is as obscure as its history. For one thing, at every stage its ministers must be clean, and they become unclean by their ministry; the priest who superintends the burning is unclean till the even; so is he who burns; he who collects the ashes (though they must be laid up in a clean place) is unclean; so is he who sprinkles or even touches the water, which is the one means which can make those defiled by contact with the dead clean. Naturally, we suppose that those who were 'unclean' at the stage of the law implied in our records were 'sanctified' at an earlier stage. Twice the heifer (12:9-17) is called a sin-offering. The ritual has interesting analogies with, and differences from, that of other sin-offerings. Like the sin-offering for the priest's own sin, and that for the sin of the congregation, it is to be burnt outside the camp—hide, dung, and all. Unlike them it is to be killed, not in the place of the burnt offering, but without the camp. There is another contrast. The blood and fat of all sin-offerings, including the sin-offerings for priest and congregation and the bullock offered at the consecration of Aaron, is presented in the sanctuary; the blood seems specially used there, as in the ritual of the Day of Atonement, to re-hallow the altar profaned by sin. The heifer's blood is not brought into the sanctuary; it is sprinkled towards it seven times. But for this we might suppose that the uncleanness of death was driven away from the camp or the city and burnt with the heifer; but her blood is hallowing—else why is it sprinkled toward the holy place? Are all these rites compromises between the old custom of worshipping outside the city, which maintained itself as late as David (2 Sam. 15:32), and the new custom of hallowing the city by a sanctuary? As late as the Assyrian period (Is. 33:14, if this be Isaiah's), the close neighbourhood of an ever-burning altar made many uncomfortable.¹ For this reason, among others, the rarer and more solemn sacrifices were still performed outside. Then perhaps the old rite in the old place took on a new meaning. Kings were, as a rule, buried in the city, and it was customary (Jer. 34:5) to make a burning for them.² In 2 Ch. 16:14 we read of a very great burning for Asa; the Chronicler, who may be quoting a relatively old authority, thinks of perfumes, at which Jeremiah does not hint. Were valuables burnt in honour of kings? Have the cedar, the hyssop, and the scarlet burnt with the heifer any analogy to such burnings? Is the putting away of the heifer with something of a royal funeral an almost unconscious reminiscence of a well-nigh forgotten cultus of sacred animals? Is the red heifer the last trace of a cow goddess (see CAUL, GOLDEN)? There are, of course, many instances of mortal representations of the Godhead, honoured for a time, and then ceremoniously put away. In any case, the efficacy of the heifer's ashes seems to lie in the fact that they reconsecrate rather than purge the unclean. All Israel were originally hallowed (Ex. 24:8 JE) by the

¹ Have we a trace of the same feeling in Is. 33:10? Is not a fenced city on God's Holy Hill at once superfluous when God delivers his people, and also in some sense profane?
² Cp. *Abodah Zarah*, 13 and the Gemara.

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blood of the covenant; so the priests are hallowed by the blood of the 'fill offering'; so the blood of the atonement re-hallows the holy place and the altar that has been profaned; so the leper is re-hallowed after his uncleanness with blood, and the ashes of a peculiar sin-offering serve the same end. On the other hand, water and fire (except in Is. 65 ff.) seem simply to remove external pollutions, not to renew communion with a holy life. Robertson Smith (*Kinship* [83], *Rel. Sem.* [94]), and Wellhausen (*Reite Arab. Heid.* [37]) are the best authorities for the Semite world. The subject is best studied from a comparative point of view, for which Frazer's *Golden Bough* (90) is indispensable. The critical treatment of the subject is of recent growth and is capable of further development. Cp. I. C. Moulton, 'The begripnen reit en omen in het O.T.' *Th. T. Tijdschr.* 1931, 1, 20. The only earlier work of importance is Spencer's *The Levitical Hebrew Ritual* (Cambridge 1727)—see Robertson Smith's estimate in *Rel. Sem.* [25] p. vi.

18. Literature. The critical treatment of the subject is of recent growth and is capable of further development. Cp. I. C. Moulton, 'The begripnen reit en omen in het O.T.' *Th. T. Tijdschr.* 1931, 1, 20. The only earlier work of importance is Spencer's *The Levitical Hebrew Ritual* (Cambridge 1727)—see Robertson Smith's estimate in *Rel. Sem.* [25] p. vi.

CLEMENT (ΚΛΗΜΕΝΣ [Ti. W11]), a Philippian Christian who had taken an active part in building up the church at Philippi, in which he had the co-operation of Enoch and Sentyche (Phil. 4:3). In the allusion to him there is nothing to imply that he was a companion of Paul in his journeyings, or to justify his traditional identification (in the Western Church) with the Roman Clement.

In the list of the 'seventy disciples' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is spoken of as having been the first of the Gentiles and Greeks to believe in Christ, and as having afterwards become bishop of Sardica. The Pseudo-Hippolytus has Sardina, for which, however, we should probably read sardica.

CLEOPAS (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΣ [Ti. W11], abbrev. from ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ), according to Lk. 24:18 the name of one of the two disciples who accompanied the risen Jesus to Emmaus. The narrative in question, however, is one of the latest of those which attached themselves to the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus. Paul, who had spent fifteen days in the society of Peter (Gal. 1:18) and was strongly interested in establishing the fact of the resurrection, knows nothing of it. By *εἶρα . . . ἐπειρα . . . ἐπειρα . . . εἶρα . . . ὁμοῦ* of 1 Cor. 15:8 he unquestionably intends to enumerate exhaustively all the appearances of the risen Lord which were known to him; and he had the most urgent occasion to do so, for the resurrection of Jesus had been brought in question at Corinth. The narrative of the third evangelist conveys in a highly concrete form the thought that it is from Jesus himself we receive the knowledge that his Passion and Resurrection had been foretold by Moses and all the prophets (24:25-27). In reality, however, this conviction must have been gradually reached as the result of a prolonged and ever-deepening study of the OT by the whole church. That it is in the Eucharist that his presence is made known to the church is, in like manner, an experience still renewed in every renewal of the act. Here too, accordingly, the thought, that in the person of Christ as experienced in the sacrament which commemorates his death we have our most convincing assurance that he truly lives, finds concrete expression.

After what has been said, it becomes a question whether Cleopas is a historical person at all, though there is nothing in the mere name to suggest that he is not. There is no sufficient ground, philological or other, for regarding him as a veiled representation of the apostle Paul.

Several MSS of the Itala and Vg., as also the Coptic and the Armenian versions, read ΚΛΕΩΠΑΣ or ΚΛΕΩΠΑΣ in Jn. 19:3 also; but if this were the original reading, the substitution of the more difficult form ΚΛΩΠΑΣ would be incomprehensible. For the evidence that different persons are intended in Jn. and in Lk., and that the confusion of the two is due to later writers, see CLEOPAS, § 5 f.

CLEOPATRA (ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ [ANV]), i. sister and wife of Ptolemy Philometor, Est. 111.

¹ RV 'Then . . . then . . . then . . . then . . . last of all' and AV 'then . . . after that . . . after that . . . then . . . last of all'.

CLEOPHAS

2. Daughter of no. 1 (1 Macc. 10:57); see PROTHYMIS.

CLEOPHAS (κλωπᾶς [Ti.WH]). Jn. 19:25 AVF, AV¹⁹²⁵ and RV Clotas (q.v.).

CLOAK (CLOKE).

For *ῥάβδος*, *rod*, in Ls. 50:17 see TENTE. In this passage the *rod* was a military over-garment, and cloak well expresses this.

For *ῥάβδος* (see especially Mt. 5:40; in Jn. 19:25, AV 'robe,' RV 'garment'), the outside mantle (*paludamentum*), as distinguished from the *χιτών* or *tunic*, representing the Hebrew *kuttoneth*, see MANTLE.

Other garments rendered cloak are the Macedonian *λαμός*, or military cloak of 2 Macc. 12:15, RV (Cosa' AV), and the *φελανς*, or travelling cloak of 2 Tim. 4:13. See MANTLE.

CLOPAS (κλωπᾶς [Ti.WH]). This name cannot be derived from the same Hebrew (Aramaic) word as ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ.

In the first place, the vocalisation is not the same: Clotas would require some such form as *ῥάβδος*, while Alphaeus pre-

1. Name supposed *ῥάβδος* or *ῥάβδος* (see ΑΛΦΑΙΟΣ). In the second place, as regards *ρ*, all that is certainly known is that it becomes *κ* at the end and in the middle of certain words (2 Ch. 30:1 Neh. 3:6 [φασίς], Gen. 22:1 [φασίς], Josh. 10:6 [φασίς]). True, it has been conjectured that the same holds good at the beginning of words (H. Lewis, *The Sem. Frontiers in Greek*, 1895, pp. 37-47, 51-110, 119-137; add, conversely, *ῥάβδος* as transliteration of *κλωπᾶς*). This hardly comes into consideration, however, in the present case, for a Hebrew (or Aramaic) derivation is never probable in the case of a word beginning with two consonants. In Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, initial *ῥ* is always represented by a full vowel (e.g., *ῥαββί*, *ῥαββί*); the opposite instances given by Lewis (11:3, 34, 45, 54, 59, 69, 78, 105, 118, 122, 129, 206, 211, 246, 247) are more or less doubtful, and relate to words which were susceptible of such a modification in the transliteration as was hardly possible in the case of biblical proper names. Further, the Syrian versions of the NT betray no consciousness that both names are derived from a common Semitic source: with them the initial letter of *αλφαιος* is always *η* (or *κ*), of *κλωπᾶς* invariably *ρ*.

It is not likely that *κλωπᾶς* is derived by metathesis from *κρῖν* ('chib'); nor is there the least certainty that *κλωπᾶς* is a contraction from *κλωπᾶς*.

On purely Greek soil, at any rate, *κλωπᾶς* when contracted would become either *κλωπᾶς* (e.g., *κλεικρῆς*, especially in Doric) or *κλωπᾶς* (as *θεοδωρος* becomes *θωδωρος*; see Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. attischen Dialect.* § 19, and cp. THEODOROS). At the same time, the contraction of *κλωπᾶς* into *κλωπᾶς* must be admitted to be at least possible, inasmuch as we know of no Greek word from which the syllable *κλωπᾶς* can come. In this case the original form of the name will be *κλωπᾶς*. For this reason, the accentuation *κλωπᾶς* is preferable to *κλωπᾶς*, especially as the accent is allowed to retain its original place in *κλωπᾶς*.

In Jn. 19:25, the only place where the name occurs in NT, Clotas is mentioned as somehow related to a certain Mary.

2. **Mary of Clotas probably not = Jesus' mother's sister.** Hegesippus (Eus. *HE* III. 11:32-6 iv. 22:4) informs us that Clotas was the brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Whether this is the Clotas referred to in Jn. 19:25 depends, in the first instance, on the answer to the question, who is intended by the 'Mary of Clotas' there. As there is no 'and' before her name, she would seem to be

CLOPAS

identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus who has been referred to immediately before, but it is quite improbable that two sisters alive at the same time should have borne the same name, at least in a plebeian family.

With a royal house the case is somewhat different. Of the sons of Herod the Great, two who never attained royal dignity bore the name of their father; one by his marriage with the second Mariamne, and one by his marriage with Cleopatra of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 1:1 RV 1:284, § 562). There was, besides, his second son by Malthake, who, however, as far as we know, took the name only as a reigning prince (see Lk. 3:1 and frequently), whilst before his accession he is in Josephus invariably designated by his other name, Antipas. His first son by Malthake, too, whom Josephus always names Archelaus, is called Herod on coins and in Cassius Dio (60:27; 1:180 *Ant.* 6:11 1:375, 1:14, 2:30). Thus the name Herod seems already, to some extent, to have acquired the character of a family name.

If *κλωπᾶς* be the correct reading in Mk. 6:17 (so also in Mt. 13:55, though not according to the western group), the son of Mariamne just mentioned, who, in point of fact, was the first husband of Herodias, must have borne the name Philip also, in addition to that of Herod, while at the same time this name, Philip, was borne by his brother, who is known to us from Lk. 8:1 as the tetrarch of N. Palestine. As we are without evidence that the former Herod was called Philip, doubtless we must here conclude that Mk. and Mt. have fallen into an error, which, however, has been avoided by Lk. (8:1).

Again, according to Jos. (*Ant.* xii. 5:1 xv. 3:1 xiv. 6:2), not only Onias III (high priest till 174 B.C., died 171 B.C.) and Jesus (Jason) his successor (high priest 174-171 B.C.), but also Onias (usually known as Menelaus) who came after Jason, were sons of the high priest Simon II (2 Macc. 6:4 4:2), however, which is here very detailed, expressly speaks of Menelaus as brother of a Benjamin, named Simon, whilst the high priest Simon II. was of the tribe of Levi.

It, accordingly, one is determined to hold by the identity of Mary of Clotas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, this must be on the assumption not only that she and the mother of Jesus were not children of the same marriage, but also that they had neither father nor mother in common—that, in fact, each spouse had brought into the new household a daughter by a former marriage, named Mary.

It is no argument to the identity of the two to allege that we are not at liberty to find more women mentioned in Jn. 19:25 than in Mt. 27:56 Mk. 15:41 (16:1) and Lk. 24:10, for John mentions the mother of Jesus, though she does not appear in any of the synoptists. In other words, he did not hold himself bound by what they said, though, according to all scholars, their narratives lay before him.

The only point on which he is distinctly in agreement with them is as to the presence of Mary Magdalene. If we will have it that he enumerates also the Salome of Mark (whose identity with the mother of James and John the sons of Zebedee cannot seriously be doubted), we can find her only in the sister of the mother of Jesus. Mary of Clotas must in that case be distinct from the latter, and may possibly be identical with the Mary who in Mt. is called the mother of James and Josias (or Joseph), in Mk. the mother of James the Less and Josias, or, more briefly, Mary [the mother] of Josias (so 15:47) or Mary of James (so 16:1 and Lk. 24:10). In this case, however, not only is it remarkable that the relationship of the apostles, James the Greater and John, with Jesus—as children of sisters—is nowhere mentioned

1 [The name is possibly the same as the Palm. *ῥάβδος* (Chabot, no. 12). In MH the name 'Cleopatra' usually appears under the form *ῥάβδος*].

2 For a somewhat different account of these relations, see ONIAS.

Mt. 27:56	Mk. 15:40	Mk. 16:1	Lk. 23:49	Lk. 24:10	Jn. 19:25
(At the cross.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)	(At the sepulchre.)	(At the cross.)
Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary Magdalene.	παῖδες οἱ γυναικῶν αὐτῆς.	Mary Magdalene.	Mary the mother of Jesus.
Mary, the mother of James and Joseph (or Joseph).	Mary, the mother of James the Less and of Josias.	Mary of James.	καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας.	Joanna.	The sister of the mother of Jesus.
The mother of the sons of Zebedee.	Salome.	Salome.		Mary of James.	Mary Magdalene.

or in any way alluded to; but also it is almost unthinkable that the fourth evangelist presupposes the presence of the mother of John when in 19:25 he proceeds: 'when Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith, etc.' As far as the fourth evangelist is concerned, this scene furnishes a clear motive for thinking not only of the mother of Jesus as present, but also of the mother of John as absent. Lk. 24:13 (at the sepulchre) puts in the place of the mother of John a certain Joanna. It, as he often does, the fourth evangelist is here taking Lk. rather than Mt. or Mk. for his guide, it would be impossible to identify Mary of Clopas with the sister of the mother of Jesus, whose name on this assumption must be taken to be Joanna. It is certain, however, that in Lk. this Joanna is identical with the Joanna who is mentioned in 8:1 as the wife of a certain Chuza and not stated to have been related to the mother of Jesus. Thus we may take it that it was not she, any more than any of the others, that was intended by the fourth evangelist, and that most probably his reason for mentioning the sister of the mother of Jesus is that, according to Lk. 23:49, 'all his acquaintances' (γυναικες) are standing by the cross. There is no evidence of any allegorising intention that he could have had in the enumeration of these four (or three) women. Apart from the mother of Jesus and her sister, therefore, the names of the women seem simply to have been taken over from the Synoptists.

Who was the mother of James and Joseph, with whom, according to this view, Mary of Clopas would have to be identified?

3. Clopas = Alphæus?

It is supposed to be the second James in the list of the apostles. With this it seems to agree that Mk. calls him James the Less. Now, this James was a son of Alphæus. Thus Alphæus would appear to be the husband of the Mary mentioned by the Synoptists as present at the cross. From this it is not unusual to proceed to the further combination that in Jn. Clopas is named as the husband of Mary and that he is identical with Alphæus. Philologically the names are distinct (see above, § 1); but the identification is possible if, according to a not uncommon Jewish custom (Acts 13:12; 13:16; Col. 4:10), Clopas had two names. A further step is to bring in at this point the statement of Hegesippus that Clopas was a brother of Joseph the father of Jesus. Over and above this, many proceed to the assumption—shown above (§ 2) to be untenable—that his wife Mary was identical with the sister of the mother of Jesus.

In this case two brothers would have married two sisters, and the second James in the list of apostles would be a cousin of Jesus, and that both on the father's and on the mother's side. Even, however, if we regard Mary of Clopas as a different person from the sister of the mother of Jesus, her son, the second James, as long as he is regarded as the son of Clopas the uncle of Jesus, remains a cousin of Jesus, whilst, according to the identification of the sister of the mother of Jesus with the wife of Zebedee (spoken of above, § 2), this honour would belong rather to the first James and John the sons of Zebedee as being sons of the aunt of Jesus.

The next question that arises is, Who was Joseph, the second son of Mary, according to the Synoptists?

4. The sons of Mary = Brothers of Jesus?

In Mk. 6:3 a Joseph is named, along with James, Judas, and Simon, amongst the brethren of Jesus. This has given occasion for crowning the series of combinations which has been already explained, and completing it with a hypothesis whereby it becomes possible to deny the existence of literal brethren of Jesus, and to affirm the perpetual virginity of his mother. Once it is admitted that James and Joseph were sons of Clopas (= Alphæus) and if Mary his wife, the same seems to be of good of all the 'brethren of Jesus'. In that case they would be 'brethren of Jesus' only in the sense in which 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) is used instead of ἀνέτεροι (children of two brothers or sisters) in 2 Co. 13:12 (cp. 17:13).

Finally, to this is added, not as a necessary but as a welcome completion of the hypothesis, the suggestion that of the 'brethren of Jesus' not only James but also Simon and Judas were among the apostles.

Both names, in point of fact, occur, at least in Lk. 6:15 & Acts 1:13 (Simon alone in Mk. 3:18 & Mt. 10:4). With regard to Joseph, the fourth of the 'brethren of Jesus', and having in mind (bearing out the same hypothesis) that it was he who, according to Acts 13:27, was nominated (though not chosen) as successor to the vacant place of Judas Iscariot. It is true that all the better authorities here read Joseph, not Joseph (see BARSABAS); but, on the other hand, this reading being accepted, it can be pointed out that according to the better MSS (at least in Mt. 13:55) Joseph, not as in Mk. 6:3 Joseph, is the name of the fourth 'brother' of Jesus.

This whole identification of the 'brethren of Jesus' with apostles or aspirants to the apostleship, however, is quite untenable. According to Mk. 3:23 & Mt. 12:46-7, Lk. 8:19 & Jn. 7:5, the brethren of Jesus disbelieved his Messiahship while he was alive, and in Acts 1:14 & Cor. 9:5 they are distinctly separated from the apostles.

Even if we give up the identification with apostles, Mary cannot be the mother of the cousins of Jesus.

Had she then so related to Jesus, Mt. and Mk., in seeking to indicate her with precision, would have named not two sons but four; or rather they would have mentioned no names at all, but simply said 'the mother of the cousins of Jesus'. Moreover, it is only of Symeon, the second 'bishop' of Jerusalem, that Hegesippus says he was son of Clopas and cousin of Jesus. If Hegesippus had regarded the four 'brethren of Jesus' as his cousins, he would surely have designated Symeon's predecessor also (James the 'brother' of Jesus) as son of Clopas, and Symeon himself, by whom in this case the Simon of Mk. 6:3 & Mt. 13:55 would be meant, he would have designated as brother of James. This, however, is what he does not do; he calls James simply 'the Just' (ὁ δίκαιος), and says (Eus. *HE* iii. 32) that men 'of the race of the Lord' (ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου) had presided over the church (in Palestine) in peace until Symeon the son of Clopas, the uncle of Jesus, was arraigned and crucified; cp. iii. 20:4.

Lastly, it is idle to deny the existence of actual 'brethren of Jesus': that is distinctly vouched for by the πρωτοτοκον of Lk. 2:7—an expression all the weightier because it has been already suppressed in Mt. 1:25.

If James and Joseph, the sons of Mary according to the synoptists, are thus no cousins of Jesus, we could all the more readily believe that they were really apostles or at least constant companions (Acts 1:2) of Jesus.

Such an assumption, however, is not borne out by a single hint, and at the stage of the discussion we have now reached it has no more interest than the other which makes Clopas identical with Alphæus and regards him as the husband of Mary.

The Mary in question, we are forced to conclude, was simply a woman not known otherwise than as the mother of a James and a Joseph. Why is it, then, that the fourth evangelist designates her, not by reference to these sons of hers, but by calling her 'of Clopas'? That he here intends the Clopas of Lk. 24:13 is quite imputable (see CLOPAS); but neither is it likely that he can have meant a man named Clopas who was wholly unknown to his readers. His allusion must rather have been to the Clopas whom we know from Hegesippus as the brother of Joseph. There is no trace of any allegorising intention in this; we may take it that the evangelist is following tradition. It is possible, therefore, that Clopas was the husband of Mary, in which case James and Joseph are cousins of Jesus, but not to be identified with his brothers of the same name, nor yet with the apostle James and the Joseph (or Joseph) Barsabas of Acts 1:23. It is more probable, however, if the prevailing

¹ In Eus. *HE* iii. 20:1 Hegesippus speaks of οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου ἰσχυροὶ, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ σάρκα λεγόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοί; and in iv. 22:4 he says that ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ [Jesus] Σωτήρ οὗτος Κλωπᾶς ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου δευτέρου. Inasmuch as he does not regard James as ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, as has been shown, the words δευτέρου and λεγόμενοι can mean only that in regard to Symeon as 'cousin' and Jude as 'brother' of Jesus he is, in a technical sense, 'Hebrew', then, to favour the assumption of the πατέρα of Mt. 13:55 at Jesus' birth. All the more remarkable is it that he does not yet seem to have drawn the further consequence of designating other sons to her. His statement that Clopas was the uncle of Jesus, therefore, does not proceed upon any such theory as that in favour of which it has (as we have seen) been applied, and therefore in respect of trustworthiness is open to no objection.

CLOTH, CLOTHING

avay loquendi is to be taken as a guide, that Cleopas is designated as the *father* of Mary. In this case it is Mary herself who is the cousin of Jesus. In either case it is remarkable that in the synoptists she should be characterised not by her relationship to Jesus, but simply by mention of her sons; and this on the assumption that it is the uncle of Jesus who is intended, suggests a doubt as to whether the mention of Cleopas in this connection is correct.

The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, following a combination mentioned above (§ 4), for the most part identify Symeon, son of Joseph, with the second bishop of Jerusalem, spoken of by Hegesippus, with the apostle Symeon the Cananean (AV, the Zebedee), who gave him in addition the name of Indas, and who some make the name of Isathier his own proper name, as, but in the form of Leopros of Cephalos, so that he is identified also with the disciple mentioned in Lk. 24: 35. He is at the same time enumerated among 'the Seventy' of Lk. 10: 1 (Ephesus, *Isakros*, *Agathos* in 2: 142 f.). According to the *Travels and Habits* (ed. Bezold, 1888, p. 269, § 5; see *Index*), ed. Payne-Smith, col. 2, p. 1, a Syrian collection of legends dating to the sixth century, he was brother not only of Nicodemus a sinner mentioned in the apoc. Indas, also in Latin list of apostles given in Ephesus, 1: 69 f., but also of Joseph of Arimathea (Lk. 24: 54).

CLOTH, CLOTHING.

CLOTH, CLOTHING. On these and many more
see generally, Dress, &c.

The waws are used with considerable looseness and frequently interchange with others of similar value. 'w' (and 'clothes') occasionally render 'v' (Ex. 8, § 19, in מִכְשֵׁי (MANTEL), also once מִכְשֵׁי, 2 K. 5, AV. (for § 1) for *garment*, Mt. 27, 5, see LXXES. 'Clo' (denoting material or fabric) is found only in 1sth. 1, 1 K. 22. 'For' (cloths of service) (Ex. 24, etc., AV. מִכְשֵׁי מִכְשֵׁי) see DIES § 14. For 'striped cloths' (Pr. 7, RV, מִכְשֵׁי) see LXXES. RV prefers 'cloths' in 1 K. 27, 5 (מִכְשֵׁי) 1 K. 24, 1 (*undergarment*) where AV has 'clothes' and 'clothes' to 'garment' in Gen. 49, 15. AV מִכְשֵׁי, RV 'vestments', 1 S. 4, 1 V. מִכְשֵׁי, Ezek. 37, 4. AV מִכְשֵׁי, RV 'wrappings', see DIES, § 14, b. 1 Thim. 2 is used to render the general terms מִכְשֵׁי (Job 24, 1 מִכְשֵׁי (6, 22) RV, מִכְשֵׁי (1, 23) RV, מִכְשֵׁי (6, 15, 1), as well as the specific מִכְשֵׁי (1, 3) (MANTEL).

CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עֶלֶם עֶלְמָה). Exod. 13:21
see PILLAR OF CLOUD.

CLUB (ἄνθη, *t. thah*; ὄφρα Job 41²⁹ [21] RV, AV 'dart'). Read *tutrah* 'javelin,' and see **WEAVERS**.

CNIDUS (ΚΝΙΔΟΣ [c. ANV: 14 WH]), a city on Cape Crio (anc. Troipum) in the extreme SW. of Asia Minor between Cos and Rhodes. It was originally built upon the rocky island (ἡ νῆσος ἐν ᾗ ἀεὶ παρῳεῖται, Strabo, 656) forming the cape, united to the mainland by a causeway — thus making two harbours, one on the N and the other on the S. of the isthmus (cp Mitylene and Myndus).

The inhabitants soon spread eastwards over the neighbouring part of the peninsula. The moles of the large south port are still in existence, as well as much of the ancient city. The situation of Cnidus was eminently favourable to its development as a commercial and naval power; but, curiously like Cos in this respect, it played no part as a naval state – probably owing to the repressive influence of Rhodes.

The commercial importance of the city was inevitable. It lies upon the maritime highway (cp. Thuc. 8.35, πῶς Ἰσθμίου τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδὰς ἀπὸς προσηλασμένους ἐν Λαλασίαν). Very early it had trade with Egypt and shared in the Hellenism at Naucratis (Herod. 2.17). At least as early as the second century B.C. Cinchus had attracted Jewish settlers, for in a Macc. 15.2 it appears in the list of places to which the circular letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (*min.* 130-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. Paul must have passed the city on his way to Caesarea (Acts 21.6 f.); but a name occurs only in Acts 27.1: Ἰσθμίουσιτες καὶ μὲν ἡγεμὲνος κατὰ τὴν Κίον) after Myra had been

¹ For כְּסֵם כְּסֵם (Gra. reads כְּסֵם כְּסֵם; but we should probably emend to כְּסֵם כְּסֵם 'with young suhirs' (Horse, Mt. Kaim, § 2 a end)); כְּסֵם became כְּסֵם and from there transposition and confusion of letters כְּסֵם easily arose (Ch.

COAL

passed, on the voyage to Rome. The continuous NW. (Etesian) winds had made the voyage over the 130 m. between Myra and Cnidus tedious; and rendered the direct course from Cnidus, by the N. side of Crete, impossible (αὐτὴ προσιώτερος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου).

The wings of the Catfish, especially the kind called *Protipops*,
excellently produced in Asia (Str., 67). The best claim of the
city to her own waters is in the pneumatic activity of its inhabitants
and their encouragement of it. They possessed, at the last cen-
tury, two pictures by Polygnotus (middle of fifth century B.
C. Plin., 4. 25. 74). They bought the Aphrodite of Praxiteles (this
master's own, *quoniam ad videndum in munda magna erant custodita*;
Plin., *H.N.* 36. 54); the Colchian, so peculiarly worshipped Aphro-
dite, Plin., 1. 1. 3. In addition, they had works by Craxus and
other artists, and a statue of Craxus, the physician and
historian, Agadarchides, and Soteris, the architect who built
the Theatre of Alexandria, all belonging to Cleopatra (Plin., *l.c.*
67).

For plan and views of the remains of Newton's *fast*, cf. *The Village at Harvard*, and, etc., 1928, pp. 104-15 and 156-57; also pp. 104-15 and 217 f. W. J. W.

COACH (23), 15, 662. *AV* 100. See **FATHER**

COAL The coal of OF and NF is undoubtedly charcoal. A piece of black charcoal was termed *carb. f. carb.*

1 Terms. cp. perh. Ass. *pēntu* [or *pēmba**] 'fire' (Prov. 26:21 [ḫṣṣapā], Is. 41:13, 54:16 [āthapāḫ; *cawā*]; pieces in process of combustion, 'fire coals', 2777, 2777; [gahhēlāth, *sehlāam*, cp. Arabic] 'to glow, and perh. Ass. *gē'lu* 'a shining precious stone', *āthapā*; *pramā*, and often, more processively, 28 777 (coals of fire, Lev. 16:2 etc. In this district, which is not uniformly observed (p. 1, 41, 54), lies the point of the vivid comparison Prov. 26:21 (RV) 'as coals are to hot embers', etc.

[illegible]

The Hebrews doubtless used timber as great variety of woods as the modern Syrians now use.

2 Fuel. Most of the fuel used in the country is obtained from the following sources: (1) The burning of coals of lignum (עֵצִים) a desert shrub which, when reduced to charcoal, throws out an intense heat (on the text see Lk 12:40). (2) The references to thorns as fuel (סִבְכָּה , סִבְכִּי) are many. A particular mention is made of the buckthorn or perhaps brambles (עֲגֹרֶת Ps. 58: [1] of chaff + chopped straw (חִלְבָּה), the refuse of the threshing-floor (Mt. 13:30) and of wasted herbage (Mt. 6:9 Lk 12:28). At the present time the favorite fuel of the Bedouin is the dung of camels, cows (cf. Ezek 4:13 asses etc.), which is carefully collected, and after being mixed with חִלְבָּה or chopped straw, is made into flat cakes, which are dried and stored for the winter's use. We may assume that this sort of fuel was not so much required before the comparative depopulation of the country. Though Ezek. 12-13 certainly suggests that it was not altogether unknown.

The charcoal was burned in a brazier (גִּזְיָה Jer. 36. 7; AV 'hearth' RV 'brazier') or chafing-dish (גִּזְיָה Jer. 36. 7; AV 'hearth' RV 'brazier') or chafing-dish (גִּזְיָה Jer. 36. 7; AV 'hearth' RV 'brazier').

3. The hearth. Zech, 126, RV^{ms} (in a fire), = at least in the houses of the wealthy. The fire of coals (*anthracina*) at which Peter warmed himself in the high priest's palace was no doubt a fire of charcoal (so RV^{ms}) in a furnace (cf. 18:12 21:9).

1. *ḥṣṣ*, 'colic' (Al. *ḥṣṣ* 200) is to be taken as a *ḥṣṣ* 'pavement' (cp. *ḥṣṣ* in Cantabrigia), which corresponds Al. *ḥṣṣ* 200. The strange suffix *-ṣṣ* is also in Hr. *ḥṣṣ* 231.

⁴ For the arrangement of a modern Syrian 'hearth,' see Landberg's *Exposition d'Antiques*, 732, 15 (with illustration).

COASTLAND

In the houses of the humbler classes, the hearth (הֶחָרִיץ, only of altar-hearth Lev. 6:2 [9]; mod. Ar. *marḥiḍa*) was probably a mere depression in the floor, the smoke escaping, as best it could, through the door or the latticed window (שַׁחֲמַח, Hos. 13:3, EV 'chimney'). See LATTICE. Chimneys there were none; the AV rendering, 'ere ever the chimneys in Zion were hot' in 4 Esd. 6:4, is based on a corruption of the Latin text (RV 'or ever the foot-stool of Zion was established').

Coal and coals supply a variety of metaphors. Thus 'to quench one's coal' (הִכְבִּית אֶת-חַיְתוֹ 28.147; cp the classical

4. Metaphors. *ῥῶπιον*, and see Dr. *ad loc.*) is a pathetic figure for depriving a person of the privilege of posterity, otherwise expressed as a putting out of one's candle (rather, 'lamp')—Prov. 13:9 etc. To heap 'coals of fire,' or glowing charcoal, on an enemy's head must, it would seem, be to adopt a mode of revenge calculated to awaken the pains of remorse in his breast (Prov. 25:22¹ (MT), Rom. 12:20). Again, 'kindle not the coals of a sinner'—that is, do not stir up his evil passions—is the sage advice of the son of Sirach (Ecclus. 8:1); cp Ecclus. 11:32, 'from a spark of fire a heap of many coals' (*ἀνθρακία*) is kindled, which finds an echo in Job. 35. A. R. S. K.

COASTLAND (Is. 20:6 RV; Is. 11:11 23:26 24:15 30:18 Jer. 25:22 Ezek. 39:6 Dan. 11:18 Zeph. 2:11; RVmg. in Jer. 47:4 'sea coast'); a rendering of *חֹמֶס* (*ḥomes*; EV usually 'isle' or 'island,' AVmg. occasionally 'country' or 'region'). See ISLE.

COAT, an inexact rendering:

(1) Of *חֵטֶם* (see TUNIC) in Gen. 37:3 EV (RVmg. 'long garment'), Ex. 28:4, etc.; (2) of *חֵטֶם* in Lev. 19:19 AV (RV 'robe'; see TUNIC); (3) of *חֵטֶם* in Dan. 3:21 AV (AVmg. 'mantle,' RV 'hosen'; see BROTHERS); (4) of *חֵטֶם* in Mt. 5:40 EV (see TUNIC); (5) of *חֵטֶם* in 2 Macc. 12:35 A (see MANTLE). For 'brothered,' see ENDOUBTEDLY § 1.

COAT OF MAIL occurs as a rendering of *חֵטֶם*, *tahrī* (Ex. 28:32 39:23 RV; AV 'habergeon'), *חֵטֶם*, *ḥayā* (Is. 59:17 RVmg., EV 'breastplate'), and *חֵטֶם*, *ḥayā* (Is. 17:5 EV; see BREASTPLATE).

COCK (ἀλεκτωρ). Mt. 26:34 74. N. 35. 11:30 72 Lk. 22:34 60 Jn. 13:38 18:27. On the 'cock-crowing' (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) spoken of in Mk. 13:35 information is given elsewhere (see DAY, § 4). Mt., Lk., and Jn. speak of only this cock-crowing. The tradition preserved in Mark, on the other hand (though the text in the MSS differs), refers to a second. Thus the cock had completed its journey to Palestine. Its home was in India; thence it came to Babylonia² and Persia. Homer indeed gives *Ἀλεκτωρ* as the name of a man; but Aristophanes (*Av.* 438) considers the cock the 'Persian bird.' To the Jews, too, as well as (presumably) to the Egyptians, it was a Persian bird, even though the Targumic and Talmudic word for cock (*שִׁטְרִי*) may have a Babylonian origin.³

Not improbably we have in Prov. 30:31 a reference to the impression which it produced not so long after its introduction into Palestine. The evidence of the versions⁴ in favour of the rendering 'cock' cannot be regarded lightly, and there is no proof whatever of the sense of 'well got up' for *שִׁטְרִי*, or for the application of the term to the greyhound. The Talmudic *שִׁטְרִי* also certainly means some bird (a kind of raven)⁵ 'The

¹ For another view of this passage, involving an emendation of the text, see Che. *Jew. Kel. Life*, 112, who follows Pickell.

² There is said to be a representation of a cock on a cylinder seal of the reign of Nabonid.

³ So, at least, Homm. l. Hastings' *DB* 1:14.

⁴ *שִׁטְרִי* (216) ἀλεκτωρ ἐνπεριπτωτος ὀφειλάτος ἐφύλατος; similarly Aq., Theod., Quinl., P. h. *שִׁטְרִי*; *gallus succinctus lumbis* (Vg.). Wilchauer (97) speaks inconsistently, but favours the rendering 'cock,' *שִׁטְרִי* may be altered. For 'greyhound' he has nothing to say.

⁵ See the Dicis. of Levy and Jastrow; Rashi here renders 'starling' (cp Syn. *שִׁטְרִי* *Av. shurur*).

CCELESYRIA

key to the difference of usage is supplied by Ar. *ḡarsara*, 'to make a shrill noise'; hence *ḡarsara* is used in Arabic for both the cricket and the cock. The kindred Hebrew word also might be widely used: (1) for the cock, (2) for the starling. The second element in the phrase *שִׁטְרִי* *שִׁטְרִי* is seemingly a difficulty. The word is no doubt corrupt. Dyscrinck and Gratz would read *שִׁטְרִי*; cp *ἑνπεριπτωτων*. To keep nearer to the Hebrew and to find a more striking phrase, it is better to read *שִׁטְרִי* and render 'the cock who loves to take up a quarrel.' EV rather uncritically gives *GRIV-TOURD* (q.v.); cp Fowl, § 2.

There is a word in Job 38:36 (Vg.) which Vg., the two Targs., and Delitzsch render 'cock' (AV 'heart,' RV 'mind,' mg. 'meteor'). As, however, it is evident that some sky-phenomenon is meant, we should almost certainly read for *שִׁטְרִי*, *שִׁטְרִי*, 'the low star,' to correspond to *שִׁטְרִי* (so read for *שִׁטְרִי*, 'the lance star,' 'The low star is Sirius, the lance star Antares. See Che. *JBL*, 1898. T. R. C.

COCKATRICE is an archaic English word, derived or corrupted from the medieval Lat. *cabatrice* [see the *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v.], but often confounded with 'crocodile'; the form of the word suggested the fable that the animal was hatched by a cock from the egg of a viper. For Pr. 23:32 AV (EVmg. ADDER; RVmg. 'basilisk') and Is. 11:8 59:5 Jer. 8:17 AV (RV 'basilisk,' EVmg. 'or adder'; *שִׁטְרִי*, *ḡarsara*) see SERPENT, § 1 (7). For Is. 14:29 (*שִׁטְרִי*, *ḡarsara*, EV as before, Vg. *regulus*) see SERPENT, § 1 (6). *ḡ* has *ḡarsara* in Is. 59:5 (EV VULG. Heb. *ḡarsara*) and in Ps. 90[91] 11 (EV ADDER, Heb. *ḡarsara*). Horapollo (11) identifies the basilisk with the Egyptian uræus, a golden image of which is the usual ornament of the divine or royal head-dress. Probably this was the kind of serpent meant by *ḡ*; the uræus, being divine, had of course extraordinary powers (see SERPENT, § 1, nos. 6 and 7).

According to Firetère, the cockatrice (cockatrice) is a kind of basilisk which haunts caverns and pits. The name *cabatrice*, however, properly means the ichneumon. Under the *fam* Chalcadri, we find in the Slavonic *Scripta of Isidore* (121 f.), where, however, the writer may be thinking of the crocodile. See CROCODILE. T. R. C.

COCKLE, EVmg., better 'noisome weeds' (*שִׁטְרִי*, *ḡarsara*; *שִׁטְרִי*, *ḡarsara*), Job 31:40. The cognate verb means in Hebrew 'to stink'; but the primary sense of the root, according to Noldeke (*ZDMG* 10:727 [80]), is the more general one of badness or worthlessness. A kindred substantive is *שִׁטְרִי*, 'wild grapes' (Is. 52:4). As *שִׁטְרִי* occurs only once in Hebrew and is unknown to the cognate languages, there is no evidence to justify the identification with a particular plant, such as the 'cockle' of EV; still, as etymology seems to point to some 'stinking weed,' there is something to be said for the suggestion of Sir Joseph Hooker, that perhaps the reference is to the stinking arums.

Several of the arums are plentiful in Syria—e.g., *Arum Dis-cordis*, Sibth., *Arum Palestineum*, Boiss., and species of *Helio-phylum* (cp *Trisram*, *NHB* 439). The ancient versions, in supposing that a thorny plant is intended, were no doubt guided by the parallelism of the verse. The older English Versions use 'cockle' as the rendering of *שִׁטְרִי* in Mt. 13. See TARI.

S. M.—W. T. T.

CCELESYRIA (κοιλή κυπρία [B.M.])—i.e., 'hollow Syria,' first mentioned in 1 Esdras, where (*κοιλή*).

Συρία κ. *κοιλή* represents *שִׁטְרִי* *שִׁטְרִי*, the

1. Name. Aram., equivalent of the Heb. *שִׁטְרִי* *שִׁטְרִי* (cp Ezra 8:36 Neh. 3:7).

The name occurs in 1 Esd. 2:17 24 f. 27 = Ezra 4:10 16 f. 20. 1 Esd. 6:17 27 28. 1 Esd. 7:1 8:7. 1 Esd. 8:1 2. 1 Esd. 9:1 2. 1 Esd. 10:1 2. 1 Esd. 11:1 2. 1 Esd. 12:1 2. 1 Esd. 13:1 2. 1 Esd. 14:1 2. 1 Esd. 15:1 2. 1 Esd. 16:1 2. 1 Esd. 17:1 2. 1 Esd. 18:1 2. 1 Esd. 19:1 2. 1 Esd. 20:1 2. 1 Esd. 21:1 2. 1 Esd. 22:1 2. 1 Esd. 23:1 2. 1 Esd. 24:1 2. 1 Esd. 25:1 2. 1 Esd. 26:1 2. 1 Esd. 27:1 2. 1 Esd. 28:1 2. 1 Esd. 29:1 2. 1 Esd. 30:1 2. 1 Esd. 31:1 2. 1 Esd. 32:1 2. 1 Esd. 33:1 2. 1 Esd. 34:1 2. 1 Esd. 35:1 2. 1 Esd. 36:1 2. 1 Esd. 37:1 2. 1 Esd. 38:1 2. 1 Esd. 39:1 2. 1 Esd. 40:1 2. 1 Esd. 41:1 2. 1 Esd. 42:1 2. 1 Esd. 43:1 2. 1 Esd. 44:1 2. 1 Esd. 45:1 2. 1 Esd. 46:1 2. 1 Esd. 47:1 2. 1 Esd. 48:1 2. 1 Esd. 49:1 2. 1 Esd. 50:1 2. 1 Esd. 51:1 2. 1 Esd. 52:1 2. 1 Esd. 53:1 2. 1 Esd. 54:1 2. 1 Esd. 55:1 2. 1 Esd. 56:1 2. 1 Esd. 57:1 2. 1 Esd. 58:1 2. 1 Esd. 59:1 2. 1 Esd. 60:1 2. 1 Esd. 61:1 2. 1 Esd. 62:1 2. 1 Esd. 63:1 2. 1 Esd. 64:1 2. 1 Esd. 65:1 2. 1 Esd. 66:1 2. 1 Esd. 67:1 2. 1 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COLOSSE

enēpa 7. *war*, in *Ezra* 4.30 [BA]. With this we may compare the *ṣepar* *Ešparow*, which, with *ra* *ṣarw* *ṣar* 'Assac *ṣepar* (Asia Minor, cf. *W. of Taurus*) appears in the famous Gadatas (Description of a War, cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 13.521 (89), 14 n.8; cf. Meyer, *Entst.* 173). The same Aramaic designation is found upon a coin of the Persian period 'Maḏal . . . who is over *ṣar* *ṣar*' (cp. Hal. *Jhd.* *Epf.* 6, 1 f.), and seems to be the origin of the name of the Persian province *Ašpaša* (for another well-supported view, see *AGNES*, § 2). *Ṣar* and *Ašpaša* can in together as one township in the epilogue to the *Indatus* (see *Marq. Hand.* 31 f.). That the Mosaic *ṣar* *ṣar* is to be connected with *ṣar*, *Ašpaša*, though affirmed by Hartmann (*ZfH* 114), Meyer (*ib.* 327), and Marq. (*op. cit.* 74 f., cp. *Entst.* 1), is strenuously denied by Glaser (*cf. ZfH* 7, 1507, 3 f.); see *Hammil. JfH* 324 ff.), who is, however, perhaps too strongly prejudiced in favour of an exceedingly remote date for the ascriptions in question.

Caesarea is, strictly, the designation applied since the time of the Seleucids to the depression between the two Lebanons, otherwise known as the

2. Extent. *biḡ'ah* of Lebanon (cp Josh. 11 17 127), the mod. *Bekī'*; cp LABANUS.² In the Grecian period the term includes all E. Palestine. Thus, according to Josephus (*Ant.* i. 11 5), the seats of the Ammonites and Moabites were in it, and among its towns he mentions Scythopolis and Gadara (*ib.* xiii. 132 f.). In its widest sense it included Raphia (so Polyb. 5 20), and stretched 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt' (*Ant.* xiv. 15). In 1 Esd. and Maccabees (see below) these are its limits; and, roughly used, rather in a political than in a geographical sense, it and Phœnicia constitute the more southerly part of the kingdom of the Seleucids. At this period the districts referred to appear as one fiscal domain, under the suzerainty of one governor (viz. Apollonius [2 Macc. 35] Ptolemy [88] Lysias [10 11]). Under the Romans the term was again restricted, and Caesarea (with Damascus as its capital; cp *Ant.* xiii. 152 *Bt.* 13) was officially separated from Phœnicia and Judaea (*Ant.* xii. 4 1 and 4; Philo, 57). When, therefore, in 47 and 43 B.C., Herod, in command of Caesarea, seems to have possessed no authority over the southern province,

S. A. C.

COFFER (1278), 1 S. 68 in 15†.

Θ. 116: in 7.8 εν θεματι βερεχθαν [B*], -ρησθ. [B¹divit], εν τ.
 εργος [Λ], εν θ. βαερναγ [I.], in 7.11 15, το θεμα εργαθ [B], το θ.
 εργος [Λ], εν θεματι βαερναγ and το θ. βαερναγ [I.]. Λφ. λαριαν
 εν ιθος; Sym. λαπακιον; Jos. γλωσσοκομον. Vg. always
arsellu.

The foreign-looking but really corrupt word *argiz* illustrates the need of a more correct Hebrew text (see TEXT, § 44 f.).

We cannot take the far-fetched etymology of Lag. (*Ullrich*, 85) and Kbo. (*Sam.*, *ad loc.*). The τ probably sprang out of a 'final nün' (η), which was attached as a correction to an ordinary nün—thus $\eta\eta\eta$ (cp. $\eta\eta$ [B]). In this case the 'lover' was thus not distinguished in name from the ark ($\eta\eta\eta$). Or $\eta\eta$ $\theta\eta\eta\eta$ (θ , cp. Ex. 21:1) = $\eta\eta\eta\eta$ —'in a place, may represent the true text; but more probably $\theta\eta\eta\eta$ $\theta\eta\eta\eta$ 'box'. See (e.g. E. J. P. 7, 10:51f. (Aug. 207), and on the narrative which contains the word, see Budde (*S. O. J.*), who carefully separates the interpolations.

COFFIN (гроб, саркоф), Gen. 50:26; also Lk. 7:14
AV¹⁹⁰⁸. See DEAD, § 1.

COHORT (σπειρα), Acts 10:1. See ARMY, § 10; CURNELIUS, § 1.

COLA, RV CIBOLA (ΧΩΛΑ [B], ΚΩ. [A], ΚΕCΙΛΑ [N²], -om, Vg. Svr.), mentioned with BEOTOMESTITAM, BEVAL, and Chohan (see CHORVA),³ as places to which orders were sent to follow up the pursuit of the

¹ It is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I, as lying between Babylonia and Assyria. In another inscription of the class, however, this position is occupied by Arbaya (cf. *Jour. Roy. Asi. Soc.* 1928 [27]).

² On the supposed reference to this valley (rich in heatless rains) in Avn. 15 ('valley of Aven' = *zēn*, cf. Sin), see AVEN, 3. The district is also called Μασσώας (Strabo, 2.16.17, ed. Meineke 1903), or Μασσώα (Polyb. 5.45), a name which may be derived from a hypothetical PIE **mās-* 'depression': cp. /*mā-*/ *mām* 'sink'.

3 Considerable confusion appears in the treatment of this and the preceding names in the Greek Versions.

enemy after the death of Holofernes (Judith 154). Possibly the *HOTUS* of Josh. 155r may be intended (Zuckler). **OS**¹ identifies the place with KITHATH; cp Josh. 1544.

COLHOZER (חֹלְהֹזֶר, § 23, as if 'he seeth all'), a Jerusalemite of Nehemi's time (Neh. 3.15; on **BS**, **חולְהֹזֶר** [L]; 11 s. **חלְהֹזֶר** [BS], **חלְהֹזֶר** [V], **חלְהֹזֶר** [L]). As misleading a name as Eulathim and/or as Haldolish. A claim of 'seers' at this period would of course be interesting; but the name is miswritten for **חלְהֹזֶר** (L.V. 'Haldolishesh'), probably under the influence of the name Hazzaiah, which follows in Neh. 11.5. **חלְהֹזֶר** itself is miswritten. See **HALLOHESH**. L. K. C.

COLIUS (κωλιος [Λ]), 1 Esd. 9:23 = Ezra 10:23,
 KLEIMAH (γ, r).

COLLAR. 1. 'Collars' in AV Judg. 8:26 become in RV 'pendants' (J15222). See Rtno., § 2.

2. 'Collar' is also applied, inappropriately, to the round hole (𐎧𐎫𐎼𐎿) for the head and neck in a garment. So in Job 39:2, 'It bindeth me about as the collar of my coat' (RV), and in Ps. 134 (RV^{mg}), 'that flows down to the collar of his robes' (Kay). 'Collar' here should be 'opening'.

In Ps. 74, however, it is thought that the border of the opening, rather than the opening itself, must be introduced, & sym. have set the *gar-za*, the Lambskin trimming or edging on the neck-opening (*ḥit ṭal*; כְּסוֹתָם "fringe"). IV, however, ventures on "skirts (skirt) of their garments"; the revisers felt that, even if AV gave an impossible rendering, they had nothing better to set in its place. The text can perhaps be corrected (see Che. Ps. 74); it is certainly not right as it stands. In Job 24, Biddle and Duhm prefer to render "even as my time"; but this does not make the passage logical. There is reason to think (Che. *E. p.* *Imms*), by גַּם ("May"), that we should read עֲדָה in v. 24a (עַד אֶחָדָה) and עַד and וְיָמָא in v. 24b, and render

By (his) great power he takes hold of my garment,
By the opening of my tunic he grasps me.

The word rendered in those two passages 'collar' becomes 'hole' in EA of Ex. 28.2; the context suggested this. The 'hole for the head' (RV) in the priestly *mit* (robe) was to have a 'binding (lit. lip) round about'; the material cut out was to be folded over, and so to make what might fairly be called a collar. In later Heb. we find the terms פתע (opening) or צוואר (neck) (receptacle of the neck).

3. RV¹⁹² gives 'collar' for a certain instrument of punishment (192, *twick*, Jer. 29:26, AV 'stocks'; RV 'shackles'). The root (like 192) in Aramaic and Talmudic means to bind, to confine. Kimhi takes it to be a manacle for hands, not a collar. Onelli, on the other hand, compares Arab. *simāḥ* (necklace). *ἄστρον* εἰς τὸν καταπατήρη represents 192 and can scarcely be correct.

COLLEGE, RV SECOND QUARTER (קִיסָה; Vg. *Saund.*) as if the 'new town' of Jerusalem (2 K. 22:14 = 2 Ch. 34:22; Zeph. 1:10). The rendering 'college' is due to Tg. Jon. 2 K. 22:14 חֵלְסָנָא בְּבֵית ה', 'in the house of instruction.' See DEUSACUM.

The text is, however, plainly corrupt. In Zeph. 1:10 the natural parallel to the 'fish gate' is the 'gate of the old city' (see Neh. 12:9, where these gates are mentioned together). For מִן הַשְּׁעָרֵי הַדָּוָה therefore, read מִן הַשְּׁעָרֵי הָעִיר הַקְּדוּמָה 'from the gate of the old city'. Similarly in K, and C Ch. 6, see H. G. HOLLAND. See also HANSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 78, § 2.14, *puncta* [H], וְיָרָא [L]. AVWc: 'second part'; RVWc: [Heb., 3rd c.] *et*. In 2 Ch. 34, 2, *puncta* [L], *accusative* [M] *Μεγαρίται* [L], VWc: 'in the school'; or 'in the second part'; RVWc: [Heb.] Mischneh.' In Zeph. 1:19, τῆς δευτέρας [BHQ]; AV: 'the second,'

COLONNADE (柱廊), 柱廊 4016. RV=8. See
PORCH, TEMPLE.

COLONY (κολωνία [Ti. WH]), Acts 16:12.† See **PHOENIX**.

COLOSSE, better **Colossæ** (κολοσσαι [11. W11, and *Coloss.* and *Inscrip.* 1. 14] *Colossæ* later MSS. Rev.

COLOSSE

writers, and some mod. edd.: the latter form was possibly the native pronunciation¹).
1. Description. a town on the S. bank of the Lycus (*Churuk Su*), a tributary of the Meander, in that part of the Roman province of Asia which the Greeks called Phrygia. In the neighbourhood of Colosse were Hierapolis and Laodicea (cp Col. 2: 13-15). As those two cities rose in importance, Colosse seems to have continuously declined (cp Rev. 1: 11, 14, where the church in Laodicea ranks among the seven great churches of Asia). Herodotus (7: 10; cp Xen. *Anab.* 1: 26) speaks of Colosse as 'a city of great size'; but in Strabo's time Laodicea is numbered among the greatest of the Phrygian cities. Whilst Colosse, although it had some trade, is only a *πόλις* (Strabo, 576, 578). In Paul's time Pliny (*HN* 5: 41) enumerates it among the *liberrima oppida* of the district; but that is merely historical retrospect. Its geographical position, on the great route leading from Ephesus to the Euphrates (it was passed, e.g., by Xerxes in his march through Asia Minor, Herod. *l.c.*), was important. Hence arises the question as to whether the place was ever visited by Paul.

On his third journey Paul 'went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order' (Acts 18: 23), and, 'having passed through the upper coasts (*τὰ ἀνω-περὶὰ μέρη*) came to Ephesus' (Acts 19: 1).

2. Paul's connection with it. The natural route would certainly be that followed by commerce, which would pass through Colosse, though travellers might, as Ramsay suggests (*Ch. in R. Emp.* 94), take a road to the northward, avoiding the Lycus valley entirely. It is, however, open to us to admit that the apostle may have passed through the town without making any stay. It seems distinctly to follow from Col. 2: 1 ('as many as have not seen my face in the flesh') that at the date of writing Paul was not personally acquainted with the Colossian church; but it would be unsafe to argue that he had not seen the town itself. If he did no missionary work there on his third journey through Asia Minor, it is impossible to assign his assumed activity at Colosse to the second journey on the strength of the expression 'gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia' (Acts 16: 6): on that occasion he diverged northwards from the eastern trade route leading by way of Colosse to Ephesus, and ultimately reached Troas (17: 7 f.). Further, although ethnologically Colosse ranked as a Phrygian town, politically it belonged to Asia, a province which was altogether barred to missionary effort on the occasion of the second journey (Acts 16: 6; see ASIA, PHRYGIA).

It would still be possible to argue that Paul established the Colossian church on an unreciprocal visit made from Ephesus during his three years' stay there (cp Acts 19: 10, 'so that all they which dwell in Asia heard the word'). Nevertheless, Col. 1: 4 ('since we heard of your faith') 18: 21 are opposed to the idea of personal effort on his part, especially when we trusted with such passages as Gal. 1: 1 Cor. 3: 1-10, where we have positive claim to the foundation of the churches addressed. Nor is it allowable to insist that Epaphras and Philemon, who were certainly Colossians (Col. 1: 12), must necessarily have been converted by Paul at Colosse itself. The Colossian church was an indirect product of the apostle's activity at Ephesus. To whom, then, must the actual foundation be ascribed? Probably to Epaphras, who is called 'a faithful minister of Christ' for the Colossians (*πιστὸς λειτουργὸς*, so AV: better *πιστὸς ἡγούμενος*, 'on our behalf,' RV), and their teacher (Col. 1: 7, cp 4: 2-11), although the honour has been claimed for Timothy, on the ground that his name is joined with that of Paul in the Salutation (Col. 1: 1).

¹ The name is probably connected with Kolse (lake near Seidlis, Str. *l.c.*), the form being gricized to suggest its connection with *κολοσσός*. The more educated ethnic was *Κολοσσαῖος*, the ultimate form *Κολοσσαῖος* being perhaps nearer the native word. See Rams. *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, 1: 212.

COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS

It is clear from Philem. 22 that Paul looked forward to visiting Colosse after his first imprisonment at Rome: whether he effected his purpose is not known (but cp 2 Tim. 1: 24).

3. The Colossian Church. Among the members of the Colossian church, besides Epaphras, Philemon with his wife Archippa and slave Onesimus (Philem. 2: 10¹), we hear of Archippus, perhaps son of Epaphras (Philem. 2: 10, Col. 4: 17). With regard to the composition of the church, we may say that it consisted chiefly of Gentiles, in this case the descendants of Greek settlers and native Phrygians, deeply imbued with that tendency to mystical fanaticism which was characteristic of the Phrygian race. Very soon, therefore, they fell away to angel-worship and a misdirected asceticism (Col. 2: 16-18, 21-23). The former heresy is illustrated by the famous *πᾶς ἀρχαγγέλους* or *πᾶς τοῦ Ἀρχιπατριάρχου* (church dedicated to Michael) mentioned by Nicetas Choniates as standing at the chasm of the Lycus. The tradition is that the archangel opened the chasm and so saved the Christians of Thomas from destruction by an inundation. In the fourth century a Council at Laodicea condemned this angel-worship. Theodoret also speaks of the existence of the heresy in this region, Cp ANGEL, § 9.

The construction of a strong castle at Choni (mod. *Chünak*), 3 m. S. of Colosse, was perhaps the work of Justinian. During the seventh or eighth century A.D., under the pressure of Arab incursions, the town in the plain was gradually deserted and forgotten. Hence Nicetas says that Choni (his own birthplace) and Colosse were one and the same place (ed. Rom. 491). The idea even arose that the Colossians of the epistle were the Rhodians (cp Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* 1: 214). The Colossians of Col. 1: 758 are the Paulicians of the Church of Anganos in Armenia.

Authorities: besides Lightfoot, *Colossians*, see Rams. *Cit. and Bish.* vol. 3, with map; id. *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 19 with map of the Lycus valley. J. W. J.

COLOSSIANS² AND EPHESIANS.³ Epistles to the. These two epistles are related so closely that they cannot without disadvantage be considered separately.

Colossians consists of two distinct portions, the one didactic and polemical, the other practical and hortatory, the whole being rounded off by

1. Contents of Col. the superscription (1: 1-2) at the beginning, and by commendations (1: 3-11) the bearer, greetings and other messages, and the writer's autograph greeting at the close (4: 7-18).

In the introduction, 1: 1 ff., Paul, as his custom is, gives thanks for the conversion of those whom he is addressing, and expresses the wish that they may continue to grow in all wisdom.

At 1: 11, by a gentle transition, he passes over into a Christological discourse setting forth the transcendent glory of the Son, and how he is head of the universe and of the Church, in whom all heaven and the whole earth are reconciled to God (1: 11-13); in 1: 21-23 the readers' personal interest in Christ's work of reconciliation is affirmed, and in 1: 24-25 Paul goes on to say that he has had it committed to his special charge to proclaim the great secret of the universality of salvation, whence it is that he labours and cares so specially for the interests of his readers. In 2: 1-23 the main business of the epistle is entered upon: an earnest warning against false teachers, who, holding out hopes of an illusory perfection, wish to substitute all sorts of Gentile and Jewish religious observances in the place of 'Christ alone'.

With the exhortation (3: 1-4) to live their lives in the heavenly manner, and conformably to the new life, the apostle passes to the practical portion of the epistle. Here in the first instance (3: 5-17) the sins of the old man that are to be laid aside and the virtues of the new man that are to be put on are indicated somewhat generally; then (3: 18-4: 4) the duties of wives, husbands, children and parents, servants and masters are specially described, with (4: 5) an urgent call to continual prayer (including prayer for the success of his own mission) and to wise and discreet employment of speech in their dealings with the unconverted.

The contents of Ephesians are, on the whole, similar to those of Colossians, but the polemical part and especially accessories are given much more fully.

2 Contents of Eph. (only a superscription 1: 1-2), and in the first sentence elevated to the bearer of the epistle, with parting good wishes, whilst all the rest

¹ Cp Ἀρχιπατριάρχου, γένει Κολοσσαίων, (A) Ἀρχιπατριάρχου; and Ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν, ὁμοῦ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

² πρὸς Κολοσσαίους [W H L G]; πρὸς Κολοσσαίους [T L].

³ πρὸς Εφεσσίους [T L W H].

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treated with greater amplitude. The doctrinal portion extends from 1:1 to 3:1. Here it cannot be said that any one has as yet quite succeeded in pointing out any very clear and consecutive process of thought, or methodical elaboration of debatable themes. To find, for example, in 1:3-14 'the operations of divine grace,' and, more explicitly, in 1:7-3:1 'what God the Father,' in 1:7-7:1 'what God the Son,' and in 1:13-14 'what God the Spirit has done,' is to force the text into moulds of thought that are foreign to it. Strictly, this part of the epistle is simply a parallel, carried out with unwonted fulness, to the thanksgivings with which Paul is accustomed to introduce all his letters. An act of praise to God who has wrought for all mankind deliverance from sin and misery through Christ and his gospel, and who has made the Church, of which Christ is the head, to be the centre of a new and glorious world.

In 1:3-14 Paul begins, then, with praise to God who from all eternity has graciously chosen his people to salvation; in 1:15-3:1 he expresses his special joy that his readers are among those who have thus been chosen. 2:1-10 brings into a strong and vivid light the absoluteness of the contrast between their former and their present state, and the fact that the happy change is due to divine grace; done, further, it is taught that the distinction between the unconverted and the converted people of the promise has been obliterated by the blood of Christ (2:11-14), and that, in the new spiritual building, where Christ is the chief corner stone, those who were afar off are incorporated as well as those who were nigh (2:14-22); there are no more strangers and foreigners. To proclaim the full and unimpaired interest of the Gentiles in the gospel has been the noble function divinely assigned to Paul (3:1-12); his readers must not allow his present tribulations to shake their confidence in any way (3:1-3). His prayer (3:14-17), closing with a doxology (3:16), is that they may ever go on growing in faith, in love, and in knowledge, until at last nothing more is wanting in them of all the fulness of God.

4:1-16, at the beginning of the practical section, urges the readers to give practical effect to the motto that has thus been brought about, to walk worthily of the Christian vocation, and so to take his part in the common task according to the measure of his power, so that the whole may ever grow up more fully into Christ. What yet remains of the old man and heathen life must be sedulously put away (4:17-24); truthfulness, uprightness, and kindness of speech and of mind must be cultivated as the true leaves of social life (4:25-32); of these we have the best examples in the love of God and Christ (3:12). In 5:1-6 personal holiness and the walk of believers as wise and pure children of light are further described. In 5:2-6 the duties of members of households in their several places and relations are treated in the same order as in Col. 3:18-4:1; and the very elaborate figure of the Christian panoply in 6:1-10, with the exhortation to carry on the warfare against the powers of evil with courage and boldness—a warfare in which he too would be so glad to join them as a free man—forms a fine close.

COLOSSAE (7:7) lay not far from the larger cities of Laodicea and Hierapolis, with the churches of which the Colossian Christians, it is clear, had

3. Church of Colossae

kept up intimate relations from the first (Col. 2:1, 13, 15, 17). These churches were not among those which had been directly founded by Paul; according to 2:1, 12-13 they had not yet seen him personally; their founder, according to 1:12-17, had been a certain Epaphras. The fact that at the time when the epistle is being written Epaphras is with Paul of itself goes far to prove that he stood to him in the relation of a disciple, in any case Paul recognises the gospel proclaimed by him as the true one and not requiring correction. When these churches were founded is not said; but they do not seem to have had a long history; we may venture to fix the date somewhere between the years 55 and 60 A.D. As, according to 1:13-14, their founder was a Gentile Christian, we may take it that the great majority of the members at Colossae were Gentile Christians, an inference that is confirmed by 1:12-13-20. This Paul has a double right to regard them as belonging to his missionary field.

EPHESUS (7:7) was the city in which, according to Acts 19:36 (cp. 20:1), Paul spent more than two years.

4. Of Ephesus. approximately between 52 and 55 A.D. (see CIRCUMSTANCES § 637). The truth of great hindrances (cp. 1:10-12) had hindered with unwonted success in the cause of the gospel, which,

until his arrival, had been practically unheard of there. At last the riot stirred up by Demetrius the silversmith, described in Acts 19:23-41, exposed his life to each serious danger (21:10-14), so that he was compelled to abandon the city for good and to take refuge elsewhere—to Macedonia, in the first instance (Acts 20:1). The events of that period did not prove fatal to the church at Ephesus; in Rev. 2:1-7 it stands at the head of the churches in Asia, and it is highly probable that Rom. 16 is a fragment of a letter addressed to it by Paul (Aquila and Prisca, 16:3-5), as well as Epigenetus, 'who is the first-fruit of Asia unto Christ,' 16:5, are among the saluted). In any case the apostle kept up a lively interest in this church, and maintained intimate relations with it. The writer of the 'we-source,' however, in Acts 20:17-18, describes a most affecting leave-taking between Paul and the elders of Ephesus, whom the former had asked to meet him at Miletus as he was on his way to Jerusalem, and plainly he regards it as having been final. Of what elements the Ephesian church was composed we have no means of judging, apart from Rom. 16; the probability is that the majority were converted pagans; but it is nevertheless certain that the Jews in Ephesus were numerous, and we can well suppose that others of their number besides Aquila and Prisca had joined themselves to the company of believers in Jesus as the risen Messiah. In fact, when Paul, in Acts 20:29-35, in looking forward to the time after his departure, speaks of the appearance of false teachers and ravening wolves in Ephesus, Jews may very well have been meant. Unfortunately the references to Ephesus in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim. 1:3, 2 Tim. 1:18, 3:10, 4:12) throw no light on the subsequent history of Christianity there. All we can be sure of is that the apostle, after so long a residence, must have become acquainted in a very special manner with the peculiarities of the situation.

Even without any special occasion, perhaps, Paul might very well have written an epistle to the church of Colossae at the time he did. Its founder had informed him of the orderly walk and steadfastness in the faith of its members, and doubtless also of their sympathy with himself. It was natural enough, therefore, that he should at least assure them of his gladness over the good beginnings they had made, all the more as a suitable opportunity had offered itself for communicating with them. Onesimus (14) was being sent back to his master, Philemon, with a short letter. Tychicus, a member of the Pauline circle, was accompanying him, and it was almost a matter of course that he should be entrusted with letters of introduction to the churches whose hospitality he expected to enjoy. The epistle to the Colossians, however, is more than a mere occasional writing. The probability is that Paul's determination to write it was formed immediately on receiving the communication from Epaphras as to the condition of Christianity in the Lycus valley; false teachers had made their appearance in Colossae, and Epaphras himself felt unable, single-handed, to cope with their sophistries. To deal with these is the writer's main object, even where he is not expressly polemical, as in chaps. 1 and 3, his aim is to establish a correct understanding of the gospel as against their wisdom, false so-called.

If the nature of the Colossian false teachers does not present such well-marked features as that of the Galatian

False apostles, there is no occasion for surprise, for Paul knew the latter personally, the others only by hearsay. As to the Colossian agitators must have belonged to the same class as others that we read of in other places is too much to assume. Many of the observations of Paul would apply well to Jews—as for example the marked emphasis with which it is said (2:11) that the Colossians were circumcised with a circumcision not made with hands,

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and (214) that the handwriting against us has been nailed to the cross and so cancelled. In particular the exhortation of 216, 'Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day,' seems decisive as to the Jewish character of the new teachers, in this connection the question of 220 (cp 23) cannot fail to suggest *Vid.* 41-9, and one is strongly inclined to presume the condition of matters in Colossae to have been similar to that in Galatia. Only, it is commands and precepts of men that are being imposed with a 'touch not, taste not, handle not' (222), it is an 'arbitrary religion' (*ἰδὲ νόθη θρησκεία*) that is being thrust upon the Colossians (223)—in such terms Paul could hardly have described a return to compliance with the injunctions of the OT law.

As the ascetic interest (221, 'severity towards the body'; 228 23, 'humility') has a foremost place with the false teachers, many take them to have been Christian Essenes or ascetics of an Essene character (cp *ESSEES*, § 3, f.). But it has to be remembered that ascetic tendencies were very widely spread at that time, and that they first came into Judaism from without.

According to 28 the agitators gave themselves out to be philosophers. Paul indeed regards their wisdom as 'vain deceit'—according to 218 they 'are vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind,' and with deceiving speeches seek to lead their hearers astray—and when he so strikingly emphasises that in Christ Christians already possess the 'truth' ('all wisdom and spiritual understanding,' 'all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' 169 176 ff., 21), and so zealously points out what is the right way to perfection (128 314 42), all that we can infer from this is, that the innovators in Colossae came forward with a claim to be able to lead their followers from faith to knowledge, true wisdom, and a perfect Christianity. In doing so they appealed to visions they had seen (218); their knowledge of the celestial world entitled them, they contended, formally to set up a worship of angels, by which, however, Christ was thrust out from his central position as the only redeemer (219). Paul supplies no details of their speculations as to the powers and functions of these celestial spirits; but any such theosophy as this cannot be called Jewish in any specific sense. How far a religiously objectionable dualistic view of the universe lay at the bottom of the peculiar doctrines and precepts of these men will probably never be known; but that Paul should raise his voice so earnestly against them while taking up an attitude so different towards the 'Essensising' weak brethren in Rome (Rom 11 f.)—although they do not appear to have attacked him personally at all—shows that he, for his part, discerned in them a spirit that was foreign to Christianity and hostile to it. As their philosophical tendencies and their worship of angels do not fit in with the theory that they were Jews there Alexandrianism helps us no better than Essenism, it will doubtless be best to regard these Colossian false teachers as baptised 'mysteriesophists,' who sought to bring their ascetic tendencies with them into the new religion, and had found means to satisfy their polytheistic instincts by the terms of a newly-invented worship of angels. In doing so they prided themselves on their compliance with all the demands of the OT, though in detail they of course interpreted these in an absolutely arbitrary way. It was this method of an affected interpretation of the OT, claimed by them to be a guarantee of wisdom, that gave them something of a Judaising appearance; but in so far as their ideas had any individuality (as, for example, the notion that between man and the extra-mundane God there is a series of intermediate beings, and that the thing of essential importance is to secure the favour of these mediators or to know how to avoid their evil influences) they were of heathen not Jewish origin.

The Pauline authorship of Colossians has been denied in various quarters since Meyerhoff (1830), and, in particular, by the Tübingen School *en masse*. The

external testimony to its genuineness is the best possible

—ever since a collection of Pauline letters existed at all, Colossians seems to have been invariably included. In form, nevertheless, the epistle presents many striking peculiarities. It contains a large number of words which Paul nowhere else uses—amongst them, especially, long composites such as *παραβολοῦν* (24), *ἐκπαινεῖν* (218); and on the other hand many of the apostle's most current expressions, such as *ἐν, διό, ἀρα*, are absent, and in the structure of the sentences there are fewer anacolutha than elsewhere in Paul, as well as a greater number of long periods built up of participial and relative clauses.

These 'other'—however, apply only to the first half of the epistle, even here the genuine Pauline element is still more in evidence than the peculiarities just indicated; the difficulty and obscurity of the style, so far as old age or passing ill-health may not be regarded as sufficient explanation, can be accounted for on the ground that Paul had not so lively and vivid a realisation of the exact opponents with whom he had to do, as in the case of those of Galatia or Corinth. But in substance also the

8. Ideas. Epistle has been held to be un-Pauline. It has been held to represent the transition stage between the Pauline and the Johannine theology.

A further development of the Pauline conception of the dignity of Christ (115 ff.), in the direction of the Alexandrian Logos-doctrine, according to which he is regarded as the first-born of the cosmos, the first-born of all creation (115), no longer as the first-born among many brethren only (Rom 8 29). Formulae like that in 29, 'in him dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,' it is urged, have a somewhat gnostic ring; the representation of the Church as being the body of Christ (124 214), further, is said to be post-Pauline, whilst Paul himself never gave ethical precepts in such detail as we find in 313 ff.

In answer to all this, it can hardly be denied that Colossians exhibits a new development of Pauline

9. Genuineness not disproved. Christology; but why should not Paul himself have carried it on to this development in view of new errors, which demanded new statements of truth? The fact is, that in some cases, probably, he has simply appropriated and applied to Christ formulae (as, say, in 29) which the false teachers had employed with reference to their mediating beings; and his theology as a whole never became fully rounded and complete in such a sense as to exclude fresh points of view or new expressions.

Unmistakable traces of an undoubtedly later age cannot be shown in the epistle, while whole sections, such as chap. 4, can hardly be understood as the work even of the most gifted imitator. None of the gnostic systems of the second century known to us can be shown to be present in Colossians, whilst the false teachers with whom the epistle makes us acquainted could have made their appearance within the Christian Church in the year 60 A.D. just as easily as in 120.

There seems no cogent reason even for the invention of a mediating hypothesis—whether that of Ewald, which makes Timothy, joint-writer of Colossians, responsible for certain un-Pauline expressions, or that of Holtzmann, according to which an epistle of Paul was gone over in the second century by the author of Ephesians. With the one hypothesis it is impossible to figure clearly to oneself how the work of writing the letter was gone about; and the other it is impossible to accept unless we choose to admit irreconcilable traits in the picture of the false teachers—as, perhaps, that Paul himself wrote only against 'Essensising' ascetics, whilst the theosophic angelology was due entirely to the interpolator, who had other opponents in his mind. Even in its most difficult parts, however, the connection in the epistle is not so loose as ever to force upon one the impression that there must have been interpolation;

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and, as regards certain of the difficulties raised by criticism, it is to be remarked that caution is always necessary in dealing with literary productions of a period so obscure. Colossians may be Pauline quite as well as Philippians or 1 Thessalonians. The number of those who doubt its genuineness does not grow.

Colossians was written in captivity (130-135), at the same time as Philémon, probably from Rome (not from Caesarea), about 63 A.D. The apostle is surrounded by friends—Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, Jesus Justus. Whether Philippians was written before Colossians and Philémon, or whether Philippians should be regarded as the apostle's last writing is difficult to decide, quite apart from the question of a second captivity. The Christological portion of Philippians (24 ff.) has much in common with Colossians.

If Ephesians also is really the work of Paul (see below, § 15 f.), it must have been written almost contemporaneously with Colossians. It is true, indeed, that in Col. 1:1, as in Phil. 1:1,

10 Date

Timothy is named as joint-writer, while he is not mentioned in Ephesians. From this, however, it cannot be argued that the situations were materially different, any more than it could be argued that Colossians and Philémon must be of different date because in the list of those who send greetings in Philém. 21 f. we do not find the Jesus Justus named in Col. 1:1, or because, in Philém. 21 f., Epaphras is called a fellow-prisoner and Aristarchus a fellow-worker, whilst in Col. 1:13 ff. Aristarchus, as a fellow-prisoner, heads the list of those who send greetings, and Epaphras seems to be regarded as one of the fellow-workers. In Eph. 3:13-14 also Paul is a prisoner, yet as much burdened with work as in Col. 1:24-29. 1:1 f. Tycheus is introduced in Eph. 6:21 f. as bearer of the letter, and as one who will be able to give further particulars as to the apostle's state, in almost the same words as in Col. 4:7 f.; and although there is no mention of Onesimus in Ephesians, we must hold that both epistles refer to the same mission.

The frequent verbal coincidences between Colossians and Ephesians even in points in which the phraseology is a matter of indifference (cp. for example, Eph. 1:15 f. and Col. 1:3 f.; Eph. 2:1 and Col. 1:21-23; Eph. 6:2 and Col. 4:3-4), unless we have here a case of deliberate imitation by a later writer, are intelligible only if we assume the one letter to have been written when Paul's mind was still full of the thoughts and expressions of the other. Of Colossians the only portions not finding a parallel in Ephesians are: the polemical section, 2:3-4 (although indeed 2:3-4 is again an exception), and the greetings in 4:10-12; of Ephesians, on the other hand, the only portions not finding a parallel in Colossians are: the introduction (1:1-14), the liturgically-phrased section (3:13-21), the exhortation to peaceful co-operation (4:1-6), and the figure of the spiritual armour, although in this case also some reminiscences are not wholly wanting in Colossians.

That the one letter is a polemic reproduction of the other cannot be said. If we possessed only one of them it could not be called a mere compilation or paraphrase. The parallel passages to Col. 1, for example, lie scattered up and down Eph. 1-4 (or 5) in a wholly different order, and there is no trace of any definite method according to which the one writing has been used for the other. There is no sort of agreement among critics on the question as to which of the two is the original form; but the present writer inclines to consider Ephesians the later, partly because in Colossians the various details and peculiarities are better accounted for by the needs of a church not yet far advanced ethically, and exposed to danger from false teaching, and it would have been rather contrary to what might have been expected if Paul had first sought to meet these very special needs by means of a letter of a more general character.

Of all Paul's epistles addressed to churches, Ephesians

is certainly the least epistolary in character. One

12. Character of Eph.

only examines the circumstances of those to whom it is addressed to find occasion for its composition. The epistle, which has a personal tinge in only a few places, could have been written equally well to almost any other church; it is more of a sermon than of a letter—a sermon on the greatness of that Gospel which is able to bridge over all the old contradictions in humanity, and on the grandeur of that one Church of Christ by which salvation is made sure, and on the precepts by which the members of this Church ought to regulate their lives. One commentator indeed goes so far as to say that in Ephesians 'we have the most mature and sustained of all the statements of Christian doctrine which have come down to us from the hand of the great apostle.' Other students may perhaps think Galatians and Corinthians more vivid and powerful, Romans rather, Philippians more sympathetic. But certainly so far as the thing can be done at all within the compass of one short letter, Paul has laid down in Ephesians something like an exhaustive outline of his Gospel. Viewed on its anti-Jewish or supra-Jewish side, however, it is much too slightly wrought out.

With regard to the question, to whom Ephesians was addressed, the only thing quite certain is, that if the

13. To whom addressed.

epistle was written by Paul it cannot have been addressed to Ephesus. Even after all has been said by the apologists it remains incredible that he should have written to a church to which he had devoted three years of his life and to which, even after his final parting, his heart still yearned so tenderly, in so cold a tone as here, without a word of greeting to anybody, without reference to any of their common memories, in short without a single individualising note of any kind. Even apart from this and still no one could suspect that the apostle is here speaking to a church with which his acquaintance was so intimate as it was with the Ephesians. If his acquaintance with the Colossians was formed only by report, every reader of the present epistle must hold the same to be true of this. If the words 'in Ephesus' in 1:1 are to be held to be original, we have here no composition of Paul the prisoner writing in 63 A.D., but the work of a later hand who has artificially adapted himself to the part of the apostle but who wholly failed to realise how grossly improbable were the relations between Paul and the Ephesians as indicated by him.

But these decisive words—*ἐν Ἐφεσῷ*—are critically open to the gravest suspicion. It is true that from the date of the Muratorian Canon (about 180) onwards they are attested by witnesses innumerable; but an older authority—Marcion—about 140, cannot have read them where they now stand, since he took the epistle to be addressed to the Laodiceans; they are absent also from both of the oldest extant MSS. (A and B); and learned Church fathers, such as Origen in the third century and Basil in the fourth, agree in their omission. Not till the fifth century do we find the words regularly established in the recognised texts. But it is highly improbable that an original reading *ἐν Ἐφεσῷ* should ever have come to be deleted (let us suppose on critical grounds; for the exercise of criticism in this sense was unknown in the second century, and, if it had been, its exercise here would not have been content with a mere negative, but would have gone on to substitute the reading that was considered to be more appropriate). It is absolutely impossible that the oldest text should not have contained the name of some place; a name is rendered quite indispensable by the context 'to the saints which are . . .'

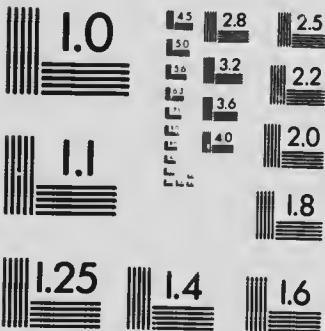
The only remaining alternative is that we should

14. A Catholic epistle.

suppose the original name to have accidentally disappeared and that *ἐν Ἐφεσῷ* was conjecturally inserted in its place, the determining consideration being that



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Paul must surely, once at least in his life, have written a letter to his beloved Ephesians. If Marcion read *ἐν Λαοδικαίᾳ* instead of *ἐν Ἐφεσῶν*, it was only because he thought this a preferable conjecture; what he had in his mind was Col. 4.16, where an epistle to the Laodiceans is spoken of, which the Colossians also are bidden obtain a reading of. The letter alluded to must have been nearly contemporaneous with that to the Colossians; we may venture to conjecture that the then conditions in Laodicea were very similar to those in Colossae, so that on the present assumption the correspondences between the two letters become easily explicable. Tychicus then also will become the bearer of both letters. Only, on the other side again, it is not easy to understand in this case how it is that Paul treats the Colossians with so much greater intimacy and cordiality than he treats their neighbours the Laodiceans; how, further, he should invite comparisons by bidding the churches exchange letters with each other; and, lastly, how in spite of the labour expended in behalf of the Laodiceans by Epaphras (Col. 1.13), Paul should not think it necessary to enclose a greeting from him.

The attitude of Ephesians, with its absence of explicit and detailed reference to the circumstances and stage of growth of its readers, is, on the assumption of its being a Pauline letter, intelligible only if its destination excluded such individual reference; in other words, if it was really not addressed to any one church, but was a circular intended for a number of Gentile Christian churches in the present case in Asia Minor, or, more precisely, in Phrygia¹—which Tychicus on the occasion of his journey to Colossae was to visit, conveying to them at the same time also a direct message from the great apostle of the Gentiles.

It is not, after all, beyond possibility, however, that Ephesians may be the epistle referred to in Col. 4.16; for there it is called, not the epistle to Laodicea, but the epistle *from* Laodicea, by which expression may have been intended nothing more than a copy of Ephesians to be obtained at Laodicea. In the original superscription, if this be so, we may suppose Paul to have named the province or provinces to the churches of which he wished to address himself (cp. 1 Pet. 1.1); the epistle would then have an almost 'catholic' character, and, in point of fact, next to Colossians, 1 Peter, of all the other NT epistles, is the one that comes nearest Ephesians in substance.

The whole preceding discussion (§ 13.7) falls to the ground if, as was done by the Tübingen school and still is done by many recent writers, the

15. Genuine-ness. Pauline authorship is denied. The external testimony is the best possible: from Marcion's time onwards the epistle is included in all lists of Paul's writings, and from the second century onwards the citations from it are exceptionally frequent. On the other hand, in form and style it is removed still further than Colossians from the manner of the earlier epistles of Paul; the number of *ἀρα* *λογιστέον* is astonishingly great; whilst in Paul the devil is called Satan, here (Eph. 1.27-6.11) he is called *δαιμόλιος* or (2.2) 'prince of the kingdom of the air';² the structure of the sentences is strikingly lumbering; substantives closely allied in meaning are constantly linked together by prepositions—especially *ἐν*—or by the use of the genitive, an expedient that conduces neither to freedom nor to clearness of style. At the same time the epistle has a number of characteristically Pauline expressions, including some that do not occur in Colossians, and at every step genuinely Pauline turns of thought are recalled.

The absence of concrete details in Ephesians has already been noted; but, if it be true that we have here a circular letter, the standards which we might apply to Corinthians or Philippians cease to be applicable.

¹ So, long ago, Usher; and, recently, Lightfoot.

² In Paul he is called also, however, *βελίαρ* (2 Cor. 6.15) and 'the god of this world' (2.4). See BARNES.

Peculiarities in statement of many Pauline doctrines, or in theological outlook generally, indifference of attitude upon controverted points of the Pauline period, and a preference for the ideas of the old Catholicism that was beginning to take shape cannot be denied; but here, again, as with Colossians, the case is met if we postulate a growth in the apostle himself, under the influence of new conditions. We fail to find in the epistle any direct evidence that the writer is a member of the second Christian generation, addressing men who have been born Christians; on the contrary, the readers are addressed as persons who had formerly been heathens.

The main obstacle to the traditional view of the authorship of the epistle is found in 4.11-2.35. In **16. Uncertain.** 4.11, in the enumeration of church officers, the peculiar spiritual gifts to which so great prominence is given in 1 Cor. 12.7-10 are almost entirely passed over; in 2.20 it is the glory of the Church that she is 'built on the foundation of apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone,' and in 3.5, as if there had never been any such thing as a dispute in Jerusalem or in Antioch, the present time is spoken of as that in which the Gentiles' equality in privilege has been 'spiritually revealed to his holy apostles and prophets.' In the mouth of the apostle who has devoted the unremitting efforts of his lifetime to the establishment of this equality of privilege, this last expression has a peculiar sound. In a disciple of the apostle, on the other hand,—one who has in view the accomplished fact, the one and indivisible Church, for which all the apostles and prophets are equally sacred authorities—the phrases quoted are natural enough; and on the whole the hypothesis that a Pauline Christian, intimately familiar with the Pauline epistles, especially with Colossians, writing about 60 A.D., has in Ephesians sought to put in a plea for the true catholicism in the meaning of Paul, and in his name, is free from any serious difficulty. It is very hard to decide, perhaps the question ought to be left open as not yet ripe for settlement, and Ephesians in the meantime used only with caution when the Pauline system is being construed.

Like the Pauline epistles in general, Colossians and Ephesians are among the best preserved parts of the NT.

They have hardly at all been subjected to 'smoothing' revision; the majority of the variants (which, it must be said, are very numerous) are clearly mere copyists' errors. At the same time the readings vacillate at several important points—e.g., (Eph. 3.2) between *καὶ* and *οὐκ*, (Col. 2.13) between *ἀ καὶ* and *καὶ*, (Col. 3.13) between *χριστός* and *κύριος*. Influence of the text of Ephesians upon Colossians can be sometimes traced—e.g., Col. 3.6, has been supplied from Eph. 5.6. The obscurity of many of the sentences may have helped to protect them from gratuitous change; in any case the exegete of either epistle has a much harder task than the text-critic.

H. J. Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser u. Kolosserbriefe* (72), a most careful comparison of the two letters with each other and with those Pauline epistles of which the genuineness may be regarded as certain.

18. Literature. Holtzmann's hypothesis is that in Colossians we have a genuine epistle of Paul to Colossae, which has been expanded by later interpolations; the interpolator, the author of the epistle to the Ephesians—a Gentile Christian of Pauline training, who belonged to the post-apostolic age. Alf. Köpfer, *Der Brief an die Colosser* (72), and *Der Brief an die Epheser* (91), a very thorough if somewhat stiff exposition; Colossians is held to be genuine, Ephesians not. H. Soden in *NT*, 1895, pp. 320 ff., 407 ff., 672 ff., and 1897, pp. 412 ff., substantially accepted Holtzmann's hypothesis, and in the *HC* (91) has given a luminous commentary. H. Orlamünde, *Comm. sur les Epîtres de St. Paul aux Colossiens, aux Ephésiens*, 3 vols., 1901-02, maintains the genuineness of both epistles. In the case of Colossians this had already been argued most brilliantly by J. B. Lightfoot (*St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1875, 2nd ed. 1886). J. Macpherson in *Commentary on St. Paul's Ep. to the Ephesians* (92), has sought with a painstaking care, worthy of Light-

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himself, to vindicate tradition and solve the difficulties of the epistle. Fr. Haug (*die theologisch-haltigen Briefe*, 1899, an entirely new recast of the *Kritisch-gelehrte Ausgabe* of H. A. W. Meyer) takes, as regards the genuineness, a position similar to that of the present article, but decides against the Roman origin and in favour of Caesarea. Some new points of view are offered in Zahn's *Einl. i. d. N. T.*, 1887, 1908, 1918, both on the question of introduction and on details of exegesis. The one of the popular commentaries of Elliott (33) and Harless (2nd ed., 1870) on Ephesians are now somewhat out of date. See also the (posthumous) *Prolegomena to the Ep. to the Romans and 1 Philemons* (95) by Prof. J. A. Hort; and L. K. Abbott, *Comm. on 1 Philemons and Colossians* (17).

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If in certain branches of art the ancient Hebrews fell far behind their contemporaries, they were not without artistic feeling; if they had no drama, they were not devoid of dramatic instinct (CANTICLES, § 7; POETICAL LITERATURE, § 5); and if, through no inherent fault of their own, they were unable to attain any degree of competency in the highest form of art, yet they had, as their poetry shows, a very real appreciation of the sublime and beautiful. The neglect to cultivate this taste was a necessary consequence of the effort to fulfil the ancient command in Ex 204:—a command which would of course apply as much to painting as to sculpture—and of the monotheism to which they subsequently attained. (See Raskin, *Two Paths*, 7 f.; Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, India, etc.*, 1.11 f.; and cf. MENES, § 1.)

A simple style of decoration and the use of some of the dyes and dyed stuffs they may indeed have learned at an early date.² When, however, the post-exilic writers wish to describe the decorations of an ideal sanctuary, they are obliged to borrow their ideas of ornament from Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, or Greece. (See Wernum, *Analysis of Ornament*, § 1 f., and cf. ISRAEL, § 67.) Characteristic of this style of decoration was a love of costly display combined with brilliancy of colour (*Analysis of Ornament*, § 5, and BABYLONIA, § 18, ASSYRIA, § 10, EGYPT, § 36). From these countries, then, in which art was the ally, if not the offspring, of idolatry, came the practice of decorating sculpture in the round with bold colours and costly ornament,³ a practice condemned by Ezekiel (23:14) as being an insult to Yahweh. But such cases, however, were exceptional among the Hebrews; appears probable from the fact that their language contains no words for 'paint,' 'painting,' and 'painter' (see N. 1). Nor does this striking phenomenon stand alone. It is also noteworthy that in the original texts no term is found to express that property of light known to us as *colour*.

When a Hebrew writer wishes to compare one object with another in respect to its colour he finds it necessary to use the word *ayin* (עַיִן 'eye') in the

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sense of *appearance*. So in Lev 13:35 the plague is spoken of as changing 'its appearance' (E.V. here and in the following examples, 'colour'), and in Num 11:7 the appearance of manna is described as being like the appearance (so here RV) of bdellium. The same word is used of the appearance of wine (Prov 23:3), of amber (1 K 10:2, 10), of burnished brass (1 K 17:17, 19), of a lily (1 K 17:19), and of crystal (1 K 10:2). Certainly the term *ayin* occurs frequently in the L.V., but in such cases the translation is seldom warranted by the original text. In the Apocrypha, on the other hand, a word does once occur (χρῶμα, Wisd. 15:4) with reference to a painted

¹ On the natural stages in the expression of the imagination, see Shiller's *Defence of Poetry*, part 1, § 6.

² Already the poet who sang of the glorious victories over Sisera knew of dyed stuffs (2:27, 28), and seems to assume that Israel could be expected to provide its enemies with booty of this kind (Judg. 7:10). Of what colour, however, this stuff was composed is not stated; nor is it said with what colours the needlework (2:27) or the Ch. 20:2, 1 K 17:19 mentioned in the same passage was embroidered. See LANGGUTH.

³ For specimens of early Greek coloured figures see Ohnwaldsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Tafel-Band, Ixviii and cf. the notes in 'Text-Band', 317, 418.

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image; but in this instance the term denotes rather the paint or pigment used.

Just as the want of a word to express the idea of 'painting' tends to prove that the art was very little cultivated, so also the want of a word for *colour* (found in Syriac, Arabic, Arabic, Egyptian, etc.) naturally suggests that colours were not much talked about by the Hebrews. This inference could indeed be shown to be inexact if we found many names

4. Colour sense.

for different colours, and could prove archaeologically that many colours were in use. When, however, we come to examine the Hebrew colour terms, and this applies also to those in use among the Greeks and the Romans² at any rate in biblical times, we find that very few of them are real colour terms at all, such terms being used as denote rather a contrast between light and darkness, brightness and dimness, than what we commonly understand by *colour*. Still, if colours are not sharply distinguished in the language of the ancient world it does not follow that the Hebrews and other primitive races were unable to distinguish shades of colour for which their language possessed no distinct terms, or that they were at least with respect to certain colours, colour-blind.³

It is not so much a question of deficiency of colour sense as was contended some years ago as of an undeveloped colour-vocabulary. (See Bala, 20, and Bonnet, 10, under 'Farben'; also Grant Allen, *Colour Sense*, chaps. II-III.) If colour-blind people are so common it is able to use correctly the names of colour, that they can see, so conversely a people may be able to discriminate colours for which their language has not set apart names.⁴ Besides, it now seems clear that even the lower animals are sensitive to colour (see Grant Allen, 20; Chubb, *The Theory of Vision*, 82-83; and cf. Drennon, 17, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1914, 17).

From the use of the terms which the Hebrews did possess, we are led to conclude that one and the same

5. Scarcity of real colour names.

word was used to denote several shades of one colour; the context or object to which the colour was applied affording the clue as to the particular shade intended. Sometimes, however, in order to distinguish the shade of colour quite unmistakably, the thing described is compared with another object of which the colour in question is peculiarly characteristic (e.g. Eng. salmon pink, emerald-green, etc.).

It is indeed remarkable how few real colour terms occur in the O.T. Only three of the natural colours are distinguished by names, while for blue and yellow distinct terms are entirely wanting. The deficiency, however, is made up for by the use of the terms expressing degrees of light or dark; and in addition to these are found artificial colours with the name of the object from which they were derived (like car, crimson, cochineal, indigo, etc.). Substances, too, of which a particular colour was characteristic, may have been used to represent the colour itself (like Eng. orange, etc.).

It will be convenient to group and examine the words employed under the following headings; terms ex-

pressing (1) light and degrees of light, (2) darkness and degrees of dark, (3) natural colours, (4) variegated surfaces, (5) pigments or objects. Finally, it will be necessary to point out instances in which the E.V. expresses or implies a reference to colour where no such reference

¹ Cf. *form*, which means originally 'skin', 'complexion'.
² Cf. De Quincey, *London's Confessions*, note to chap. vi, *London*: 'The truth is, colours were as loosely and latitudinarily distinguished by the Greeks and Romans as degrees of affinity and consanguinity are everywhere.' So further Smith's *Phil. & Crit. Antiquities*, 10, 11, and Robinson-Smith in *Nature*, 1914, 10, 11.

³ For the modern Englishman does not see the difference between a brown and a green, a yellow and a grey, a pink and a grey, a brown, white, and black, though he is able to distinguish many other shades of colour for which the English language has no names, as well as probably others for which it has.

⁴ I use the modern Englishman as an example, not as a standard, but as a point of comparison. The modern Englishman does not see the difference between a brown and a green, a yellow and a grey, a pink and a grey, a brown, white, and black, though he is able to distinguish many other shades of colour for which the English language has no names, as well as probably others for which it has.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

(1) *Light and degrees of light.*—The word $\pi\alpha$, *pal*, (from $\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$, Syr. *gāh*, 'to shine'), used in Cant. 5.16 to denote the glow of a healthy complexion and translated 'white' in the EV, means primarily *glancing* or *glistening* (cp its use in Jer. 1.11, if the text is correct, of a wind) [AV 'dry', RV 'hot'] in Is. 18.4 of heat [EV 'clear'], and in 32.4 as an adverb [EV 'plainly']. G represents it in Cant. by λευκος, a word which originally contained a similar idea, as is shown by its use in Mt. 17.4 Mk 9.4 and Lk. 9.9.

The term שִׁהֲבִיב, *śihbîb* (from שִׁהֲבָה, Ar. *śahiba*), 'glittering like gold', starts with the same idea. It is used of leprous hair in Lev. 13.30-32, where the EV represents it by 'yellow,' and in Ezr. 8.27 the Hophal participle of the same root is applied to 'brass' (AV 'fine copper,' RV 'bright brass'). In Lev. 13.30-32 G translates it by *ξανθήων*, and in 13.36 by *ξανθῆς*, whereas in Ezra 8.27 (= 1 Esd. 8.37) it would seem to render by *στύλαιον* [BAL].¹ To express 'brilliant,' as contrasted with 'white,' the NT employs λαμπρός in Lk. 23.11 (EV 'gorgeous'), Acts 10.33 (EV 'bright'), Ja. 2.2 (AV 'goodly,' RV 'fine'), Rev. 15.6 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'), and Rev. 19.3 (AV 'white,' RV 'bright'). In Acts 10.33 Ja. 2.2 Rev. 15.6 the Vulgate translates the word by *caudus*.

8. Degrees of dark. *Shūr*, 'to be black') is employed. It is used of the dark hair in a leprous rising (chap. 12, v. 4) of a leprous

Another word **חָמָה**, *hum* (from **חָמָה**=**חָמָה**), applied to sheep whose wool has been scorched by the sun, though really meaning simply 'dark,' may be translated 'brown,' as is done by AV in Gen. 30₃₂f. 35 40. In G it is rendered by **φαῖδος** and once (v. 40) by **οἰαλμός**. To express the idea of gloom and sorrow

¹ The Heb. has דָּבַר אֶת הַמִּשְׁכָּה וְאֵת כָּל הַיָּדוּעִים בְּחֹזֶק יָד (Job 38:16). For this I.Esd. has καὶ σκευή λαλὰ ἀπὸ λαλοῦ χρηστοί στιλβόντα σκευή δεκά [H] and κ. σ. χ. ἀπὸ χ. χρηστοί στιλβόντος χρυσίουδεκα δέκα duo [L].

² There is also a form קַמְרִיר *kamrîr* (Job 35 plur. constr., קַמְרִי) which occurs in Job (AV black), and has often been connected with an Aram. root: קַמְר 'to be black.' BDJH,

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we meet with the root קָדַר, *qadhar*, which has the primary meaning 'to be dirty.' Thus it can be applied to the turbid water of a brook (Job 6:10), to a sorrowful countenance (Jer. 8:21), to mourning garments (Is. 64:6), and even to garbs of a mourning city (Jer. 14:2) and to the heavens (Jer. 14:19; K. 15:43). In Is. 50:14 a derivative קָדַרְתִּי from the same root is used of the mourning garb of the heavens (EV 'blackness'). To the same root also probably belong the names Kedar (Gen. 25:13) and Kudron (Is. 28:15²³; see SAMUEL, § 102). Further, קָדַר, *qadark*, 'to be dark,' a word generally used of the darkness of approaching night (cp. Job 18:6; Is. 5:10), is used in Lam. 5:17 of the eyes becoming dim, in Is. 60:24 of their becoming blind; and in Lam. 4:2 the same term is applied to a dark complexion. This root gives us the common word for 'darkness' (קָדַר). Both קָדַר and קָדַר are represented in Ⲭ by ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲧⲁⲓⲣ, ⲕⲟⲩⲟⲩⲣ, ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲁⲓⲣ; and קָדַר also by ⲕⲟⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲁⲓⲣ.

Finally, to this class belong also apparently שֶׁחֵלֶלֶת *hakkhīlēt* (Gen. 49:12, שֶׁחֵלֶלֶת *hakkhīlēt*), שֶׁחֵלֶלֶת *hakkhīlēt* (Prov. 23:26, שֶׁחֵלֶלֶת *hakkhīlēt*), both of them seem to refer to the *stult* (EV 'red') appearance of the eyes after excessive drinking (cp the name Hachīlāl [שֶׁחֵלֶלֶת] I S. 23:19), and see NABI s. § 102).

(3) *Natural colours*. — Under this heading are included those Hebrew words which more closely resemble our natural colour-terms. There are three

9. Natural colours : white. classes : (α) white, (β) red, (γ) green. It is doubtless true that primarily white denoted simply purity, green paleness, and red depth of light ; but the use to which the words are applied shows that the Hebrews attached to them fairly definite ideas of colour.

(a) White is commonly represented by לָבָן , *lāḇhān*. Thus it is used of the colour of goats (Gen. 30.35-37), of teeth (49.12), of mammals (Ex. 16.31), of leprous hair (Lev. 13.10-20 f.), of the leprous spot (Lev. 13.24-38 f.), of garment (Ecd. 9.8), and of horses (Zech. 1.8-6.36). Here also, as with the shades of dark, different shades of colour seem to be clearly distinguished, as 'milk-white' (Gen. 49.12), 'coriander-seed white' (Ex. 16.31), 'snow-white' (Num. 12.10-2 K. 5.27 Ps. 68.14 Is. 1.18), and in the NT 'wool-white' (Rev. 1.14), 'bright-white' (Mt. 17.1 Lk. 9.29) and 'harvest-white' (Jn. 4.35). We even find in Lev. 13.39 a compound expression לָבָן וְדָרְכִי used to describe a shade of white (LV 'darkish white', RV 'dull white').

From the same Hebrew root seem to be derived the names Laban (גִּזְן Gen. 21:29), Libni (גִּזְן Ex. 6:17), Libnah (גִּזְן Josh. 10:27; but see LIBNATH), Lebannah (גִּזְן Ez. 2:45), and Lebanon (גִּזְן 1 K. 22:6[5]), so-called either on account of its snow-capped peak or from the colour of its stone, as well as its substantives גִּזְן, *Libnathāh* 'moon' (Ca. 6 to), גִּזְן, *Libnathāh* 'white-poplar' (Gen. 30:37), and, possibly, גִּזְן, *Libnathāh* 'brick' (Ex. 1:14; see, however, BRICK, § 1, n.). See NAME §§ 66, 102.

The corresponding root in Aramaic is ܚܪ , *hur*, which in Is. 29:22 is used (as a verb) of the face becoming pale with shame, and in Dan. 7:9 of a snow-white garment. Both these words are usually represented in G by $\text{A}\epsilon\text{K}\alpha\text{I}\alpha\text{I}$ (cp. however, Gen. 30:37 where $\text{X}\alpha\text{p}\alpha\text{S}$ = $\text{I}\alpha$), and, moreover, there occurs in the Apocrypha a word $\text{A}\epsilon\text{K}\alpha\text{I}\alpha\text{I}$ which is used of a disease of the eyes (Eob. 2:30 3:17 6:8 8:13, but in Ecclus. 4:18 $\text{A}\epsilon\text{K}\alpha\text{I}\alpha\text{I}$, Heb. עִוְרָה).

To the same class, perhaps, belongs also גֶּזֶר, Gen 40:10. In the RV it is translated 'white bread'; but from what follows in the context the word would seem to refer not to the contents of the baskets, but to the baskets themselves (AV 'white baskets'). Finally, to express the idea of the hair becoming grayish-white through age, there is the root שִׁיבָה, *šibhā* (1 S. 12:2 Job 15:

¹ Rodes of state seem to have been of white as well as purple color. Cf. *Int. vegg.* 8, p. viii, 7, xix, 8. *Polychrom. Etrusca*, ed. *Lucas*, no. xxviii, 3, 200, 147, 176.

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whence the derivative *שֵׁנִי*, *shēnī*, 'gray hair' (Gen. 42:38 11:20; Deut. 32:23 Hos. 7:9 Prov. 20:29 or 'old age' (Is. 46:4). In *שֵׁנִי* it is usually represented correctly by *σιν* or *σιν* *σιν*.

(3) Perhaps the most clearly distinguished of the natural colours, as being the colour of blood, was *red*, to express which the Hebrews commonly used the root *אֵדָם*, 'adham. That it denoted a brilliant hue is evident from the fact that Isaiah uses the verb *אֵדָם* in the sense of becoming like scarlet (*אֵדָם*, see below, § 14) and the Priestly Code speaks of skins dyed red (*אֵדָם*). The adjective *אֵדָם*, 'adham, is applied to blood in 2 K. 3:22, to blood-stained apparel in Is. 63:2; and verbal forms, to a blood-besmeared shield (*אֵדָם*) in Nah. 2:4 [3], and to wine (*אֵדָם*) in Prov. 23:31. The root, however, was also employed to describe other colours of a reddish hue is apparent from its use as applied to a heifer (Nu. 19:2) or a horse (Zech. 1:8), to a reddish-brown (*אֵדָם*, Gen. 25:25 1 S. 16:12; cp Lam. 1:7, Cant. 5:10, and see GORIATIN, § 2, n.) skin, as well as to reddish or brownish-yellow lentils (Gen. 25:30).² The Priestly Code uses also a diminutive form (*אֵדָמָה*) to express merely 'reddish,' applying it to the colour of the leprous spot (Lev. 13:19-24) or sore (Lev. 13:42 f.).

From the same root are derived the names Edom (*אֵדָם* Gen. 25:30), Admah (*אֵדָמָה* Gen. 10:19), and Adumim (*אֵדָמִים* Josh. 15:7 18:17; see NAMES, § 10) as well as the precious stone called *אֵדָם* (see RUBY and PRECIOUS STONES). To *אֵדָם* 'adham, corresponds *ruppōs* (lit. 'having the colour of fire') in *שֵׁנִי* and NT; and in Mt. 16:23 we find the verb *ruppōs* used of the sky.

Other roots, however, besides this are occasionally employed to designate this colour. Thus the root *אֵדָם*, *adham*, which usually conveys the idea of 'acidity, fermentation,' seems to be used in Is. 63:1 to denote a colour; and the context requires a blood- or wine-like appearance (cp Eng. sorrel, (1) *rum saur* and (2) from *saur*—reddish-brown). *אֵדָם* in Zech. 1:8 is also from the context, possibly to be read *אֵדָם* (Cle.); cp Ges. Buhl, *אֵדָם*. The root *אֵדָם* 'adham 'to be red,' is traced by some in Ps. 75:9, and, with more justice, in Job 16:16 (P⁵⁷al form). To this class we may also probably assign *אֵדָם*, *adham*, 'reddish-brown' (cp Ar. *al-ham*, 'a sorrel-horse,' and Heb. *שֵׁנִי*)—a term used in Zech. 1:8 of a horse.

(7) The third natural colour term describes those uncertain hues—colours which it has, in all ages, been found difficult to distinguish—that

11. Green waver between blue, yellow, and green.

In Hebrew the adjective employed (*אֵדָם*, 'to be pale,' cp Assy. *ariku*, 'to grow pale' [of the face], *arku*, 'yellow,' and Aram. *אֵדָם*, 'to be pale') can be applied to the colour of vegetation (Job 39:8 2 K. 19:26 Is. 37:27); and a substantive *אֵדָם*, *ariku*, derived from the same root denotes vegetable produce in general. As, moreover, the root idea of the word was originally, like that of *χλωρός* its Greek equivalent, merely *pale*ness or faintness of colour, a derivative (*אֵדָם*) can be used to describe a panic-stricken countenance (Jer. 30:6) or the fading colour of decaying vegetation (Deut. 28:22 Amos 4:9 Hag. 2:17). Further, to express simply 'pale,' a diminutive form (*אֵדָם*) can be used of plague spots (Lev. 13:49 11:37) or of the appearance of gold (Ps. 68:13).⁴ On the word *אֵדָם*, *ariku* ('to be yellow?'; cp NAMES, § 66) which is applied to gold (Ps. 68:14, etc.) and seems to denote a shade of yellow, see GORIATIN.

(4) **Variegated surfaces.**—A few words occur which, though their precise meaning is uncertain, undoubtedly

¹ Che., *אֵדָם*, cp Lam. 4:7 (Ex. 7, Aug. 1309). If, however, 1 S. 16:12 refers, not to David's complexion, but to the colour of his hair, the word will then mean 'reddish.'

² Unless we point *אֵדָם* (see Esau, § 1).

³ From this root some derive *אֵדָם*, *hēmār*, 'asphalt,' *אֵדָם*, *hēmār*, 'clay,' *אֵדָם*, *yaḥmār*, 'roebuck.'

⁴ Cp ME-JARKON (a doubtful place-name in Josh. 10:46).

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denote a parti-coloured appearance of some kind; their employment being for the most part restricted to the description of animals. Of these the term rendered in AV by 'ringstraked' and applied to goats (*אֵדָם*, *adham*, Gen. 30:35 10 f. 11:8 1:12), probably has reference to white stripes on an otherwise dark skin; that translated 'speckled' (*אֵדָם*, *adham*, Gen. 30:35 1:12) to light spots on a dark skin; and that represented by 'grised' (*אֵדָם*, *adham*) and used of both goats (Gen. 31:10 1:12) and horses (Zech. 1:8) to light patches on a dark skin. The last word would, therefore, probably correspond to our *piebald*.

In Jer. 12:9 (RV) we meet with the phrase 'a speckled (אֵדָם) bird of prey.' The commentators have sought to justify and explain it; but it remains improbable.¹ A combination of different colours is expressed in Gen. 20:2 f. by *אֵדָם*, *adham*, probably 'besprinkled,' 'becked' (cp *sparsus*). The same term is used in Ezek. 16:16 of the dyed stuffs of many colours with which other peoples were wont to decorate their shawls.

(5) **Pigments.**—The Hebrews knew and made use of several pigments, three of which were derived from animals. These three dyes were all manufactured by the Phoenicians; the one 'scarlet' or 'crimson' (whence its Gr. name *κόκκιος* and Lat. *phoeniceum*), from an insect (*coccus*) which gave its name to a species of oak on which it was found (*Ilex coccifera*); the other two from a slimy secretion found in a special gland of a species of shell-fish called *Murex trunculus* and *Murex brandaris*.

By infusing the insect (*coccus*) in boiling water a beautiful red dye was produced, superior in effect and durability to cochineal; the other dyes when applied to articles became at first of a whitish colour, but under the influence of sunlight changed to yellowish greenish and finally to purple, the purple being red or blue according to the species of shell-fish employed. These three colours were held in high estimation by the ancients on account of both their brilliancy and their costliness. The purple-blue is translated 'blue' in the EV, but must have corresponded rather to our *violet*, by which it is once rendered in the AV (Esh. 1:6 and in the margin 8:13). The Hebrews knew no blue colour with which to compare it, and hence it is said in *Isaiah* 1:2 that 'purple-blue is like the sea, and the sea is like the plants, and the plants are like the firmament of heaven' (see also *Isaiah* 4:4 and cp Del. in *PALESTINE*, 19, 482, *Isaiah* 1:2 f., and the articles *PURPLE*, *SCARLET*, *BLUE*, *CRIMSON*).

(a) To designate the first of the dyes mentioned above, the Hebrews sometimes used simply *אֵדָם*, *adham*, 'worm,' just as we speak of crimson

14. Scarlet. (fr. Arab. *krumiz*=Sansk. *krīmi*) and cochineal (really a term denoting the insect *coccus cacti* found in Mexico). Thus it is used in Is. 1:13 as the most natural example of a glaring and indelible dye, and in Lam. 4:5 (where *אֵדָם* gives the simple term *κόκκος*, 'berry' [A. *κόκκος*], the insect being regarded in early times as a species of berry) of princely raiment. It even occurs as a verbal derivative (*אֵדָם*, Nah. 2:4 [4]; *אֵדָם* *ἐμπαίζοντας*) with the meaning 'to be clothed in scarlet' (see, however, DRESS, § 3, n.1). More often, however, the form *אֵדָם*, *adham*, is found with the addition, either before or after it, of the word *אֵדָם*, *adham*—a word which has been derived from the root *אֵדָם*, *adham* (cp Assy. *admu*, possibly fr. *admu*, supposed to mean 'to glitter,' and is thought to refer to the brilliant colour derived from the *אֵדָם*). In this form it is mentioned as a costly possession (Ex. 35:23), and as being, therefore, suitable for an offering (Ex. 25:4 27:6 Lev. 11:4 [11:4] 64:15 12:31 Nu. 19:6 [19:6] for the hangings (Ex. 26:36

¹ *ἄσπετος* *ἀσπετος* (BHQ; but *ἀσπετος* [A]). *אֵדָם* seems to be an old word for hyena (see ZEPHORA). *אֵדָם*, which may have been miswritten *אֵדָם*, out of which we may derive a false reading *אֵדָם* (see Singf.-Sta. 1:1, 1:2).

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27.16 36.17 38.18), for the ephod (Ex. 28.56 39.28), for the priests' girdle (Ex. 28.8 39.52), for the breastplate (Ex. 28.15 39.8), and for the embroidered pomegranates (Ex. 28.33 39.24), etc. In Ecclesi. 45.1, also, it is used of some kind of embroidered work (Gr. *κεκασμένη κοκκω*; vet. Lat. *fortificatio*). A thread of this colour—expressed by *laui* alone—was commonly used in the times of the Jubilee as a mark (Gen. 38.28; Josh. 2.1, 11), and the single term is employed in two poetical passages (2S. 1.4, where the maidens of Israel are called upon to lament Saul, who used to clothe them in scarlet; and Ca. 1.9 as equivalent to the longer expression). In the acrostic on the 'Capable Woman' the same word is used in the plural (*laui*, *laui*) to describe the warm clothing provided against the cold of winter (Prov. 31.21), and in Is. 1.18 to denote probably scarlet-stuff as distinguished from the dye itself (*laui*). As a substitute for these expressions we find the Chremeter using a word *karml* (2 Ch. 27.14 31.4, cp. Ex. 36.15), derived from the Persian (*kirm*, 'a worm'; see CRIMSON, and cp. above). In *κόκκινος* is chosen to represent all these expressions, and there can be no doubt that where the same word occurs in the NT it denotes this dye (Mt. 27.28 Heb. 9.10 Rev. 17.34 18.12).

Later OT writers knew of another pigment of a like shade of colour, called *argaman* (1 V. 'vermilion')—perhaps oxide of lead (cp. *ῥομαίος* and see Richm. *Hilf* 'Menning'). It was used for painting ceilings (Jer. 22.14, *ῥομαίος*) and images (Ezek. 23.14, *ῥομαίος*). (3) The Purple-blue (*ῥομαίος*, *techeleth*, Assy. *ta-ki-ta*) and Purple-red (*ῥομαίος*, *argaman*, Bib. Aram. *argaman*).

15. Purples. Assy. *argamanna* dyed stuffs also figure largely in the decoration of the Tabernacle and the priestly robes; but they can hardly have been known as early as the scarlet (cp. CANTICLES, § 15), their employment being characteristic of P and later writers. They also can be used for an offering (Ex. 25.4 35.6), as being a valuable possession (Ex. 35.23), as well as for the curtains (Ex. 26.1 36.8), for the veil (Ex. 26.31 36.15), for the hangings (Ex. 26.36 27.16 36.37 38.18), for the priest's ephod (Ex. 28.6 39.2), for the girdle (Ex. 28.8 39.52), and for the breastplate (Ex. 28.15 39.8), etc. A late prophet knows both colours as part of the splendour of heathen worship (Jer. 10.6). It seems natural also to another late writer to assume that the Midianitish chiefs would wear robes of purple-red (Judg. 8.26); and Ezekiel tells how the robes of purple-blue worn by the Assyrians had struck the imagination of the women of Israel (23.6), whilst he also knows (27.7) of purple-blue and purple-red from ELISHAH (q.v.). In Ecclesi., too, both dyes are mentioned (45.10) as occupying a prominent place in the raiment of Moses, and in 6.30 ribbons of purple-blue are said to form part of the adornment of Wisdom. On the defeat of Gorgias dyed stuffs of both colours were taken by Judas Maccabeus among the spoil (1 Macc. 4.23). Of the two purples red seems to have been preferred. Solomon's 'seat of purple' (Cant. 3.10) is perhaps due to error (see PURPLE); but purple robes of office were common. Judas was struck by the fact that the Romans, notwithstanding their power and riches, were not clothed in purple (1 Macc. 8.14). When, however, Alexander appoints Jonathan high priest, he sends him a purple-red robe (10.26 26.4 [RV]); so likewise Antiochus when he confirms him in the office (11.53). On the other hand, when the treachery of Andronicus is discovered, he is at once deprived of the purple robe (2 Macc. 4.32). Similarly in the NT in Mt. 27.28 (*ῥομαίος* *κοκκινῶν*) Mk. 15.17 (*πορφύρεα*) and Jn. 19.2 (*ῥομαίος* *πορφύρεα*), the red-purple robe is used as a mark of majesty; while in Lk. 16.19 (*πορφύρεα*) it is one of the characteristics of a rich man. In Rev. 17.4

1 *ῥομαίος* (v. 22) however suggests *ῥομαίος* 'double.' So Vg. Schleusser, Gril., Che.

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(*πορφύρεον καὶ κόκκινον*) it is part of the attire of the great harlot, and in 18.12 (*πορφύρεα*) is referred to as valuable merchandise (cp. also 2.16 *πορφύρεον*). It is also worthy of note that one of Paul's converts made her living by selling this dye (*πορφύροπώλις*, Acts 16.14). In Cant. 7.6 the hair of the bride seems to be compared with purple (*ῥομαίος*), and Greek parallels for this are quoted. The comparison, however, can hardly be trusted, for *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος* is a dittogram of *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος* which precedes. Each form of the clause seems to be correct in one half than the other. Read, perhaps, with Cheyne 'The locks of thy head are like Carmel' (*ῥομαίος*); they are pleasant (*ῥομαίος*) as an orchard of pomegranates' (see GALLI RV, 2). *ῥομαίος* is plainly some word which should follow *ῥομαίος* probably *ῥομαίος* (written *ῥομαίος* and corrupted to *ῥομαίος* cp. HAIR, § 15). In the Gr. *ῥομαίος* is commonly represented by *δακτύλος* and *δακτύλος*, and *ῥομαίος* by *πορφύρεος* in both OT and NT (see Rev. 9.17 21.2).

(6) *Object*.—The words included under this heading denote objects of which a particular shade of colour was characteristic. Thus *ῥομαίος* (2 Ch. 2.12) was the fine cotton of the linen manufactured by the Egyptians and called elsewhere (Ex. 26.1 Gen. 41.42, etc.) *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* (see Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 448, and the articles EGYPT, § 35, COTTON, and LINEN). *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος*, Easth. 16 probably means 'white-stuff' (whence *ῥομαίος* in Is. 19.9), and *ῥομαίος* (Pers. *karpas*) 'white cotton.' Three more rare words occur in the same verse which have been thought to denote different species of valuable stone or plaster: *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* (also in Ca. 5.13) which has been supposed to be identical with *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* (1 Ch. 29.2) and to mean 'white marble' or 'alabaster'; *ῥομαίος* (*ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος*) denoting perhaps 'porphyry' (so BDB; EV 'white marble'; RV¹⁸ 'porphyry'); *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος*, meaning possibly 'pearl' or 'pearl-like stone'; *ῥομαίος* (*ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος*); and *ῥομαίος* (*ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος*) EV 'black marble,' RV¹⁸ 'stone of one colour', which has been derived from *ῥομαίος* = *ῥομαίος*, and taken to mean 'black marble' (see, however, MARAI).

Lastly it remains to notice a few passages in which the EV unnecessarily implies a reference to colour. Thus the colour 'green' is sometimes used in the EV to represent words denoting not colour but a healthy and flourishing condition. Of such words *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* which means rather 'luxuriant' is correctly translated in G by various words expressive of *luxuriance* (*ῥομαίος* Dt. 12.15 57.5; *ῥομαίος* 3 K. 14.3 Ca. 1.6 Ez. 6.13 *ῥομαίος* 4 K. 16.4 17.10 2 Ch. 28.4 Jer. 36.13 17.8 Ez. 27.6). Very similar is the use of *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος*, 'fresh, moist' (*ῥομαίος* Gen. 30.17 Ez. 17.24 20.47 [21.3]; *ῥομαίος* Judg. 16.7 8) and *ῥομαίος*, 'juicy' (*ῥομαίος* Job 8.16). Again *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* denotes 'fresh, juicy ears of corn' (Lev. 2.14), and *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* can be used of 'fresh young plants' (Job 8.12 Cant. 6.11); whilst *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* seems to denote tender young fruits (Ca. 2.13, see Del. *ad loc.*), and *ῥομαίος*, *ῥομαίος* (Lev. 23.14) applies to 'garden fruit' in general.

To this category belong also such compound expressions as *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος* 'grassy pastures' (Ps. 23.2) and *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος* 'sprouts of the field' (Eccles. 40.22). In all these cases the term 'green' used in AV, might indeed serve as a paraphrase; but it is otherwise with the following examples:—In Job 6.6 the word translated 'white' (of an egg) is thought by many to mean 'the juice of purlan' (3 RV¹⁸ *ῥομαίος* *ῥομαίος* but see Fowl), but whichever interpretation be adopted it will be admitted that the Hebrew word contains no idea of colour. Similarly *ῥομαίος*, the reading adopted by EV in Is. 27.2 (AV 'red wine'; RV¹⁸ 'wine') instead of *ῥομαίος* (RV¹⁸ 'a pleasant vineyard'); see SBD L, means really 'foaming wine' (Driver on Is. 52.14); and

1 *ῥομαίος* also gives *δακτύλος* for *ῥομαίος* (Ex. 25.3 26.14 36.7 27.2, etc.) taking it as the equivalent of *ῥομαίος*.

COMFORTER

עֵצִי in the expression עֵצִי עֵצִי (Ex. 10:12, etc.; Wisd. 10:13 *ἡ ἀσπασία ἐπιθρηνητική*), meaning 'reed', contains no reference to colour. Moreover, in the expressions עֵצִי עֵצִי (AV 'black night', RV 'blackness of night') in Ps. 70 and עֵצִי עֵצִי (AV 'blackness') in Job 26:14, the English renderings are purely paraphrastic. In the same way the long robe (perhaps white with a blue border) worn by Joseph (Gen 37:3) and by Tamar (2 S. 13:18) is transformed in the RV into 'a coat of many colours'. In Ps. 20:10 (עֵצִי עֵצִי AV 'blossoms') and Eccles. 23:10 (מַעֲשֵׂה עֵצִי AV 'blue mark') the words mean literally 'bruisings'.

Literature.—Richard, *HB* 1:1; Carlen, *Lg* 10; Benington, *Arch. 26*, 6; 'Larbenmannen'; Nowack, *HB* 26, 6; 'Maderel'; Del., *Tris*, and 'Farben' in *PRF* 30; Perrot and Chipiez (W. Armstrong), *Hist. of Art in Palestine, Judea, Syria, and Asia Minor*, 1901, 1902; and, since the above was written, an article by G. W. Thacher in *Hastings' DB*, 1902, 1:1, 1:1.

COMFORTER (ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΤΟΣ [Ti WH]), Jn. 1:11b. See PARACLETE.

COMMENTARY (מִשְׁנָה), 2 Ch. 13:22 RV, AV⁹⁶. See CHRONICLES, § 6 [2]; HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 14.

COMMERCE. See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

COMMON. The negatives of the qualities 'clean,' 'holy' (see CLEAN, § 1) are—

1. 'Common,' a synonym for 'unclean' (see CLEAN), constantly in RV for *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης* (properly, 'that which is open,' Bandissin, *Stadion*, 2:1). AV, however, only two renders *het* thus (1 S. 21:4; 2; elsewhere it has 'unholy' (Lev. 10:10) or 'profane' (Ezek. 22:26, 42:20, 44:23, 48:15)). In NT, the RV is less strict with *κοινός*, which is almost indifferently rendered 'common,' 'unclean,' 'unholy,' 'defiled,' 'polluted.' So in 1 Macc. 1:47, 6; RV (with AV) gives 'unclean' for *κοινός*. No injury is done to the sense; cp. V. 10:15, 'what God hath defiled' (i.e. pronounced clean), that call not thou common'; 7:11, 'common and unclean.' That which is 'common' is free, or at any rate is treated as if free, from ceremonial restrictions; it can be used in the common life—the life of the *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης*, the unintelligent 'people of the land' (ὁ ἄλλος οὗτος ὁ ἡ γυνάσκων τὸν νόμον, In. 7:49). And those who use what is only treated as if 'common' or 'open,' when it has no right to be so treated, become 'common'—i.e., unclean—themselves. 'Common,' therefore, becomes a wide term, dangerously wide from a truly religious point of view. What an irony in the evangelist's expression 'with common' (RV defiled), that is, unwashed hands!

2. 'Unclean,' the strict rendering of *ἀκαθάρτος* in NT, of *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης*, in OT (ἡ ἀκαθάρτης). Both 'common' and 'unclean' can be used (1) of forbidden foods or of animals which may not be eaten (Acts 10:11, 11:8, 15:20). (2) Of persons who are not Jews, or who do not belong to the Christian community (Acts 10:28, 1 Cor. 7:14, 2 Cor. 6:17; cp. *κοινός*, Mk. 7:15 and parallels, Heb. 9:13 Rev. 21:27 [RT and RV]).

3. 'Unholy,' given in AV of Lev. 10:10 (*ἡ ἀκαθάρτης*) becomes 'common' in RV. In Ezek. 22:26, 42:20, 44:23 (same formula), AV renders *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης* 'profane.' The influence of *ἡ ἀκαθάρτης* and Vg. may be suspected; these versions respectively give *βέβηλος*, *profanum*, so also in Ezek. 48:15, AV *profane*, Vg. *profana*. 'Profane' is best reserved, however, for other Heb. words (see PROFANE). RV of NT retains 'unholy' in 1 Tim. 1:2, 2 Tim. 2:20 (*ἀνόσιος*), Heb. 10:29 (*κοινός*).

4. On the peculiar technical term *קָדָשׁ*, 'to be polluted,' see HYPOCRISY.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS. In the widest sense of that expression, is usually considered (on the authority of Acts 2:44-47, 4:32-35, 6:1-6) to have been one of the established institutions of the earliest Christian society at Jerusalem. This opinion requires strict limitation; but that limitation is not to be based, as it has been, either on the intrinsic improbability of the institution itself, or on a vague conjecture that the writer of Acts has idealised the facts. It arises from an investigation of the sources of his narrative (cp. Acts, § 11)—a method which has to record one of its most assured results in connection with the subject of the present article.

We have in Acts not one account of the institution but three.

1. Three accounts in Acts.

(a) One account comprehensively records the sale of all lands and houses (*ὑποθήκων ἢ οὐκίων*; Acts 4:34, 5:1); according to 2:45 the sale was of all possessions and goods whatsoever (*τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθήσεις*), a common fund being thus formed, out of which all were supplied according as any man had need. (b) According to another account, the sale of property (*κτῆμα*, 5:1; *ὑποθήκων*, 5:2) cannot have been universally prescribed, or

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even generally customary; for Peter (5:4) expressly declares that Ananias was free to retain in his private possession either his property or the money for which it was sold. Moreover, although there is nothing of there being anything to mark out the act of Barnabas (4:36, 47) from the universal practice assumed in 2:45, such as that the estate was his only one, or was particularly valuable, it is thought worthy of special homologue mention. In 1:27, therefore, it is not assumed, as it is in 4:34, that the sale of property was expected of all. (c) In 4:34, however, where we find 'and' (*καὶ*) and not some word implying 'retained as private property,' there is no notion of any sale of property at all. The idea simply is that the owners placed their property in a general way at the disposal of the community at large. There is no assumption of a common fund.

(d) A fourth account may possibly be distinguished in Acts 2:44.

The statement in 2:44-47, 'they had all things common' by itself alone agrees well enough with the last-mentioned and simplest account. The statement in 4:34, however, which is a more detailed one, and 2:45, which is a more general one, and 2:47, which is a more specific one, all three together might be taken, like 1:27, 2:44, 4:34, 5:1, 2, to refer merely to the exigencies of social washing; but the connection of the clause with the statement that 'they had all things in common' appears to imply that the entire community lived in common, dwelling in the same house and having common meals.

2. Possibly a fourth account.

(1) Cor. 11:20-23, to refer merely to the exigencies of social washing; but the connection of the clause with the statement that 'they had all things in common' appears to imply that the entire community lived in common, dwelling in the same house and having common meals.

This inference, however, may safely be set aside, as it may well be doubted whether the collocation in Acts 2:44 has not arisen from the author's having inadvertently combined two heterogeneous ideas without perceiving the possible misleading effect.

A social institution of the nature indicated would scarcely have been practicable in a community of 120 persons (Acts 1:15) much less in one of 3000 (2:41) or more (2:47). The other statements in Acts do not preclude the supposition that the meals, even love-feasts and the observance of the Lord's Supper associated with them, were held in different houses at the same time. *Κατ' οἶκον* (AV 'from house to house,' AV⁹⁶ and RV 'at home') in 2:46 (p. 542) need not be rendered 'every day' that the whole community assembled on one occasion in one house and on another occasion in another; it may have a distributive meaning like *κατὰ πόλιν* ('in every city') in 15:21 (and *κατ' οἶκον*, that is 'in every house,' in 20:2). In Rom. 16:14, f., we find several household churches in the same city; cp. also 1 Cor. 16:19, Col. 4:15. The complaint about the neglect of certain widows in the daily ministrations (Acts 6:1), which the word *καθημερινή* proves to have referred to their sustenance, could not have arisen if there had been common meals (although indeed the expression 'tables' [*τραπέζαι*] might seem to point to these). It could have arisen only if the widows' share of provisions was brought to their homes.

A misrepresentation of the original idea, similar to that which, as has just been shown, may be present in

3. Acts 5:2, 24, is unquestionably to be found in 5:2 f.

The writer of this verse held Ananias to have sinned in keeping back part of the money obtained by selling his estate. The duplicity with which Peter charges him does not consist in his having, when questioned, passed off as the whole a part of the money thus obtained. It is only Sapphira (5:8) who does this. Ananias, according to 5:2 f., has already committed the crime of keeping back some of the money before he could be questioned by Peter. This cannot possibly be reconciled with Peter's declaration in 5:4, that Ananias had a perfect right to retain the whole. Notwithstanding that plain declaration, the author must have had before his mind, in writing 5:2 f., the stricter view that it was an absolute duty to sell all the property and to hand over the whole of the money.

The hypothesis that the narratives are based on various sources receives material support

4. Acts 1:32, from the impossibility of discovering any real coherence within the passages themselves.

Acts 4:33 treats of a subject quite different from the matters

1. This will also be the sense if we accept the reading of WH, which omits *ἵνα* and the following *καὶ*; they are retained in their marginal reading.

2. *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ* in the NT always refers to place; AV 'into one place.'

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dealt with in the preceding and the following verses. Nor can 4:34 be connected with 4:2. It could be connected with it only if the absence of poor persons were the reason (79a) why all property was common (79.12) instead of being the result of the community of goods. Further, according to 4:34, the absence of poor is due not to community of goods, but to the sale of all property in land and houses and the establishment of a common fund, whereas, in 4:35-36 again, the sale of any property appears as a voluntary act of certain individuals. In like manner 2:42 is so definitely repeated in 2:46 that the narrative can hardly be an independent composition. It must be a compilation. Even more marked is the repetition of the first clause in 2:41, *ἐκαστος δὲ πᾶν ὃ ἔχει*, in the third, *ὅσους γὰρ ἔσχατος ἔτι πᾶσιν*. But even if this last clause be omitted, with WH (though it is difficult to explain how it could have arisen as a variant to the first clause, 2:41, with the reading *καὶ πᾶσιν*), cannot be connected with what precedes. The opening, 'but also all that belonged (were) together, implies that others were together as well. The omission of the *καὶ συνήθησαν* by WH is clearly an attempt to remove the difficulty.

An attempt to prove that all these passages have been compiled by an editor from various sources, could be based only on an examination of the whole book. Such proof is not needful to our present purpose. It will be sufficient to have shown that the book presents three different views on the subject of community of goods.

If it be asked which of the three is the most likely to be the true view, it will be safe to answer that, if any one is to be preferred, it is that which is

5. Which the most trustworthy. simplest (§ 1.1). An account of any institution of the kind, clothed with the glamour of the ideal, is sure to have been exaggerated by writers with incomplete information.

It is certain, however, that the general idea of community of goods was not strange to the primitive Christian society.¹

It is indicated in such sayings of Jesus as those recorded in Mt. 6:19-20; 19:21-24, and in such information about his own life as we find in Lk. 8:3. Besides, we know there was a distinctly Ebionite tendency which applied a literal interpretation to the blessings pronounced on the poor and hungry (Lk. 6:20-26; 24:7), and saw the path of salvation in giving away all property in alms (Lk. 6:34-35; 11:41; 12:43; 16:6). It is not certain indeed that this Ebionite tendency was dominant in the period immediately following the death of Jesus. (The passages cited were taken up by the Third Evangelist from a document which itself rests upon an older written collection of sayings of Jesus. This is proved by the remodelled words in Lk. 6:20-26, which, not having any reference to the disposition of the persons addressed, certainly did not come in their present form from the lips of Jesus. Besides, what is here recommended is not so much community of goods as almsgiving.) The epistles of Paul, which are our most trustworthy authority, only show that in his time (20-30 years after the death of Jesus), the community at Jerusalem was poor, or, at least, contained a good many poor members, and stood in need of assistance from the Gentile-Christian churches (*εἰς τοὺς ἀγαθούς*, 1 Cor. 16:1; 2 Cor. 8:4; 11:3; but *τὸν πτωχὸν* alone, Gal. 2:10; *εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀγίων*, Rom. 15:26).

The Gospels prove that many poor people had already attached themselves to Jesus in his lifetime. An active care for these, and consequently a more or less organised *διακονία*, must be assumed in the original church at Jerusalem. We may well suppose that, in as far as this ministration took the form of a community of goods, it led, according to the usual lesson taught by other attempts of the kind, to the increase of poverty. It may, moreover, be conjectured that in the earliest Christian times the institution of community of goods increased the tendency to forego the pursuit of wealth, which, even without that institution, was occasioned, according to 1 Thess. 1:1-3; 2 Thess. 2:13-17, by the belief that the end of the world was near at hand and by the unrest to which this belief gave rise. We may suppose that wealthy members of the community in Jerusalem allowed their property to become available for the use of poor brethren; and this does not preclude the belief that of their own free will certain persons, such as Barabbas and Ananias, went further and sold their belongings for the benefit of the community.

Still, it is certainly not true that communism was prescribed as obligatory.

The uncertainty of the subject is shown also by Acts 6:1-6. It

¹ We can here only mention the possible influence of Essenism. See LEBLANC, § 3.

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would be very remarkable if there were no necessities persons whose support could be neglected but widows. The phrase seems to be due to a usage of the author's own contemporary (late) period, in which, according to 1 Tim. 5:3-16, the 'widow' had an official position in the community. It is strange that, although the mention of the names of the seven appointed to 'serve tables' (*διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*) points to genuine tradition, their function—they are nowhere styled *διακονοί*—is never referred to afterwards (they are not to be identified with the *προεβήτορες* of 11:30), and that only Hellenists had to complain of the neglect of their widows. Just as in Acts 15:36-40 a less serious dispute is narrated in place of one that had more important issues (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 3), so here, at the bottom of the narrative before us, there really is, we may conjecture, some dissension occasioned by different conceptions of Christianity entertained by the natives of Palestine and by the Christian Jews who had come in from abroad.

In any case, the community of goods did not long, though the view that it came to an end when a society was dispersed by the persecution (Acts 8:1-4) no more than a conjecture.

The subsequent influence of the idealised picture Acts is very noteworthy. In the exhortation to works of charity in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (198), and similarly in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (43), the statement of Acts 4:32 is repeated as a command.

6. Subsequent influence of the idea. 'Say not, "It is private property" (*ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλπίαις*), supported those in need from a common fund (*ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς*), and ridicules the credulity with which they allowed themselves to be cheated by impostors in doing. The influence of the same ideal on the monastic life is obvious.

COMPASS. For מְחַנְּחִין, *m'channin* (περιχρῶνια mg. 2) פְּחָנִין om. 1, RV COMPASSES, Is. 41:13, 14; HANDBRACES, § 2. For כַּרְכֹּבִים, *karkôbîm*, Ex. 27:538, AV 'ledge', see ALTAR, § 6 (a).

CONANIAH (כְּנַנְיָהּ), Kt., כְּנַנְיָהּ, Kr., but according to Baer in 2 Ch. 31:13 כְּנַנְיָהּ; cp CHISNIAH כְּשִׁנְיָהּ; § 31; 'God hath established,' ΧΩΝΕΝΙΑC (Bl. 1, Chief of the temple overseers, temp. Hezekiah, conjunction with his brother Shimei, according to the Chronicler, 2 Ch. 31:12 f. (AV CONONIAH) (Σωχωνία), [A], -ωφει. [B 17, 12]).

2. A 'chief of the Levites' (Ch.) or 'captain over thousands' (1 Esd.), temp. Josiah; 2 Ch. 35:9 (αρχοντας [A]), -ωφει. [A] 1 Esd. 1:9 (αρχοντας [BA]), βασιλεὺς [L]; LV JECONIAS).

CONCUBINE (פְּדִיָּה), Gen. 22:24; Bibl. Ar.

פְּדִיָּה, Dan. 5:21. See MARRIAGE, § 5, FAMILY, § 5 and SLAVERY.

CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS. In a country where the rain-supply is small and irregular, where the possessors scarcely more than one perennial stream (פְּדִיָּה; cp Am. 5:24), and is not rich in springs, the preservation of water in cisterns and reservoirs, and the employment of trenches or conduits to convey it to the place where it was most needed, must have been of paramount importance. Hence the indispensability of rain as the trust placed in the continuance of its supply form the basis of some of the best known and most beautiful metaphors in OT.

Leaving to the article SPRINGS [p. 11] what needs be said upon the natural supply of water, we propose here to notice the artificial means by which it was stored and conveyed.

The ordinary method of preserving water was to dig (פְּדִיָּה) or hew (פְּדִיָּה) out of the living rock a reservoir varying in size from a small pit to a

1. Cisterns. extensive subterranean vault lined with masonry. Such cisterns go back to pre-Israelite times (Dt. 6:11 Nch. 9:2). To dig them was the work of benefactor and deserving of special mention (e.g., 2 Sam. 23:16), and the opening ceremony, on one occasion at least, becomes the subject of a song (see BEER).

The ordinary Heb. term is

1. פְּדִיָּה, *pe'ediyâ* (for variant forms cp *pe'ediyâ* s.v.; *אֲבָקוֹס* [HAL.

essious persons
s. The phrase
s. (comparatively
6, the 'winds',
is strange also
the seven men
ae) points to a
nowhere styled
y are not to be
l that only the
r widows. Just
ated in place of
of JERUSALEM,
ens, there re-ly
oned by different
atives of Palest-
n from abroad.

s did not list
end when the
(Acts 8:1-4) is

sed picture in
tion to works
e of Herodotus
e *Trachiniae*
the statement
a command:
είναι ἰσχυρὰ
the Christians
fund (ἀπὸ τοῦ
h which they
sponsors in so
n the monastic
U. W. S.

περιχώρια (13
Is. 41:13, cf
Ex. 27:5 38:47,

, but accord-
CULANIAN,
HENIAC (BL),
Hezekiah, in
ording to the
u) (Σωχενίας

over thousands'
, σωφρ. (A)P
NIAS).

Bibl. Ar. in
AMILY, § 5 a.

In a country
regular, which
al stream (Σω-
a, the preserv-
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it to the place
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of rain and
of its supply
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What needs to
r, we propose
which it was

er was to dig
ck a reservoir,
all pit to an
ult lined with
Israelite times
the work of a
on (e.g., 20 h.
e occasion at
BEER).

Αερεος (BAL),

properly an artificial excavation, and thus distinct from **כֶּסֶם** *kesem*, a natural well (see **SPRINGS**). When dry the *kesem* is a pit (cp Gen. 37:25) which can be used as a prison (Jer. 38: Gen. 10:15, etc.; cp **כֶּסֶם** Ex. 12:20). In poetical language *kesem* is applied to the pit of the grave (Is. 28:17) or to Sheol (Ps. 93:1). In only two cases does *kesem* occur as part of a place-name: see **BOGASHAN**, **SHAL**.

Other terms are:

2. **כֶּסֶם**, *gohel* (cp Ar. *ghahlan* 'watering-trough'), Is. 30:14 (AV 'pit') in Ezek. 47:11 (AV 'marish' [moorass]), and

3. **כֶּסֶם** Jer. 14:2 K. 2:16 (AV 'ditch', RV 'trench'), perhaps used for purposes of irrigation (cp L. K. 2:12 Jer. 39:10 after K. 2); see **ARABIC** LITERATURE, § 5.

4. **כֶּסֶם**, *berikhah* (כְּרִיחַ, כֶּסֶם) is used of an artificial pool, Eccl. 2:6 (with **כֶּסֶם**), but elsewhere appears to refer to natural springs. Several pools were found in and around Jerusalem (cp below, and see **HERODOTUS**), also in Galilee (2 S. 21:3, Helon (2 S. 4:12), and Samaria (1 K. 22:39); for Cant. 7:4 [5], see **BATH-RAMM**).

5. **כֶּסֶם**, *mikneh*, Is. 22:11, AV 'ditch', RV 'reservoir.'

It was of the utmost importance that citadels should be well supplied with tanks for collecting the rain-water (so at Masada and Machanah, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 146, *Rf* vii. 62, *Exochordos*). A cistern in the temple is mentioned in Eccl. 2:6 (*ἀποδοχείων*): cp below, and see **ST. A. BRZEN**. In the towns it seems to have been customary for every house to possess a cistern (cp 2 K. 18:17 Prov. 3:13). The best example of this is found in Alisha's stele (*Il.* 24 f.); 'there was no cistern (כֶּסֶם) in the midst of the city in כֶּסֶם, and I said to all the people, "Make ye every man a cistern in the midst of his house." The same king records that he made כֶּסֶם בְּכָל הָעָר, 'the locks or dams of the reservoirs for water'; but whether כֶּסֶם (the cutting[s] of water) which Alisha made with the help of his Israelite prisoners was a conduit which fed these reservoirs is uncertain. The view is not improbable, however, since the art of forming channels to convey water was common to all the Semitic races and was not due to foreign influence.

Remains of conduits (כֶּסֶם, ἰδιωτῶν [BAQI], *aqueducts*), connected as a rule with pools, are to be found in many places in Palestine;

2. **Conduits**. they are usually mere trenches running along the surface of the ground, subterranean channels being somewhat rarer. Certain of the rock-cut channels and cisterns in Jerusalem (as well as the Siloam conduit) may be pre-exilic; in many cases, however, they have been enlarged or repaired to such an extent as to make it extremely difficult to tell to what period they belong.

Jerusalem was well supplied with water. Perhaps the most important of its supplies was that which came from the so-called Pools of Solomon beyond Bethlehem (13½ m. distant). These pools (situated close by the *Kal'at el-Barak*) are near 'Atan and Artas, and must have been devised for a more important work than that of merely irrigating gardens (Eccl. 2:6 Eccl. 2:13 f., see **BATH-RAMM**). There are three of them, partly hewn and partly enclosed by masonry. The lowest seems to have been used at one time as an amphitheatre for naval displays.

The pools are fed by two large conduits. The one, after cutting through the valley of 'Atan (Etam) by a tunnel, runs through the Wady Der el-Hemat, along the Wady el-Biär (Valley of Springs), and ultimately enters

1 As Robinson remarks (*RR* 1:480 ff.), 'the main dependence of Jerusalem at the present day is on its cisterns, and this has probably always been the case.'

2 The meaning is not certain: perhaps it is 'two reservoirs.'

3 The Heb. כֶּסֶם, *alal*, is used of ditches for irrigating trees (Ezek. 31:4 *συστήματα* or *συστήματα* [BAQI]), of a trench round an altar (1 K. 18:25 25:12); in these passages *alal* [1] *thalatara* [BAQI], and of conduits or aqueducts in the ordinary sense of the word (Job 38:25, *פְּרוֹת* [BBA] Is. 7:3 [om. *BAQI*] 2 K. 18:17 Is. 36:2 2 K. 20:20).

4 The name 'Solomon's Pools' is based solely upon Eccl. 2:6, and, notwithstanding the statement of Josephus, we have no evidence that the gardens of Solomon were situated in the *Il.* *Artas* (=hortus, garden?); Baed. (9) 129 f.

the *Bar el-Derej* (Spring of Steps). The other is much longer and full of windings. Starting from a large reservoir, the *Bar el-Arrah* (now converted into a garden), it leaves the Wady of the same name, and after crossing the plateau of 'Atan flows into the middle pool. Conduits connect also the Scaled Spring (mod. *Ein Sa'ida*), identified by a modern tradition with the *Sayyid* in Cant. 1:12, and the 'Am 'Atan with this water system.

From the Pools of Solomon the water is led into the city by two conduits. The higher goes along the N. slope of the valley of Barak, descending near Rachel's tomb and rising again. (A syphon was used and remnants of the pipes may still be seen.) It then proceeds towards the hill of 'Atan and the Wady Rababi (see **HINNON**, *VALLEY* etc.). It is partly rock-hewn and partly made of masonry. The lower conduit (still complete) goes with many windings from the lowest pool, E. along the slope of the valley, and then W. above Artas. One arm of the conduit was connected (probably under Herod's government) with the spring of Artas and ran to the Frank mountain. The main arm passes Bethlehem and Rachel's tomb on the S., proceeding sometimes above ground in a channel about 1 ft. square, and sometimes underground in earthen pipes. It then crosses the Hinnon valley by a bridge of nine low arches and meets the other conduit hard by the *Bar el-Salam*. It finally runs SE. and E. along the valley over the causeway, under the *Bar el-Silsieh* (hang-gate), and supplies the 'Elkas' and the king's cistern in the Hinnon. These conduits were repaired by the Sultan Muhammad ibn Kalan of Egypt about 1300 A.D. Their date is unknown. The upper conduit is more artificial, and probably the older. Some refer them to the golden age of Judaism, and traditional and Rabbinical ascribes them to Solomon. It has also been pointed out that they exactly resemble the conduits which were made by the Arabs in Spain.

The well-known Siloam conduit runs from the Virgin's Spring (*Ein Sitti Maryam*) to the Pool of Siloam (see **JERUSALEM**).

4. **The Siloam Conduit**. It runs underground in a circuitous course and is 530 yds. in length (the direct distance between the two pools is 368 yds.). At its lower end it has a height of 16 ft.; but this gradually decreases to 3½ ft., and then to 2½ ft. This low part, however, is near the surface, and perhaps was originally an open channel. It is a dangerous conduit to explore, as the water is apt to enter unexpectedly and fill the passage. In various places false-cuttings and set-backs are found, indicating subsequent changes in the direction taken by the workmen. About 19 ft. from the Siloam end, on the right-hand side as one enters, is an artificial niche which contained a

5. **Siloam Inscription**. tablet bearing on its lower face an inscription. This was first observed in 1880, and was brought under the notice of Schick. The tablet was about 27 inches square, and its top only one yard above the bottom of the channel. The inscription, known as the Siloam inscription, is the oldest

1 In the Jer. Talmud it is stated, moreover, that a conduit led from 'Atan (Etam) to the temple (Jer. *Yoma*, iii. fol. 41; cp Lightfoot, *Descriptio Templi*, chap. 20).

2 Many subterranean passages and structures have been found under the Haram. Cp Jos. *Rf* vi. 7:84 94, and Lucius: 'Templum in modum acis . . . fons perennis aquae, cavae sub terra montes, et piceae cisternaeque servandis imbricibus' (*Hist.* 5:12). Many of these were for removing the water and blood of the sacrifices, or for flushing the blood-banquets (cp *Yoma*, 50, *Pesa'kim*, 22, *Me'ila*, 33, *Middoth*, 33).

3 Jos., indeed, speaks of a conduit which Pilate began to build, taking funds for the purpose from the temple treasury and thereby causing grave disturbances (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 32, *Rf* ix. 94), and in one place gives the length as 400 stadia—a measure which would suit the conduit which leads from the Wady 'Arrah. It is more probable, however, that Pilate simply repaired the existing conduits; his reign was so often disturbed by Jewish seditions that he could hardly have had time to carry out such an immense undertaking. See Schür. *GT* 1410, and cp Jos. *Ant.* x. 17.

4 More precisely, 1757 ft. (Conder); but Warren gives 1703.

Hebrew inscription extant (cp. Dr. TBS xv. c. [face side opposite]), WRITING, § 41.

It runs as follows: '(1) (Behold) the piercing through (פִּקְעוֹת). Now this was the manner of the piercing through. Whilst yet [the miners were] lifting up (עָלָה) the pick (פִּקְעוֹת) each towards his fellow, and whilst there were yet three cubits to be struck through, there was heard the voice of each man (עָלָה) calling to his fellow, for there was a fissure in the rock on the right hand (עָלָה). And on the day of the (4) piercing through, the hewers (פִּקְעוֹת) smote each so as to meet his fellow, pick against pick; and there flowed (עָלָה) the water from the channel (פִּקְעוֹת) to the pool (פִּקְעוֹת) (200) cubits; and a hundred (200) cubits was the height of the rock over the head of the hewers.'

The difference of level in the bed of the channel is so slight that one is led to suppose that the excavators had some kind of test. Shirts were made here and there, probably in order that the men might find out their whereabouts. The first shirt is 47 cubits long to the stream end. After that the passages straighten.

The conduit is the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was in its infancy. Its date is uncertain. It may be the one referred to in 2 K. 20:21 (2 Ch. 32:6), but the allusion in Is. 8:6 to the 'waters of Shiloah that flow gently' suggests that it may have been in existence in the days of Hezekiah.

More or less parallel with this, but straighter, is a channel, evidently connected with the Birket Haimit (Red-pool), which lay to the E. of the Silwan pool. It is older than the Silwan conduit (see Schick, *PEI* 17, Jan. 1891).

The conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field (2 K. 18:17) is identified by Wilson with the aqueduct which seems to have run over the Cotton Grotto to the convent of the Sisters of Zion.⁶ Among other conduits may be noted the one which connects the Citadel or Castle of David (al-Khata) with the Birket Manilla. It is possibly referred to in Jos. *BJ* v. 7.3, where mention is made of the 'gate where water was brought in to the tower of Hippicus' (the latter is usually identified with the NW. tower of the citadel).

For others, less important, see the memoirs of the *PEF*. Many ruins of conduits, more or less well preserved, have been found in other parts of Palestine. It will be sufficient to mention the aqueduct at Jericho across the Wady el-Kelt (see Jos. *Ant.* xii. 141; Schur, *GEI* 1:270); another on the road from Damascus to Ptolemais, not far from Jericho; the canal Furam, which crosses the Wady Zeila near Dabab (L. de la); and the aqueduct conveying water from 'Am et-Jabigha (Perrot) to the *Art in Ind.* 1:107; *Bauw.* 221).

(See 'Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt Jerusalem,' *ZDPV* 1:172-175 (1878); Ben-Zvi, *Heb. Arch.* 51 ff. 210 f.; Warren and Conder, *Jerusalem*; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Ind.*; *Rail. passim*, and the many notes and articles in the *PEF* publications.) S. A. C.

CONEY (פִּקְעוֹת), see SHAPHAN; ΧΟΙΡΟΓΡΥΑΛΙΟC [BAPI] [Th. and many MSS of LXX have ΛΑΓΩΟC in Ps. 104:13]. Lev. 11:5 [in G¹], unless the order of the verses is accidentally reversed, פִּקְעוֹת is translated δασύπους [Dt. 14:7 Ps. 104:13 Pr. 30:26] should rather be 'rock badger' (RV¹⁹⁰⁸), the animal having been identified with certainty as *Hyrax syriacus*—called in Syriac *hī, dū* and in Arabic *qabīr* (Roh. *LBR* 3:387, Tristram, *PEP* 1 f.).

¹ פִּקְעוֹת, wholly unknown, is translated by Sayce (*R¹⁹⁰²* 1175) 'excess', referring to a set-back. For the illegible part in the middle of f. 3 he suggests 'and on the left.'

² פִּקְעוֹת, like *Ave. naga*, seems to mean 'channel,' 'water-course'; cp. *COI* 2:311 ff.

³ So most, reading פִּקְעוֹת [פִּקְעוֹת]; but the surface of the rock is here only about 10 ft. above the top of the tunnel whilst towards the N. it is 170 ft. This reading may represent the average thickness of the rock. Since, however, at the place of juncture (315-13 ft. from the back of the Virgin's fountain) there is a difference of height of 10-11 inches another reading פִּקְעוֹת [פִּקְעוֹת], 'a portion' [of a cubit], has been proposed (cp. Sayce, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ It is otherwise identified with the one whose remains running W. and E. were discovered during the digging of the foundations for the English church.

⁵ So Stadel, *GLT* 1594.

⁶ Jos. (*BJ* v. 42) places the Royal Caverns (Cotton Grotto) near the Fuller's Monument. See *Athenaeum*, 6th Feb. 1875.

⁷ The name *thufan*, which is almost the same word as פִּקְעוֹת, is stated by Fresnel (*JRAS*, 1838, p. 514) to have been found by him in use among the southern Arabs for the *jerboa*, an animal somewhat resembling the *hyrax*.

The origin of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain: it has been derived by Rödiger and others from a root meaning 'hide,' akin to פִּקְעוֹת. The rendering 'coney' (the probable meaning of the Paganic פִּקְעוֹת) is due to Jewish tradition, but habits of the rabbit do not suit the term in Ps. 104:13. *Jerboa*. See also *Is. 14:14* for פִּקְעוֹת rendering χοιρογρυαλλίον, *hōlōgōgōl*.

The *sharkhan* of OT is known to naturalists under the name of *Procyon (Hyrax) syriacus* (Schub.). It is a member of the Hyracoidea, one of the most remarkable orders of the Mammalia.

The Syrian *hyrax* is about the size of a small rabbit, and a superficial resemblance to that rodent. It is of a dull orange-brown or tawny colour, and has prominent incisor teeth, one in the upper jaw and two in the lower; the former, as in rodents, grow throughout life, but instead of being chisel-shaped at their tips are pointed, and the teeth are triangular in section. As in the rodents, there is a wide gap between the incisor and the molar teeth. The zoological position of the order is obscure. Cuvier pointed out certain anatomical features which they share with the primates; but this relation has not been universally accepted, and at present it is better to regard them as an isolated order. Paleontology has so far thrown no light on the subject. About fourteen species of *hyrax* are known, all of them in Africa, Asia, and Syria. The *P. (Hyrax) syriacus*, like its congeners, lives in holes in rocky ground; usually in animals are found together, and they are very shy and frightened. When alarmed they utter a shrill cry and have a habit of retreat to their holes. According to Nassonow, they are omnivorous. They eat green leaves, fruit, &c. They are said to make a nest of grass and fur, and to bring forth from two to three to six—three seems the usual number—young at a time. The Arabs esteem them as food, though Canon Tristram found them 'rather dry and insipid.'

N. M.—A. E. S.

CONFECTION, CONFECTIONARIES (עֲשֵׂי, *AV*, 1 S. 8:13, 14), old words meaning a composition (*Confection*), or mixture of drugs or dainties, and those who prepare such mixtures—*i.e.*, 'apothecaries' respectively. RV correctly translates: 'a perfume' (עֲשֵׂי) after the art of the perfumer (עֲשֵׂי). In 1 S. 8:13 female perfumers are meant (עֲשֵׂי, *μυροφῶι, unguentarie*). It is the masc. pl. of the same word (עֲשֵׂי) that is rendered 'apothecaries' in EV (RV¹⁹⁰⁸ 'perfumers') in Neh. 3:8 (עֲשֵׂי [1 S.], *μυροφῶι* [A.V.], *μυροφῶι* [1 S.], *μυροφῶι*).

CONFESS, CONFESSION. The verb פָּקַד in Hiph. and Hithp. means either to acknowledge aloud in prayer and Hithp. worship God's great and glorious at 1. The term. Praises (=to praise him) or to make solemn confession of sin.

The former meaning is far the commoner in Hiph., the latter in Hithp. (a) For פָּקַד 'to confess,' see Ps. 32:5 Prov. 28:13 (b) for פָּקַד 'to praise,' 2 Ch. 20:22 (RV) 'making confession' For the more usual senses, see (a) Ps. 7:17 [15] 42:6 1 Ch. 16:10 and elsewhere, (b) Lev. 23:14 24:20 Nu. 15:27 Ezra 10:1 N. 16:2 f. Dan. 9:420. Note also that the noun פָּקַד, generally 'thanksgiving,' has in Job. 7:14 Ezra 10:11 the sense of 'confession' (of sin). עֲשֵׂי renders the verb usually by ἐξομολογέω (ἐξομολογέω), once by ἐμολογέω; it never renders the noun ἐμολογία.

No doubt there is primitive Semitic symbolism in the choice of פָּקַד to express the religious act of confession; but here, as elsewhere, we painfully feel the uncertainty of the subject (cp. Lag. *Or.* 2:22). The root-meaning of the verb is 'to throw,' or perhaps (cp. Ar. *qadā* and פָּקַד, Is. 11:8) 'to extend.' Some peculiar gesture used in confession seems to be indicated (cp. *BDI*, s.v. פָּקַד). In 1 K. 8:33 'spreading forth the hands' is specified, but this was simply the ordinary gesture in prayer.

Individual confession of sin must be assumed to have been common, though references to it are scanty. Josh. 7:19 is a passage by itself: Achishai is bound to confess, to 'give glory to God,' thereby to the all-seeing God; but he is not forgiven. Prov. 28:13 that not Ps. 32:5, where pious Israel speaks) extols the benefit of it. 1 K. 8:33 virtually refers to it. When God touches the heart of

¹ That this and not *jerboa* (as supposed by Rödiger) is the meaning of the Greek word is made certain by the testimony of Suidas and Hesychius; see also Ducange, s.v.

² *Zool. Anz.* no. 490, 1895.

COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS

(Fig.), but more
over, heat it up,
see (Fig. 1), so
of the soil were
in baskets,
and N.I. (so-
on Fig. 10) re-
work, the *the*
heat up very
thrashing floor,
the seed shall be
Glad at work,
which tigs were
preparation of
required the
aware, or baw-
(1978) men-
see Fig. 10, § 2.
any sense that
ency of the
ous methods of
ence is made
two hands,
ing it into
net, whether as
day pines, i.e.,
in the rough
embers (see
of roasting by
using a suitable
heat required
ugh). It would
these various

is evidently 'to
ram' (Joh20:11)
in contrast to the idea of
(opposite-lateral)
we find **רָמַם** **רָמַם**
'cooked with
oil' that 'roasted'
id. In 'tragedy'
in sense of 'to be
in a heated mood' (1)
the word **רָמַם**
Is. 44:6, cp **רָמַם**
in the Lament 4
and **רָמַם** **רָמַם**
of flesh but also
1Ma1s. 4:1, **רָמַם**
to represent the
רָמַם in which case
in Ezek. 24:1,
probably equiv-
als and forks (see
it can be really

er quantity of
he rich liquor
8 (Judg. 16:7
rhaps as 77777
). The med
or separately
hen the most
der quantity of
vegetables of
the favour to
77777 (Vid. 77777)
The 'savoury
which Kelukā
is doubtless a

which has been
sket; cp *BPR*,
as *ilausgerat in*

[illegible]

When an animal of the herd (כֶּלֶב) or of the flock (צֶמֶד; see further, *Lev.*, § 11, and *Sederim*) was to be prepared for food it was first slaughtered according to the prescribed method, and the carcass thoroughly cleaned of its blood. For skinning, flint knives (פְּרִיזִי) (Judg. 13:19) were used in early times (p. Josh. 2:26, RV "knives of flint"; such as those recovered from Tell-Hesi (Bliss, *op. cit.* 1914, illustr. 190). Sacred knives were later known as כְּסָפִים (Lev. 1:10, cp. post-biblical כְּסֵפִי, a knife for ordinary domestic purposes was קַדְמִי (Lev. 24:21, in later Hebrew always קֶדֶם). The animal was then cut up, the technical term for which was שָׁחַ (Lev. 16:2 and often) a single piece שֶׁטֶף the priests removed the portions that were then due and the remainder was consigned to the pot. The latter, if of copper, had in later times to be scrupulously scoured (שָׁחַ) and rinsed (קָדַח, *Zehab*, 11:17, cp. *Mk* 7:4) when the cooking was over.

The primitive hearth was formed of a couple of stones by which the pot was supported, room being left beneath for the kindling.

4. **Firing.** Beneath for the fuel, wood or dung (see *Qovv.*, § 2). Large pots might be placed on the top of the *tannur* or looking over, as at the present day, such an arrangement was found to have been in use in the ancient Lachish (see *ibid.*, p. 107). The smaller pots were heated on a chafin dish or pan containing charcoal (עֲרֵב עֵצִים, *Zeich* 126 AV 'neath of fire,' RV 'pan of fire'), as in Rameses' kitchen. In Lev 11:13 there is mention, alongside of the *tannur* or oven, of the *kizmor* (כִּזְמוֹר, *Asphorodes* [Bl.], *χυτροπόδες* [Al.]; LV 'range' for pots, RVMS 'stew pan'). According to the Talmud, it was a portable cooking stove, capable of holding two pots (beneath the dish) as distinguished from the *kuffah* (כֻּפָּה, better עֲרֵב, a stove which had room for only one pot (Jastrow, *ibid.*, c. v.). Like the *tannur*, it was of baked clay, and, therefore, easily broken (cp. *De. 22:16*, and *Now. II* 12:26, n.). The *kerach* (in the sing.) and the *kuffah* are frequently mentioned together in the Mishna (see esp. *Kel'ah*). For carrying the necessary charcoal a ladle or neqan (נֶקָאן) was used (Ex. 27:138; in Num. 16:6 # 'censer'; *Abd* 2:27); for stirring and adjusting it, a pair of tongs (מְחַבְּתִים Is. 66:15; שִׁפְפִּים *shafpim*, *patrum*), for removing the ashes, are mentioned, but only in connection with the great altar (see *Av. ar.*, § 4).

The fellows (*ἑταῖροι*, *ἑταίροι* [B&M]) of Jeroboam was probably used only by the metal smelters - for a description and illustration, see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 2:12. The ordinary housewife was content to tan the charcoal with a tin (*ἑταῖροι*, *ἑταίροι* 167) of leathers, as pictured in the representation of Rameses' kitchen referred to above.

5. **Cooking utensils.** Any attempt at consistency: pan, kettle, cauldron, pot (in this order is the list given in U.S. 244). The data at our command do not permit of these being accurately distinguished one from another. In the houses of the poor they were

² The 'good piece' (AV) or 'portion' (RV) of flesh which David distributed among the people at the beginning of the ark (2 S. 6.19; 1 Ch. 16.3) is only one of several traditional renderings of the doubtful Heb. word **ṭṭṣn**, the real signification of which has been lost. See Dr. **TBSN** *in loc.* (Since the word

along the sand pit and at even a foot of earthware. 82 gms. Fev 6. $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of Potash in those of the weathered class of loam. 2771. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. The difference in color, so far as between the two materials goes, point to Fev 8. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000. 1001. 1002. 1003. 1004. 1005. 1006. 1007. 1008. 1009. 1010. 1011. 1012. 1013. 1014. 1015. 1016. 1017. 1018. 1019. 1020. 1021. 1022. 1023. 1024. 1025. 1026. 1027. 1028. 1029. 1030. 1031. 1032. 1033. 1034. 1035. 1036. 1037. 1038. 1039. 1040. 1041. 1042. 1043. 1044. 1045. 1046. 1047. 1048. 1049. 1050. 1051. 1052. 1053. 1054. 1055. 1056. 1057. 1058. 1059. 1060. 1061. 106

1. For boiling meat in the vessels were employed (Ex 18:24; 12:1). The method for cooking mentioned is the *šg*, i.e. pot or cauldron. It was used for cooking the ordinary food (e.g. 1 K 17:1; Mic 3:18; 16:1) [fish pots of 1 K 17:1] and for boiling the ceremonial dishes (Zech 11:16). It served to cook washpots (1 K 60:13). If it may have been one of the largest of the cooking vessels, to judge from the amount recorded in 2 K 18:27, it is the great pot for the whole company of the prophets. (a) The *šg* (עֲרֹסָה) may have been a wide, shallow pot of earthenware, since at the same time it is given to the liver of beef (1 K 60:1) at which the priests were to wash their hands and feet. It served as a chafing dish (Zech 12:1). When in the *šg* (עֲרֹסָה) differed from the *šg* (עֲרֹסָה) in which the manna was boiled (Nu 11:18; RV) and the *šg* (עֲרֹסָה) for fish (Lev 11:9), and to the *šg* (עֲרֹסָה) (Mic 3:18), we do not know.

[illegible]

in A fork (28%, 28%) of two or three (18.2%) prongs was used to hit the meat from the pot, and also to stir the contents of the litter (see illustration). Walk in son, $o^{\circ} \quad c^{\circ} \quad 32^{\circ}$

in. The spoons (2221) mentioned among the furniture of the table of Shewahad (1 x 25) and elsewhere were more probably shallow bowls. We find however, in the Mishna, real spoons (2778) made of bone (*Shabb.* 8.6, *Kil.* 17.2) and of glass (*Kil.* 30.3). There is also mention of a wooden cooking 'bowl' (לֶחֶם *Zach.* 1.7), which was probably used for removing the scum (עֲרֹסָה *Lev.* 21.6, so AV); but this word is more probably 'crust' (as KV) from the contents of the *farin* or pot (otherwise explained by *Lev.* 11.7, 21.6).

While hunting, to judge from the comparative frequency of the DP references, was the favourite

6. Roasting. In the mode of cooking flesh meat, there need be no contradiction in saying that roasting also was practised from the earliest times. In its most primitive form, roasting, as we have seen, consists in laying the meat directly on the ashes or other source of heat, or better killed on the ground or in a pit specially dug (Birkbeard, *A. G. G. Lys. Roli ZK* [41], I, 1, 3). The fish of which the disciples partook by the lake of Galilee was cooked by being laid on the charcoal (βράζον ἐπὶ κάρβουνο, in 21a).

The spit, the *ḡṣṣ* of the Homeric poems, is not mentioned, as it happens, in the OI; but of its use there need be no doubt. In Egypt, Irfan tells us, 'the favourite national dish, the goose, was generally roasted over live embers; the spit is very primitive, a stick stuck through the back and neck of the bird. They roasted fish in the same way, sticking the spit through the tail' (*Z. f. N. O.*, 181, illustr. 1, and Weik, 235). The wooden spit was favoured by the Romans (cp Verg. *Georg.* 2. 96, 'Pinguine in Arvulus torrens'), appears to be corrupt, the emendation '𐤀𐤍𐤔𐤌, 'a piece of fish,' has been suggested by Cheyne. This easy alteration suits the context.]

COCKING

bimbs extra columnis).¹ Later Hebrew legislation, in fact, no doubt, perpetuating an ancient practice, required that the Passover lamb should be roasted on a spit of pomegranate (קֶשֶׁת עֵץ רִמּוֹן [Levy, קֶשֶׁת] Lev. 7:10). The ordinary spit, being of iron, so much we may infer from the demand that a spit purchased from an idolater must be cleansed in the fire (1k. 16:17, 18:22) was not allowed for the above-mentioned purpose; neither was the gridiron (קֶשֶׁת, Lev. 7:2). The spit, we may suppose, rested on andirons¹ (pāra, para), on which it could be turned by the hand.

The passage of the treatise *Yabhim* above referred to speaks further of roasting, or more exactly of broiling, on a gridiron placed apparently over the mouth of a furnace or baking oven. The gridiron was perhaps used to prepare the piece of broiled fish (אֶחָדֹם אוֹפֶּיִם) of 1k. 21:42. Not only flesh and fish but also eggs, onions, etc., were roasted by the Jews (*Shabb.* 11c).

The favourite mode of roasting meat for ordinary household purposes at the present day in Syria is by means of skewers. The meat is cut into small pieces, which are stuck upon the skewers and roasted over a brazier. Meat thus prepared is termed *kabab*.

With regard to the food-products of the vegetable kingdom (see 1:009), many vegetables were of course eaten raw (אֶחָדֹם, in Hebrew אֶחָדֹם, literally

7. Vegetable food.

'living,' a word applied not only to raw animal flesh [1 & 2:15 Lev. 13:10 ff.], but also to fish (*Nedar.* 64), to vegetables [1k. 1], and even to unmixed wine). They were also cooked by being boiled, alone or mixed with various ingredients, such as oil and spices. The Hebrew housewives, we may be sure, were not behind their modern kinsfolk of the desert, of whom Doughty testifies that 'the Arab housewives make savoury messes of any grain, seething it and putting therein only a little salt and *sumn*' (*A. D.* 2:193). Thus, of the cereals, the obscure *Arishah* (אֶרֶשֶׁת, Num. 15:20 f.) was probably a porridge of barley groats (see, further, 1:009, § 1), whilst Jacob sold for himself a dish (אֶרֶשֶׁת, EV 'pottage') of lentils (Gen. 25:29, 31); the same name is given to the vegetarian dish prepared for the sons of the prophets (2 K. 4:38 ff.; cp Hagg. 2:12). In NT times, at least, it was known that the pulses or pod-plants were improved by being soaked (אֶרֶשֶׁת before being boiled). Various kinds, such as beans and lentils, might be boiled together (*Abith.* 17), they might also, like our French beans, be boiled in the pods (אֶרֶשֶׁת). In the OT we find mention of the *makhsath* (מַחְשֶׁת, קֶשֶׁת אֶרֶשֶׁת, AV 'pan,' RV 'baking-pan,' mg 'flat plate,' Lev. 25:62 [14], etc.) and the *marbesheth* (מַרְבֶּשֶׁת, LV 'baking pan,' Lev. 27:70). The *makhsath* certainly (see Lock, 40), and the *marbesheth* probably, was of iron; and, although both are used with reference only to the sacrificial cakes (see BARNUM, VTS, BUL. VII), we may legitimately infer from the fact that the martyrs of 2 Marc. 7 were roasted alive on the קֶשֶׁת אֶרֶשֶׁת (17:35; cp late Heb. word קֶשֶׁת) that both may have been used also in the preparation of meat.

To judge from the prepositions employed (עַל, 'on,' and בְּ, 'in'), the *makhsath* was deeper than the *marbesheth*. This inference is confirmed by the tradition, which we find in the Mishna, that the difference between the *marbesheth* and the *makhsath* consisted in the former having a lid (מִשְׁכָּה) while the latter had none; (1) which another authority adds that the former is deep and its contents fluid, the latter flat and its contents firm (*Nedar.* 68). The *makhsath*, in short, was a stewpan, the *marbesheth* similar to a Scotch 'girdle,' a flat iron plate on which cakes are baked. A striking illustration of Lock, 13 is furnished by Doughty (*D. Des.* 150a), who describes an iron-plated dish in the castle of Haid: 'the plates (in the indigence of their arts) are the shield-like iron pans (tannur) upon which the Syrian housewives bake their girdle-bread.'

Other utensils named or implied are (a) the stove,

¹ Some would give this or a similar sense to קֶשֶׁת. See Lestrow, *Proc.* 1.

COOS

μαψιθ (קֶשֶׁת, Is 30:23; *Shabb.* 82, *Aboth.* 5:15), for sifting the flour, and (b) the strainer, *makhsath* (קֶשֶׁת) (*Shabb.* 201, *Ab.* 5:1), [especially for wine]; cp 1k. 21:6, Mt. 23:24. An ordinary bowl, however, might be perforated so as to serve as a strainer, as we see from the pottery of Tell el-Hesi (Bloss, *op. cit.* 85). The *c* may be added (a) one of the commonest of the post-biblical terms for a pot, קֶשֶׁת; hence קֶשֶׁת אֶרֶשֶׁת came to signify 'cooked food' (*Nedar.* 61). For the vessels used for serving food, see Mt. vi. 8, § 8.

The importance of oil in the Hebrew kitchen will be noticed under Oil (2:13). In early times the custom

8. Condiments. so popular among the modern Arabs of boiling flesh in milk seems to have prevailed among the Hebrews. The oldest legislation confirmed by the Deuteronomist limited this practice so far as to forbid (for reasons that are still obscure: 10:14, § 13, and see MAYOT, SACRIFICIUM) the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. 23:19, 34:26 Dt. 14:21). In NT times this prohibition had been extended to beef, as its original intention.

Thus we read in the Mishna: 'It is forbidden to seethe (Sg.) any sort of flesh in milk, except the flesh of fish and locusts'; it is also forbidden to set flesh upon the table along with cheese (with the same exceptions, *Khull.* n. 81). It was still debated whether the prohibition applied to fowls and game or only to cattle, sheep, and goats (*ib.* 4). In the course of time, however, it became part of the Jewish dietary law, that two distinct sorts of cooking utensils—one for meat alone, and another for dishes into the preparation of which milk or butter enters—are required in every orthodox Jewish kitchen (see on this law of 2:272, esp. Warner, *The Jew.* *Synagogue.* 41-120 [1951]). Extreme purists have gone the length of using three (*ib.* 115, 9) and even four such sets.

A. R. S. K.

COOS. or rather, as in RV and 1 Marc. 15:21 EV, **Cos** (ΚΩΣ; now *Samchia*, i.e., ες την Κω), the least and most southerly of the four principal islands off the coast of Asia Minor. It lies at the entrance to a deep bay, on the two projecting promontories of which were Cnidus and Halicarnassus. It owed its fertility to its volcanic origin, and its commercial importance to its position. It lies on the high road of all maritime traffic between the Dardanelles and Cyprus; vessels coasting in either direction must pass within half a mile of the capital (also called Cos), which was on the E. extremity of the island, and had a good anchorage and a port sheltered from all winds except those from the S.W. Lucian (*Phar.* 824) thus sketches the usual route of ships:—

*Ephesusque relinquens
Rudit saxa Sami; spirat de litore Cos
Anch' hinc; Cnidion unde fugit, Caramque relinquit
Sole Rhodon.*

In precise agreement with this is the account of Paul's voyage from Macedonia to Palestine (Acts 21:1). His ship ran before the wind (εὐεδρομεῖσας) from Miletus about 40 m. to the N., down to Cos (2:1), either the island or the capital; probably the latter is meant, next day it reached Rhodes.

In spite of its geographical advantages, Cos remained historically unimportant. Its inhabitants, apparently of deliberate choice, eschewed foreign relationships, and devoted themselves to the development of internal resources. No colonies were sent out, for long the capital was in the west of the island, the strategic and commercial importance of its present site was ignored until 306 B.C. When at last the Coans were compelled to emerge from their seclusion, it was only to echo the voice of Rhodes in all matters of foreign policy. The success of this concentration of energy is indicated by the fact that Cos ranked with Rhodes, Chios, Samos, and Lesbos as one of the *μακροπολις* (Diod. Sic. 30:182), and by the existence of the saying, 'He who cannot thrive in Cos will do no better in Egypt'. Allied with this material prosperity was the development of liberal arts. Under the Ptolemies Cos became an important literary centre. With it are connected the names of Theocritus the poet, Dioscorus the historian, Apelles the painter, and, of an earlier date (4th cent. B.C.), Hippocrates the physician. Cos was one of the great centres of the worship of *Æsculapius*, and of the case or medical school of Asclepiade. Claudius in A.D. gave the island the privilege of immunity, mainly for its medical fame (Tac. *Ann.* 12:61).

¹ ὁ οὐ θέρμευε Κωὶ ἐκείνου οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτου.

COPPER

Among the commercial products of the island were inguents, two kinds of wine, pottery (*amphora* Coss. Pliny, *II*, 3, 160), and silk for Roman ladies (*sera purpurea*, Hor., *Od.* iv, 1314; *sera* *torques*, Tibull., ii, 15). Cos is still an active port. Strabo (637) notes the fair aspect of the city to one entering the roads.

Interesting is the connection of Cos with the Jews. As Mithradates seized 800 talents deposited in the island by the Jews of Asia (Jos., *Ant.* xiv, 72), there must then have been a Jewish settlement there engaged in banking. In 1 Macc. 15:21 Cos is mentioned in the list of places to which the epistula letter of the Roman senate in favour of the Jews (c. 130-8 B.C.) is said to have been addressed. In 80 B.C. Gaius Fannius wrote to the Roman authorities enclosing a *senatus consultum* to secure safe convey for Jewish pilgrims to Jerusalem. The island was connected also with Herod the Great (Jos., *Ant.* 21:6), and with his son Antipas (Boeckh, 2502).

Best authority, *Islands of Cos*, by Fatio and Hicks, 1897, an attempt at direct combination of epigraphy and history.

COPPER (נְחֹשֶׁת; χαλκός; cp BRASS). The compound of copper and zinc that we call brass appears to have been little known to the ancients.

1. In Egypt. But we have abundant evidence that copper was early known, and that it was hardened by means of alloys into bronze. Senclern, a conquering pharaoh of the fourth dynasty, worked the Sinitic copper mines, and M. de Morgan has found some articles of copper in the tomb of Menes (traditionally regarded as the first king of Egypt), explored by him in 1887. M. Amelinckx appears to have proved that copper was known at an even earlier date, and from his researches, and those of Mr. Quibell at Kom el-Ahmar, we may probably conclude that the Pharaonic Egyptians were from the first not ignorant of the use of gold and copper (*hent*). Thence in the Sinitic dynasty continued to be the chief source from which the Egyptians drew their copper (see Maspero, *Diogenes of Cos*, 355, and cp *SINAI*); but in the twentieth century they obtained it also from Asia (*i.e.*, CYPRUS) (see *Ant. Lib.*, 25 and 27), where Cosula has found both copper and bronze coins in Pharaonic remains.

The oldest Babylonian specimens of copper are those found by M. de Saurat at Tello (before 2500 B.C.), at Tell es-Su, in the same neighbourhood.

2. In Babylonia. Mr. Loftis has found even a large copper factory (1500-1600). In Babylonian graves, and also in what Dr. J. P. Peters calls a jeweller's shop (at Nippur), objects made of copper (belonging to *cheta* 1000 B.C.) have been found. Hommel thinks, on philological grounds, that the Sinitic Babylonians as metallurgists were pupils of the Sumerians, and dates their acquaintance with copper and non very early.² The inscriptions make frequent mention of copper (*upara*) and bronze³ (*urru*, also *klu*, and *urudu*; cp Lat. *cuprum* as *intectum*). The ancient hymn in Sumerian and Assyrian to Gaba, the fire-god, extols him for his services in the mixing of copper and tin (cp Tula-cum, and see *UNTERS*, § 100). The Assyrians used bronze axes as late as the ninth century. They derived their copper and bronze largely from the so-called N'ini countries; ultimately, their gold from Armenia; the copper in the tribute paid to Hammurabi III. by Dariusus is mentioned elsewhere (H. 10:4).

The Canaanites, naturally enough, were well acquainted with copper. According to Ritter (*Früh*, 17:103), cited by Knobel, there are still traces of ancient copper-mines in the Lebanon.⁴

3. In Canaan. Händers-Petrie also ascribes Winkler's identification of Ashtar in Am. Lat. with Cyprus (where copper was worked). See his account, *Nova et Vetera*, 44 (92).

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1900, 140.

² Cp Lecomte, *PSB* 10:314 ff.

³ On iron and bronze among the Babylonians and Assyrians, cp Winkler, *ABE* 1:50 ff.

⁴ Cp the important descriptive phrase quoted in *Hel. Zee*, 1:1, sad Ba'alī-sapina sadū rādu siparri 'the mountain Baal-

COPPER

this is confirmed by what seems to be an assertion of the fact in *De S.* and *Zee* 6:1 (see below, § 31). On the E. of the Lebanon range copper must have been abundant in the 'land of Nuhassi' (*De S.*, 1:1), which Halevy ingeniously identifies with ZORAH, and in later times there were copper mines in Edom at Phemon, or Phemon (p. 1108). The Phoenicians early employed bronze for works of art, and the great mound of Tell el-Hesi, believed to be a fish, proves that the Amorites who dwelt there had used their opportunities. In the remains of the Amurite city (perhaps 1500 B.C.) there are later rough weapons of war, made of copper, without admixture of tin; above this, dating perhaps from 1250 to 1000, appear bronze tools, but the bronze gradually becomes scarcer, its place being taken by iron (see below). Whatever, therefore,

4. In Israel. be the date of 1 S. 17, as a document, we may feel inclined to think that the Philistine warriors had armour of bronze, indeed, the Philistines in Asa Minor doubtless had bronze weapons long before David's time.⁵ Goliath, however, uses weapons of attack made of iron (the *saḥar* [?]) of bronze can hardly be a javelin (see *God* 1:111).

The statement in Josh. 24:11 (copper or bronze vessels found in Jericho) will be in the main correct, also that in 2 S. 8:1, in as far as it relates to the abundance of bronze in Syria. Whether the serpent of bronze called NEPHTHYS [?], was earlier than the temple of Solomon may, perhaps, be doubted. At any rate, the notice in Nu. 21:9 (H.) is as much of an anachronism as that in Ex. 38:2 (cp). The Israelites in the wilderness had no workers in bronze. Nor could David find a competent bronze-worker in all Israel, the statements respecting Hiram the artificer in 1 K. 7:13 ff. are no doubt historical.⁶ In the later regal period it was, of course, quite otherwise (cp Jer. 6:27; Ezek. 22:2-4). From 2 K. 25:17, Jer. 52:17 ff. we learn that the Babylonians broke the sacred vessels of bronze and carried away the metal to Babylon; no doubt Rehoboam's shields of 'brass' (1 K. 11:27; 2 Ch. 12:1) went there too; but the chief losses were probably repaired. The cymbals in the second temple were certainly of copper or bronze, as we may infer from 1 Ch. 15:19 Jos. 4:6; vii, 12 (cp 1 Cor. 13:1). Gates of 'brass' are mentioned in Ps. 147:18, 150 (cp Herod. 1:1, 2, 3; see Mr. Pinches' account of the bronze gates of Palmyra); among implements of 'brass' in Eccles. 4:8; 10:11; Jer. 1:17.

But 'brass' (bronze) should be used to symbolize hardness and strength is natural. In time of drought, it seemed as if the heavens were bronze,

5. OT usage. so that iron could pass through them (Job 28:1), or as if the earth were bronze, so that it could never be softened as in (Job 28:1). A sufferer asks if his 'flesh' (*i.e.*, body) is of brass (Job 6:6), as the bones of Elisha are (Job 19:23) and the crowd of disobedient Israel (Is. 54:10). By other writers, said to be, 'To be compared with brass is not, however, the highest distinction. It was the third engine in Neuchadrezzar's vision that was of 'brass' (Dan 2:31 cp 1:32). On the other hand, 'brass' in the obscure phrase 'mountains of brass' (*Zen. 1:1*) has no symbolic meaning: 'brass' (*i.e.*, copper) is merely mentioned to enable the reader to identify the mountains (cp Nuhassi, the 'copperland', see § 3).

Does not as the passage is, we need not despair of explaining it. The 'mountains of brass' are parallel to the 'mountains

sapient, great mountain of copper'; also Sargon, Ann. 23, where *Ena sapina*, 'the great mountain', is spoken of as containing mines (cp 1:10).

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus*.

² Dr. J. H. Goodson, 'The Metals of Antiquity', *Nature*, April 11, 1895, p. 599.

³ S. H. Hensley's discovery of weapons of copper and bronze on the site of Troy is well known.

⁴ On the right meaning of 1 K. 7:12, see *ANAT.* i.

⁵ The bronze ornaments of the palace gates from Balawā (parts 1-15) published by Soc. of Bib. Archaeol.

(*ḥ tām hā'ar*) in the river-land' (חֲתָמֵי הָאֵר; cp חֲתָמֵי Is. 44:27)—i.e., those visible from Babylonia—in Zech. 14, and must have been as well known as these to Zechariah's hearers or readers. They were most likely the 'hills out of which thou mayest dig copper' (חֲתָמֵי הָאֵר, Lebanon and Hermon (see above, § 3), which formed the southern boundary of the Holy Land. It is the 'land of the north' (the seat of the empire of the Seleucids) that chiefly occupied the thoughts of the speaker (ibid.). See Zecharian, Book 14. On חֲתָמֵי Ezr. 8:27, cp Corotius, § 1.

COR (כֶּרֶךְ, perh. Ass. *kāry* [?], Mass-Arnolt, s.v.), or from כֶּרֶךְ; see No. 211/10 10:74 [26], a measure of capacity—can, homer (10 ephahs or baths); of wheat and barley (1 K. 4:22 [52]; EV 'measure,' mg. 'cor'; 2 Ch. 21:9 [27:5]; RV⁹⁸ 'cors'). As a liquid measure Ezek. 45:14. 2 K. 6:25 (emended text) speaks of $\frac{1}{4}$ cor of carobs (see HCSKs).

In 1 K. 5:11 [25] 'measures of oil' is wrong; read כֶּרֶךְ 'baths of oil,' after *ḥ* and 2 Ch. 26: *κορες* [BA], a loan-word, which in *ḥ* represents both כֶּרֶךְ and כֶּרֶךְ, occurs once in NT (Lk. 16:7 RV⁹⁸ 'cors'; AV⁹⁸ says 'about 4 bushels and a pottle'). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

CORAL is EV's rendering in Job 28:18 Ezek. 27:16 of *קַרְלִיּוֹן*, a word of unknown origin, which occurs also

in Prov. 21:7, where EV treats it as a derivative of קָרַח, meaning 'too high.' Most commentators, however (Hitz., Siegf., Sta., etc.), suppose that there is a reference to a precious object called *ramoth*—as if the wise man meant, 'Wisdom is as much out of the food's reach as coral.' Neither explanation is satisfactory.²

The word occurs only twice, and, since the Vss. shed an uncertain light on the meaning, we must be content to make the most of internal evidence.

Ezek. has *καμαθ* [BQ], *καμαθ* [A], *corium*; Job has *μετέωρα* [BAC Theod.], *δρόμα* [Syn.], *evēlāt*; Prov. has *σοφία καὶ ἐννοια ἀγαθή ἐν πύλαις* [BAM] for *קַרְלִיּוֹן כְּסֵף וְכֶסֶף כְּסֵף וְכֶסֶף* [Vg., *evēlāt*].³

The context in Job (*ramoth*, *gōbīl*, *penim*) shows that some precious and ornamental substance is intended, and Dillmann infers from the language that *ramoth* was regarded as less valuable than *penim* (see below). According to MT of Ezek. 27:16, *ramoth*, with *nōphēk*, *argamān*, *riknūth*, *bug*, and *kadikāth*, was brought into the Tyrian market by merchants of Syria; but probably (see Cornill, *ad loc.*) we should read for Aram (אַרָם) Edom (עֲדָם);⁴ as Cornill remarks, Edom was an important stage in the transport of merchandise westward from S. Arabia and India. This last indication of the provenance of *ramoth* makes against the usual rabbinic rendering, 'coral'; for the red coral of commerce—the hard calcareous skeleton of the colonial Actinozoön, *Coralium nobile*, Pal. (*rubrum*, Da Costa), which is widely distributed in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic as far as the Cape Verde Islands, and is a considerable source of wealth in the Mediterranean basin—occurs in its natural state much less frequently S. and E. of Suez.

2. In RV⁹⁸ 'corals' (Lam. 4:7), 'red coral,' and 'pearls' (Job 28:18 Prov. 3:15 8:11 20:15 31:10) are suggested as renderings alternative to 'rubies' (see RUBY, 1) for עֲדָם *penim*.

2. Penim perhaps coral. Certainly 'rubies' is not a good rendering. The words, 'the catching' (עֲדָם; EV, improbably, 'price') of wisdom is above that of rubies, in Job 28:13,

¹ This interpretation is due to Grätz (*Jüd. Zt.* 1883, pp. 549 f.); it has been overlooked by even the most recent commentators. For other views, on the whole very negligible ones, see Wright, *Zechariah*, 124 f.; Now, and G.A.S.M. decline to offer any opinion.

² Bickell: 'If thou hold thy peace (שָׁמֵת) before a fool, thou art wise.'

³ Targ. Job 28:16 has, for אֲדָמָה, קַרְלִיּוֹן—*συνέλαση* of Theophr., etc., viz., native redgar, or ruby sulphur (disulphide of arsenic). It is used to a limited extent as a pigment, but cannot be intended here (indication, however, of colour).

⁴ With Aq., Pesh., some Heb. MSS. and virtually *ḥ* (*ἀρροφόνος*—*אַרָם*). Syn. and Theod. support MT.

would seem to imply that a fishery was in the case, and if two of our best critics may be followed, the nobles of Jerusalem are described in Lam. 17 as 'purer than snow whiter than milk, more rudely than branches of *penim*' (i.e., obviously, of coral).² Another reference to *penim*, of considerable interest, occurs in Ps. 15:11 [15:11] where we should no doubt read עֲדָם for עֲדָם; the whole line should perhaps run, 'on her neck is a wreath of *penim*' (see (ib. Ps. 2) *ad loc.*).

In the somewhat obscure question as to identification of the substance or substances intended by *ramoth* and *penim*, it ought not to be overlooked that certain stones valued by the ancients seem to have been named from the

resemblance to coral. Pliny, before passing from the onyx and alabaster group, speaks of a valuable 'coralline stone' found in Asia, of a white hue, somewhat approaching that of ivory, and in some degree resembling it (*Hist.* 36:13), also of corallis, a native of India and Syria resembling minium in appearance; and of coralline or coral-agate, commonly found in Crete, and the called the 'sacred' agate, similar to coral, and spotted all over, like the sapphire, with drops of gold (37:54 56). Cp MARBLE.

COR-ASHAN (כֶּרֶךְ אֶשְׁחָן), 1 S. 30:30. See BORASHAN.

CORBAN (κορβάν [Ti.], κορβάν [WII], Mk. 7:11 translation of Heb. קָרְבָן, an offering;¹ explained by *δωρον*, 'gift' (cp Mt. 15:5; similarly Jos. *Ant.* 1:44: *κορβάν*), a kind of votive offering; an object devoted to the deity, and therefore tabooed.² Josephus (*l.c.*) uses the word in speaking of the Nazirites who were dedicated to God as a corban, and of the temple treasure which was inviolable (*Ant.* 11:94; *l.c.* τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν καλεῖται δὲ κορβανᾶς; cp Mt. 27:6 *κορβανᾶς*). These phrases, among foreign oaths, especially quotes the *corban* as one belonging to the Jews, which was forbidden to the Tyrians (cp Jos. *c. Ap.* 1:22, § 167). It is easy to see that by interdicting himself by a vow a man was able to refrain from using or giving away any particular object, and might thus evade any troublesome obligation. Several abuses crept in (cp *Nat.* 56), and, in the passage cited (Mk. 7:11 cp Mt. 15:5), Jesus denounces a system which allowed a son, by pronouncing the word 'corban' (and thus vowing a thing to God), to relieve himself of the duty of helping a parent. Cp comment on Mt. 15: Mk. 7:11, and especially L. Cappellus on Mt. 15:5; *al.* PRE⁹⁸ 5:12.

CORBE (χορβε [BA]), 1 Esd. 5:12. AV = Ezra 2:13 ZAC CAL.

CORD. There is no scarcity of Hebrew terms to denote cord of one kind or another.

Among the commonest words are חֶבֶל *hēvel* (s' to bind), and יֵתֶר *yether* (s' to stretch), both used of cords or ropes for drawing, hauling (cp 2 S. 17:13 EV 'rope'; 1 S. 33:20 J. 4:21⁹ and of ship's tackle; see SHIP, TERT, § 3. *Yether* (cp in Judg. *ceppā*), which seems to denote rather 'gut,' and its derivative חֶבֶל, are used also specially of hawsstrings (Ps. 11:21:12 [13]). Less frequent terms are: חֵט *hāt* (s' to sew)

¹ The text may, however, be corrupt; קָרְבָן is a singular term. We might emend to קָרְבָנִים, '(wisdom) is esteemed' (Chet. 1).

² The common rendering is '... more rudely in body than *penim*' (cp EV). But 'in body' (עֲדָם) appears superfluous here; whereas if we transpose the preposition, and read '... instead of *ḥ* עֲדָם, we get a good sense (see above). *ḥ* thus represents either עֲדָם or עֲדָם. See En. and Bickell, *ad loc.*

³ In P of the Hexateuch it is the comprehensive term for offerings 'presented' to God, bloody or bloodless; see also *Ezek.* 20:28 10:43.

⁴ See Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.*, s.v. קָרְבָן; *NHWB*, s.v. קָרְבָן; *Ant.* 1:2, as will be explained under Vow, § 4, and also *BA*, § 1, SACRIFICE, VOW.

⁵ For 1 K. 20:1 see T. RBAN.

⁶ Job 4:21 RV 'tent-cord,' RVmg. AV 'excellency.' *ḥ*, however, expresses 'surely when he flows upon them, they wither.' This is preferable (so Beer).

CORINTH

In conformity with his principle of seeking the centres of communal activity, Paul visited Corinth in his departure from Athens (Acts 18:1). For the importance of this step as regards the development of Paul's missionary designs, see PAUL. Converts were made chiefly among the gentiles, of the poorer class (Acts 18: 2 Cor. 12:13), although some Jews believed (see CRISTUS); and some persons of importance (see ERASTUS, GAIUS), thus also of Cor. 9. The accession of Crispus and Gaius was a landmark that Paul forsook his rule of baptizing them with his own hand (1 Cor. 14:29). He lays special stress upon his claim to be regarded as the founder of the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 3:16). His claim is not contradicted by 2 Cor. 11:13, who was reached only by me, and Silvanus and Timotheus, for

CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE

2 Cor. is addressed to the Christians of Achaia generally as well as to the Corinthians, while 1 Cor. is written more especially to the church of Corinth.

The apostle spent eighteen months in Corinth on this occasion (A.D. 1841). On his next record (A.D. 1842) he stayed three months (Acts 20:1). On a supposed intermediate visit to Corinth and on the correspondence that took place, see CORINTHIANS, §§ 9/1, 13. On the character of Paul's teaching see below, and esp. PART, APOLLOS.

As to the effect of Paul's letters and presence the NT gives no information; but the letter of Clement, written, perhaps, about 97 A.D., shows that the moral tone of the Corinthian church improved, though the friction between parties continued, as indeed we should expect from the social conditions obtaining in such a city. Hegesippus visited the church about 137 A.D., and was favourably impressed by the obedience and liberality of its members, and the activity of its bishop Dionysius (Euseb. *Hist.* iv. 22).

The two epistles written to the Corinthians are remarkable for the variety of their local colouring. The illustrations are drawn chiefly from gentile life: the wild beast fight (1 Cor. 15:32); the stadium and boxing match (1 Cor. 9:24-27); the theatre (1 Cor. 14:7-9); the garden of Lullman pine, the prize in the games (1 Cor. 9:25); the idol festivals (1 Cor. 8:1, 10:25-27); the *essitia*, so common a feature of Greek social life (1 Cor. 10:27).

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CORINTHIANS, Epistle to *see* 1. It will be unnecessary to repeat here the familiar story of the founding

of the church at Corinth, which is elsewhere set in its place in the life of the apostle (see PART). According to the scheme of chronology adopted in this article it would fall in the years 50-52 A.D. (48-50 Harnack, 52-54 Lightfoot, otherwise von Soden; see CHRONOLOGY, § 71). In the spring of the latter year Paul left Corinth. Aquila and Priscilla accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where they stayed behind while he went on to Jerusalem. This journey and the visit to the Galatian churches (Acts 18:9) would take up the whole of the later spring or summer of A.D. 52, and it would not be until the autumn of that year that the apostle returned to Ephesus.

In the meantime events had moved at Corinth. The Alexandrian Jew Apollus, by this time an instructed Christian, had gone thither and his preaching had a great effect. Other teachers were at work there in a spirit less friendly to Paul. Factions were formed, and, when Paul wrote his first extant letter to the Corinthians some two years later, had begun to make serious mischief. The apostle was now settled at Ephesus, which, on an average voyage, would not be more than a sail of a week or ten days from Corinth.¹ News would thus pass easily to and fro; and Paul was evidently kept well informed of what passed at Corinth. At least one earlier letter of his has been lost to us (1 Cor. 5:9), unless, as some have thought, a fragment of it remains embedded in 2 Cor. 6:14-7:1 (on this view, which should probably on the whole be rejected, see below, § 13). The purport of the letter, which the Corinthian Christians somewhat misunderstood, was to warn them against intercourse with immoral heathen. When we remember the laxity of Corinthian morals we cannot be surprised that other and graver aberrations of this kind had taken place among them. The state of things disclosed by

some of the apostle's visitors at Ephesus, notably by members of the *familia* of a lady called Chloë (1 Cor. 1:11), gave him so much

3. Extant Epistles.

¹ Προς Κορινθίους [T.W.H.].
² It took Aristides four days to get from Corinth to Miletus (Euseb. *Strom.* 2:17); but Cicero and his brother Quintus were both about a fortnight on shipboard (*Ad Attic.* 3:9, 6:8, cf. quoted by Heinrich (after Haug), *Das zweite Sendschreiben*, etc., 43).

anxiety that he took pen in hand to write our First Epistle. At the same time he replied to a series of questions put to him in a letter which he had received (perhaps through Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus: 1 Cor. 16:17) from the church at Corinth. These two things—the replies which he had heard of disorders in the church, and a certain definite inquiry put to him—account satisfactorily for the contents of the First Epistle (see below, §§ 14, 100). So far all is clear, except perhaps as to the exact date at which the epistle was sent, though it may be placed provisionally about Easter of A.D. 55. There is also no doubt as to the general nature of the circumstances under which our Second Epistle was sent. The interval which separated it from the First Epistle cannot have been very long. It may be assigned to the late autumn (about November) of the same year.¹ From some cause or other, it is clear, the anxiety of the apostle had increased, and had indeed reached a pitch of great and painful tension. The return of Titus, whom he had sent to Corinth, relieved him of this, and he warmly expresses his satisfaction. Then he turns to the practical question of the collection which he was organizing for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. Before the letter is concluded, however, he comes back (in the text as we have it) to his opponents and writes again with no little emotion about them. This letter was written on the way to Corinth, probably from Macedonia, and the apostle is about to pay to the church a visit which he repeatedly calls his third (2 Cor. 12:14, 13:1).

This brief outline, however, evokes a number of difficulties.

Considered quite broadly and generally, the course of events is clear enough; but, when we attempt to fix the incidents in detail, difficulties spring up at every step. The questions which arise are also exceedingly intricate, so that to state them satisfactorily is no easy matter. They have nearly all been brought out by the research of the last five-and-twenty years; and we shall perhaps scarcely best in threading our way through them by taking the several steps—leaving if not exactly chronological, at least by which they may be supposed to have arisen.

The data which we take over from the First Epistle are: (1) the existence of an active opposition to Paul on the part not only of unbelieving Jews but also of certain sections of Judaizing Christians at Corinth; and (2) the occurrence in the church there of a gross case of what we should describe as incest (1 Cor. 5:1). The main question which meets us is, how far does the Second Epistle deal with these same data, and how far have the circumstances altered? Before we can formulate an answer to this question, however, it is necessary first to decide whether or not we are to interpose a Third epistle between the two which have come down to us.

The Second Epistle is full of allusions to a previous letter, and the older commentators with one consent assumed that this was the First Epistle.

6. Intermediate letter. Such an assumption was obvious and natural; but, when the language of the Second Epistle came to be closely examined, doubts began to arise as to whether that language could really be satisfied by the First Epistle as it has come down to us.

In particular it was asked whether the strong emotion in the whole of the Second Epistle (which had been written, as I suppose, to the First Epistle) could be accounted for by the fact of about 1 year having passed since the writing of the First Epistle. The severe heart-sufferings described in 2 Cor. 11:27-28 do not seem to agree with the calm practical discussions of the First Epistle.

Since Kloppe (1874) an increasing number of scholars have replied to this difficulty in the negative. The case is somewhat too decidedly. Although it is prior to the fact that a great part of the First Epistle is taken up with calm practical discussions, the whole epistle is not in this strain.

¹ On this reckoning ἀπὸ πέρους (2 Cor. 9:2) will mean '1 year ago' but 'last year.' The Macedonian year, like the Jewish, began with October. See YEAR.

our first series of received Aethians: these two orders in to him—the first, except the little was left about as to the which our separate cry long, (number) her, it is and had ten in (month, less) his question the place and, have it) to the emotion the way to apostrophe is repeatedly number of re of events are, is in a step. The fully fully ardly is not brought; and we ough the nronological st Epiphanius at Philo, at also of nth; and ss case of r). The does the how far nference, use a lot n to us. e previous e counsel st Epiphanius, and age of the l, doubts d really me down ume under nism and e and a 22, 47, and 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815,

Many passages, especially in the earlier chapters, must have the writer not so lit emotional. Such would he (and) the seething joy of 1 Cor. 4:4-13 (the Corinthians already enjoying the rich abundance of the Meissner reign while the poor apostles are maltrated, but of 1 Cor. 13:1-13 (the apostle's the most section, 1 Cor. 13:1-13, which only with a threat that the apostle will come to them with a rod and then the section of the resurrection man, in which he proclaims himself in spirit, to the president's chair in their assembly and solemnly hands over the leadership to St. Paul).

It is by no means incredible that passages like these would stand out in Pader's memory after he had despatched his letter, and that he should work himself up into a state of great and even furious exasperation as to the way in which they would be received. The fact that a considerable fraction of the clergy should have made themselves, as it were, in some sort of sympathy with the often and possibly, but he will make the apostle feel that the moment was extremely critical and that the result might be nothing less than the breakup of the Church.

This leads us to the further question with which that just stated is bound up. Along with the allusions to a

6. Situation in 2 Cor.

Was this crisis the same as that which is contemplated in the first Epistle, or was it wholly distinct?

The scholars who first maintained the view that there was a list letter between the two casket letters were Robert L. Applegate in the older view that the casket letters of 2 Cor 2:14-17 had been interposed on the side of the outgoing directly out of the situation presented in 1 Cor 11:17-34, for there is a single offender, who appears to have a leading in the church, and the apostle is aware of the presence of ill-will in the church, and the mentions of Satan are not found in 1 Cor 2:11).

It must be confessed that the situation of $t \in \mathbb{N}$ fits on extremely well to that of $2t \in \mathbb{N}$, especially in

7. Partial agreement of 2 Cor. 2:11 and 1 Cor. 5.

urge, that the treatment described in 2 Cor. 26, which is accepted as adequate to the occasion by Paul, seems inadequate to the very gross offence of 1 Cor. 5. There is also considerable difficulty in assigning the part of the injured person in 2 Cor. 7:11: 'So although I wrote unto you, [I wrote] not for his cause that did the wrong, nor for his sake that suffered the wrong, but that your earnest care for us might be made manifest,' etc.

If the offending person of 1 Cor. 5 was really let off with a comparatively slight punishment there must have been extenuating circumstances of which we are not told. Such circumstances might be that the 'father's wife' was not in the strict sense a wife but a concubine (the father being probably a heathen); and we might have supposed that the father was dead. In such a case Paul with his strong sympathy for human infirmity, and his readiness to make allowance for a convert brought up in the laxity of heathenism, might conceivably have accepted an expiation short of that which the circumstances would seem at first sight to demand. The supposition that the father was dead would fall through, however, if, 'his cause that suffered the wrong' (*τὸν ἀδικήσαντος*) referred to him; and it does not seem satisfactory that a sin of this kind should be regarded only in the light of personal injury to another.

8. Other explanations of 2 Cor. 2:5-11.

8. Other explanations of 2 Cor. 2:5-11.

They, as a rule, take the offence on which the situation turns in this epistle to be some personal affront or insult put upon Paul (so Hilgenfeldt, Albrecht, Weissacker, Pfeleiderer, Schmiedel, Jülicher; Bousset gives the alternative that the insult may have been on Paul to Timothy), not in connection with the case of the incestuous man, but rather growing out of the revolt against his authority as an apostle. In keeping with this, most of them would explain τοῦ ἀδικήματος as an indirect reference to Paul himself. This is not so.

This, however, again seems strained and unnatural, and indeed inconsistent with the exegesis of the verse where Paul is meant, and (12) 'your earnest care for us': *την σπουδαίαν ἡμεῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ᾠον* in such a way as almost certainly to distinguish him from the injured person. Krenkel, it seems to us, rightly, suggests that and would take the passage as inferring to some private quarrel between two members of the Corinthian church (*ibid.*, 394-5). We know from 1 Cor. 6 that such quarrels were not

at Corinth, and the interpretation thus suggested suits the choice of words for *μαρμαρι* as a decorative rather than a structural material. The impression would be that the architect had a decorative type of the representation of a pavement with the *tridactylus* in mind, and have this in mind to be satisfied only once, because the name of *tridactylus* is a pun between the tips of the and a large section of the *tridactylus*.

We have then three hypotheses, each with some advantages and some counterbalancing drawbacks: (1) that the reference is to the mortuaries in *n*, which would greatly simplify the situation so far as the two epistles are concerned, but which will be held only on the assumption of peculiar validity of circumstantial evidence in this case which it is not easy for us to imagine; (2) that the reference is to some date, personal and not to Paul; a hypothesis which, by introducing an intermediate member, enables us to restrict the view which will suit the allusions somewhat better than in the extent of (1) is able, but in our opinion forces *ô déuxième*, and makes the situation in the Second Epistle a tantalising duplicate of that in the First, besides it might seem inconveniently crowding events between the two epistles; (3) that the reference is neither to Paul nor to the mortuaries in *n*, but to a quarrel between two unknown persons — which suits *ô déuxième*, but is open to some of the same objections as the first, and is not so probable.

We shall see below that, in spite of its apparent attractiveness, the first of these hypotheses must be given up. There is a break between the two epistles: there must have been at least one intervening communication, and if one, probably two communications—between Paul and the church at Corinth; and the aspect of things has changed not simply once, but probably twice. The fact of the new situation, and the fact of the intermediate letter, thus seem to be assured; but in regard to particulars we have hardly data enough to enable us to judge. We cannot readily bring ourselves to think that the person directly injured is Paul; at the same time he appears to be someone closely connected with him. Timothy would meet the conditions better than any one we can think of; but neither the injured person nor the aggressor can be identified more precisely.

Along with the question as to an intermediate letter goes the further question as to an uncorrected point by Paul to Corinth.

Unlike the letter, this visit is not purely hypothetical. In 2 Cor. 12:14 and 13:1 the apostle speaks expressly of his intention to

9. Unrecorded visit. This implies the fact that Paul visited another, not mentioned by the Acts, before, somewhere between Acts 18:18 and 20:1, rather, we may say, somewhere in the three years spent by Paul at Ephesus. We have seen that his communications with the church at Corinth were frequent; we have seen also that the exchange was easy. The silence of Acts (which dismisses two years in a verse) 19:1-4, therefore, is no real obstacle.

9. Unrecorded visit.

Is the visit to be placed before or after the First Epistle?

It is most tempting to go with the majority of recent critics and place it after 2. The conspicuous fact that this v. is not at all a parallel one (cf. Aug. 2 Cor. 2:14). It so, what could be more natural than to connect it with the letter which v. 5 is written 'with many tears'? Both alike, if this is so, it will be placed on the line of strained relations which led up to the Second Epistle. The time, *enclitica* would, in that case, precede the last letter. We might imagine, in view of 2 Cor. 1:10, that Paul had been summoned over to Corinth early, that he had not yet had time on that he had had to deal physically and been obliged to return, leaving his friends in all ignorance, worse than he found them; that he had written a letter to the Laodicean church of this kind, that in this letter v. 5 strongly warned, and, after it had been sent, caused a great anxiety; and that it was his relief from this anxiety, and the coming of Titus that was the immediate occasion of the Second Epistle.

Such temptations are tempting; but they lead us away from the direct road to the light which has a direct and perhaps a crucial bearing upon them.

In 1 Cor. 15: the apostle announces his intention of coming to Corinth by the longer land route through Asia.

10. Paul's plans.

interval, however, he must have changed his mind, not

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once but twice; or, rather, he must have changed it and afterwards reverted to his original plan. From 2 Cor. 1:15 we learn expressly that he had at one moment decided to go straight from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to Macedonia, and then to return again to Corinth.

When he formed this decision he seems to have been well pleased with the Corinthians, and they with him; his motive is that, twice over, both on going and returning, they may have the benefit of his presence (2 Cor. 1:15). He did not carry out this plan because, after it had been formed, his relations to the Corinthians underwent a change. He tells us that he would not go to them because, if he had done, it must have been "in grief" (2 Cor. 2:1). None the less his change of plan was made one of the accusations against him, and was set down to fickleness of purpose (2 Cor. 1:17).

This being so, however, are we not precluded from interposing any visit between the conceiving of the intention described in 2 Cor. 1:15 (the short voyage and the double visit) and the writing of the Second Epistle?

It is not only, as Schmiedel argues (*l.c.* 3), that the feelings of the apostle when he made his plan and when he paid the supposed visit were different—in the one case satisfaction with the Corinthians, in the other case pain—but that a visit of any kind is inconsistent with the language used. If Paul had paid such a visit he would have kept to his intention (not broken it), and the charge of fickleness must at least have assumed another form.

We must therefore, with some reluctance, abandon the idea of bringing the painful visit and the painful letter into juxtaposition. The only other place for the former seems to be in the part of Paul's stay at Ephesus anterior to the First Epistle, and towards the middle or latter part of it (*i.e.*, not far from, and probably before, the lost letter; 1 Cor. 2:9; cf. Schmiedel, *op. cit.* 54). The supposition that the second visit was only contemplated, not paid, appears to be excluded by 2 Cor. 13:4.

We observe also, in passing, that the history of these changes of plan goes far to dispose of the arguments in favour of the supposition that there is no lost letter between the two epistles.

The only way to make the First Epistle referred to directly in the Second is to regard certain passages in it as haunting the apostle and causing him trouble as to its reception. At the time when he conceived the plan set down in 2 Cor. 1:15, he was in a state of mind free from trouble; the Corinthians and he were on the best of terms. This alone would sever the links which have seemed to bind the two letters together. They must be connected closely or not at all.

When Paul wrote 1 Corinthians Timothy was not with him. We should infer from Acts 19:22 that before that date he had been already sent into Macedonia. This

11. Movements of Timothy.

agrees perfectly with the turn of phrase in 1 Cor. 16:10: "If Timothy come, see that he be with you without fail." Before the despatch of the Second Epistle he had rejoined Paul, as he is associated with him in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1:10). If the suggestion above holds, it was probably he who brought news of the events which led up to the second crisis. In any case the dealing with that crisis at its height was committed not to Timothy but to the stronger hands of Titus.

Assuming that there was an intermediate letter between 1 and 2 Cor. it is probable that Titus was the bearer of it (2 Cor. 12:18), as he was

12. Of Titus.

also the bearer of our Second Epistle (2 Cor. 13:14). A small group of scholars, including Hausrath and Schmiedel, would assign to Titus yet another earlier visit, on the business of the collection, soon after the writing of the First Epistle; but the hypothesis is invented to suit the theory that 2 Cor. 12 is not an integral part of our Second Epistle, and necessitates the invention of a number of other purely hypothetical occurrences (among them a fifth, or third lost letter), nearly all of them duplicates of others that are better attested. It may be rejected without hesitation.

The sequence of events, as far as we can ascertain it, seems to have been this:

13. Sequence of events.

(i.) While Paul is absent at Jerusalem Apollos arrives at Corinth, where he preaches with success (Acts 18:27).

(ii.) Paul takes up his abode at Ephesus in the summer of A.D. 52, remaining there until the summer of A.D. 53.

(iii.) Early in this period Apollos quits Corinth and certain Judaizing teachers arrive there. The beginnings are laid of differences which soon harden into parties.

(iv.) About, or somewhat after, the middle of the period Paul pays the church a brief disciplinary visit, *cf. supra* 1:10, 2:1.

¹ With the dates given here *cf.* those in CHRONOLOGY, § 71.

see above, § 106. He also, after his return, writes the *lost letter* of 1 Cor. 5:9.

(v.) The household of Chloe bring news of an ominous development of the spirit of faction (1 Cor. 1:11), and a little later Stephanus, Proclus, and Achaius arrive at Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:15), perhaps as bearers of a letter to the apostle from the church at Corinth seeking his advice on various matters.

(vi.) Partly in consequence of what he had heard, and partly in answer to that letter, Paul writes *1st Corinthians* in the spring of A.D. 53, taking occasion to correct a wrong impression drawn from the lost letter (1 Cor. 5:9, 10).

(vii.) The epistle thus written has the desired effect, and for the moment all goes well (2 Cor. 1:12-16). The apostle lets the Corinthians know his programme of 2 Cor. 1:13-16. Timothy arrives at Corinth and now, or at the time of chapter 8, returns to Ephesus.

(viii.) Another sharp controversy arises, beginning perhaps in some well-meant but feeble action on the part of Timothy, and soon involving the whole question of the apostle's position and authority.

(ix.) On hearing of this from Timothy Paul writes a *second pastoral letter*, the tone of which is severe and uncompromising. It is sent by Titus, who at the same time has instructions in regard to the collection.

(x.) After Titus has gone, Paul becomes more and more anxious as to the effect his last letter is likely to have on the Corinthians. He leaves Ephesus, having about this time been in imminent peril there. He stops at Troas. Still no news.

(xi.) Thus at last returns to him in Macedonia and dispels his fears. The *Second Epistle* is written and is sent by Titus and two others (2 Cor. 8:22). Its main tenor is thankfulness; but the collection is pressed, and the growth of one party (probably the Christ-party) leads to some emphatic strictures.

(xii.) Towards the end of December A.D. 53 Paul reaches Corinth. He stays there three months (Acts 20:3), during which he writes the Epistle to the Romans.

First Epistle.—We have seen that the occasion of the First Epistle was two-fold: (1) certain tidings which had reached Paul as to various disorders existing in the church at Corinth; (2) certain questions put to him in an official letter from the church. The disorders were: (i.) a number of factions which raised the flag of party spirit and used the names of prominent leaders to give colour to their own self-assertiveness. On these must be said below (§ 16). The subject covers 1:10-12:1.

(ii.) A bad case of immoral living which too much reflected a general laxity in the church (5:1-2:9).

(iii.) Litigiousness, which did not scruple to have recourse to heathen law-courts (6:1-11).

(iv.) An indecorous freedom in worship, exemplified by the abuse of the female headress (11:1-16).

(v.) Still worse disorders at the *agapè* or love-feast, which was followed by the eucharist (11:17-34).

And we may perhaps include under this head (vi.) the denial by some of the resurrection, dealt with in chap. 15.

The last three points may have been raised by the official letter. This certainly contained questions about marriage (answered in ch. 7:1); probably also about regulations to heathen practices, such as the eating of meats offered to idols (ch. 8 continued in 9:1-11:1); and possibly some inquiry as to the relative value of spiritual gifts. Chap. 1:3-6 is introductory, and ch. 16 an epilogue of personal matter containing instructions as to the collection, and details as to Paul himself and his companion.

The only points that need perhaps to be more particularly drawn out are the connection of chaps. 1:10-12:1 and 8:1-11:1.

The first tracks out the spirit of faction to its origin in the conceit of a worldly-minded wisdom, which is contrasted with the simplicity of the Gospel—a simplicity, however, which does not exclude the higher wisdom that comes from God (1:17-2:16). Then, in 3:1-4:7, the true position of human teachers is stated. They are but stewards, whose duty is not to put forward anything of their own, but only to administer what is committed to them by God. The Christian has but one foundation and one judge, namely Christ. 4:6-21 applies these general truths to the circumstances of the case with biting irony, which, however, soon changes to affectionate entreaty, and that again to sharp admonition.

The sequence of the argument in 8:1-11:1 should not be lost sight of. In ch. 8 is laid down the principle which should guide conduct in such matters as the eating of meat that might have come from heathen sacrifices. This principle is the subordination of personal impulse to the good of others. In ch. 9 Paul points out the working of the principle in his own case; it is in deference to it that he waives his right to claim support from the Church, in deference to it that he exercises severe self-

15. 1 Cor.

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Bible of Zohrab in 1792 (incomplete translations earlier); also, with a manuscript by Reisk, in 1806. But as interest in the subject was being revived by Theodor Zahn (*Zeitschr. f. bibl. Wiss.*, 1876, 24, 300-1) and Dr. P. Vetter, professor in the Roman Catholic faculty at Tübingen, a Latin version was discovered by M. Scaud Berger in a tenth-century MS. at Milan, and published by him in connection with Prof. A. F. Richter (*Acta Soc. Scientiarum*, 1881, 18). A second MS. of the text, containing a different but probably not altogether independent version, was found at Liège, and published by Prof. Brakke in *LLZ*, 1882, col. 565. There is also a MS. at Vercelli, a commentary on the epistle by Johann Schüssler. The texts are most conveniently collected by Dr. P. Vetter in a Tübingen programme (*Die apokryphen Briefe von Paulus*, 1882, 1-43).

The facts at present ascertained in regard to the apocryphal letters are these:

(1) They were known in the 14th C. (from the 5th cent.) admitted into the Armenian version as a part of the canon. (2) They also existed in Syria and were accepted as canonical in the fourth century by Aphraates, Ephrem Syrus, and the Syriac *P. de Maria*. (3) The Latin version of Aphraates is recognized by both Harnack and Zahn, though a question as to whether wrongly by Carrière and Vetter. (4) The letters were also known and had some small circulation in the West.

The problems which still await solution have reference to the question of origin.

(1) Zahn and now also Vetter, think that the greater part of the letters was in the first instance incorporated in the apocryphal Acts of Paul. (Since this was written Zahn's hypothesis has been upheld through the discovery, by Dr. C. Schumacher, of considerable portions of the Acts of Paul in Coptic; cp. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1897, pp. 117-124, and Harnack in *LLZ*, 1897, col. 681.) In any case it seems probable that they gained their origin in the Syrian version in connection with the controversy against Paul's teaching in the third century. Their composition can hardly be much later than 200 A.D. (2) It is coming to be generally agreed that the 14 letters of the epistles existed in a Greek. Vetter and Zahn now think that the concluding portion was added in Syria, and Zahn goes so far as to make the Latin version translated not from the Greek but from the Syrian. This has certainly not been proved his case; but the age of these versions needs further investigation.

It is also of general commentaries (which still deserve mention) of Bengel, Wiessemann, and Meyer (first editions by Heinrich).

20. Literature. — We have, in English, in *The Speaker's Concordance*, a fairly exact and marked by fine scholarship, and of a 1881 C. by Dr. Joseph Wain (general, also in 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 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that the cohort mentioned consisted of Gauls but had distinguished itself in Macedonia. If this interpretation were applicable, an Italian cohort would mean one which had fought in Italy. In Arian, however (*Act. 10 contra J. 1.1.1*, § 3, p. 66), the cohort which in § 13, p. 102, is called ἡ σπειρα ἡ Ἰταλική, the Italian cohort, figures simply as of Ἰταλῶν, the Italians, and with this agree all the other mentions (entirely in inscriptions) of a cohort Italia.

These are (1) *Cohors I Italiae civium Romanorum isauriana*; (2) *coh(ors) miliaria*—i.e., having 1000 instead of as usual 500 men *Italiae voluntarii* *quarta* in Syria; (3) *coh. II. It.*; (4) the epitaph of a subordinate officer found at Carmentum in Pannonia and first published in the *Archaeologia*, *Ab theilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* (1885, p. 217) *epit. cohortis II Italiae* (i.e., Italian) *Romanorum centuria Tausiliani ex vexillariis sagittariis* *evectus* (i.e., *evectus*).

Thus the σπειρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10¹ really consisted of Italians, probably of Italian volunteers.

Now, Schürer¹ has pointed out that according to Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 87, § 176) the garrison of Caesarea about 60 A.D. consisted mostly of Caesareans and Sebasteni (Sebasti having, from 27 B.C., been the name of Samaria). As early, however, as 41-44 A.D. (at latest), when Caesarea was not under a Roman procurator but under a grandson of Herod the Great, King Herod Agrippa I. (whose death is recorded in Acts 12:20-21, and during whose reign, or shortly before it, the story of Cornelius will have to be placed), the garrison at Caesarea must, according to Schürer, have been similarly composed. For in 44 A.D. the emperor Claudius desired to transfer the garrison—which, at that time, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 12, § 66) also twenty-three years later, in 67 A.D., consisted of an *ala* (ἄλῃ—i.e., cavalry detachment of 500 men) of the Caesareans and Sebasteni and five cohorts—to the province of Pontus, because, after the death of his friend King Agrippa I., they had publicly insulted the statues of his daughters; but there was no change of garrison until the time of Vespasian (*Jos.* *Ant.* xix. 91 f., §§ 359-366). This led Schürer to conjecture that a cohort of Italians may have come to Caesarea (there was in Syria, as shown above, one such at least) under Vespasian, and that the author of Acts, or of the source from which he drew, may have transferred the circumstances of his own time to the time of Peter.

Ramsay, on the other side, adduces the fourth of the inscriptions given above. This inscription, however, does not say more than that in 69 A.D. there was a *cohors Italia* in Syria; and, although there may have been such a cohort there as early as about 49-45 A.D., it is not said that there was one in Caesarea. It is especially improbable that that city was so garrisoned in the reign of Agrippa I. (41-44 A.D.), for he was a relatively independent sovereign, not likely to have had Italians in his service; but even for the period preceding 41 A.D. Schürer argues for a probability that the garrison of Caesarea was the same as it was afterwards, and that it was simply taken over by Agrippa at his accession. For the rest, Ramsay can only appeal to a possibility that Cornelius may have been temporarily at Caesarea on some 'detached service.'

Oscar Holtzmann (*N. T. liche Zeitgesch.* § 11, 2, p. 108) thinks that perhaps the enrolment at some time or other of a considerable number of Italian volunteers may have sufficed to secure for such a cohort in perpetuity the honorary epithet of 'Italia.' All this, however, is mere conjecture.

Mommsen (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1895, pp. 501-3) seeks to deprive of its force the statement of Josephus on which Schürer relies. Starting from the view that the troops of Agrippa must certainly have been drawn from the whole of his kingdom,—that is, from all Palestine—he maintains that Caesarea and Sebastae are singled out for special mention by Josephus merely as being the two chief towns in Agrippa's dominions. He lays emphasis on the fact that in *Ant.* iii. 4, § 66

¹ *ZWT*, 1875, pp. 413-425; *Glück* 132-6 (H. F. 2, 4, 54); where, on p. 54, according to *Lea*, 1296, ii. 470n, for 'in reference to a 1250' period' should be read 'in reference to a 1250' (i.e., 1250 period). In *R. P.* 1896, 246-247, Schürer replies to Ramsay *ib.* 194-207; Ramsay replies, 1897, 169-72.

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(see above) and *Ant.* xv. 61, § 122, it is said only of *Caesarea* and not of the *cohors* that it was composed of Caesareans and Sebasteni. At the same time he does not use this fact to establish the probability of a *cohors Italia* in Caesarea. On the contrary, his conclusion is that 'We are unable to identify with any certainty either the *cohors Italia* of Acts 27¹ or the σπειρα Ἰταλική of Acts 10¹.'

The special importance of Cornelius in Acts lies in the representation of a *homo conversus* by Peter brought to the original Christian community of Jerusalem.

2. Narrative irreconcilable with Council of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, in spite of violent repression at first (11:17 f.), to the conviction that the God's also, without circumcision and without coming under any obligation to observe the Law of Moses, were to be received into the Christian Church if they had faith in Christ (11:17 f.). The historical truth of this representation has to be considered in connection with what we are told elsewhere concerning the Council of Jerusalem (see *Constitution*, ii. § 4; Acts, § 4). That council could never have been necessary, and the including Christians in it could never have stood out for the circumcision of the Gentile, or their obligation to observe the whole Mosaic Law (Acts 15:5), if they had already come to see and acknowledge in the case of Cornelius that such demands were contrary to the divine will. In his controversy with Peter at Antioch also (Gal. 2:12-14), Paul could have used no more effective weapon than a simple reference to this event; but he behaves no knowledge of it. No one, it is to be presumed, will attempt to save the credibility of the narrative by the expedient of transferring it to some date subsequent to the Council of Jerusalem. As at that council (see above) are told Peter himself expressly agreed that the Gentiles should be unimpeded entrance into the Christian Church, that circumcision and observance of the Law should not be demanded of them, he did not, at a later date, require to be instructed on the matter by a divine revelation. Had the Council in fact not been later than the Council the novelty would have lain simply in Peter's preaching the gospel and administering baptism to Cornelius and his household *in praesentia*. This, however, is precisely what would have been contrary to the principle adopted at the Council as laid down in Gal. 2:6, which settled that he should continue his missionary activity to born Jews. (On the importance of this principle, see *Council*, § 6.)

As the story of Cornelius must thus be retained, if anywhere, in its present place, before the Council of Jerusalem, its credibility can be allowed only on condition that it is acknowledged not to possess the important bearing on questions of principle which is claimed for it in Acts 11:1-17.

(c) To meet this requirement, it is usually thought sufficient to say that the occurrence was an 'exceptional case' (so, for example, Ramsay also, *St. Paul*, chap. 3, p. 44). This may be true in the sense that Peter converted and baptized no more Gentiles; but, unless at the same time it is denied that in the case of Cornelius Peter's action proceeded on a divine revelation and command, the reference to the exceptional character of the case has no force. The conditions of missionary activity which God had revealed to Peter in the case of Cornelius must surely, when Paul also began to apply them, have been acknowledged by the original Church; and thus the controversy resulting in the Council of Jerusalem could never have arisen. On this ground alone, then, to begin with, Peter's vision at Joppa is unhistorical; and aversion from miracles has nothing to do with its rejection. The whole account seems to be influenced by reminiscences of the story of the summoning of Hymen by Pothus (*Nu.* 22:5-23); see Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 193-9 [94].

(d) It is further urged (so again Ramsay, *St. Paul*,

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ch. 3 § 1 and 10 § 1 pp. 42 f. and 375, and *Exp.* 1806, 2007/1 that Cornelius according to Acts 10:22 was a semi-proselyte, i.e., gave a general adhesion to Judaism, without being circumcised or yielding definite obedience to the details of the Mosaic Law;¹ but neither does this contention avail. The facts, as stated in Acts 10:28-11:4, that Cornelius and his house, according to Jewish and Jewish-Christian ideas, were unclean, and if, notwithstanding this, God had commanded his admission within the pale of the Christian Church, the command had essentially no less significance than it would have had if he had previously been quite unattached to Judaism. Ramsay (11) says, it is true, that Peter 'laid it down as a condition of reception into the Church that the non-Jew must approach by way of the synagogue (10:35) and become 'one that fears God.' But Peter does not say this until after he has been taught by God in a vision. Without this instruction it would have been incumbent on him to exact, as conditions precedent, acceptance of circumcision and submission to the entire law (10:14). As soon as the divine command is recognised as a historical fact the dispute at the Council of Jerusalem becomes, as already stated, an impossibility.

(6) On one assumption alone, then, will it be possible to recognise a kernel of historical truth in the story of Cornelius: the assumption, namely, that he was a full proselyte, - circumcised, that is to say, and pledged to observance of the entire Law. Such a supposition, however, is in direct contradiction of the text (10:28-11:4). It would be strange indeed if, in order to make the narrative credible, one had first to change it in so important a point.

It would be necessary to depart still further from the text if it were desired to put faith in what is said in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20:1), according to which Peter did not convert Cornelius at Caesarea to Christianity at all, but merely freed him from a demon's possession. It is not intrinsically impossible that here we have a fragment of good tradition preserved from some ancient source (see SIMON MARGR); but, on account of its combination with manifest fancies (see below, § 6), to trust it is all but unsafe.

All the more urgent becomes the question whether the narrative in Acts is derived from a written source.

4. Sources. Of the scholars enumerated under Acts (§ 11) the majority assume that it is, and point out verses in ch. 10, the proper connections of which (they say) have been obliterated by the final redactor of the book.² They further emphasise the point that in the narrative by Peter (11:5-17) certain details are not given precisely as in ch. 10. Still, even the most serious of these differences—namely, that in

¹ That this is the meaning of the phrase *σεβόμενος* [for *φοβούμενος*] *τὸν θεόν* is shown in Schürer *GH*, ET 4 (1890) 118; also *SB. III*, 1897, Heft 13, 'Die Juden im byzantinischen Reich,' especially 19 f. - 213 f. of the volume; see also PROSELYTE.

² 10:36 f., however, ought not to be reckoned among these; no redactor would have introduced such violent abnormalities into his text. The words from *ἀρχαίως* ('beginning') down to *Γαλιλαίας* ('Galilee'), or, it may be, to *Ἰουδαίᾳ* (end of v. 37), are absolutely foreign to the construction, and certainly ought to come between *οὗ* ('who') and *διήλθεν* ('V. went abroad') in v. 38, whether it be that they originally belonged to this place, or that they originally stood on the margin as a reminiscence by a very early reader from Lk. 23:5 or Acts 1:22. In 10:29 the reading of WH ('He') sent the word unto . . . Lord of all. 'Ye know the word which'; *ἐπ' ὧν* is unquestionably a copyist's attempt to remove the difficulties of the construction; but their marginal reading (*τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπεστείλει*, etc.; 'The word which' as in EV) it is as difficult to make dependent on the *οἶδατε* ('ye know') of v. 37 as it is to construe in apposition to the whole sentence in v. 35. If we refuse to suppose that before v. 36 some such words as 'you also hath he thought worthy to hear' have fallen out before *τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπεστείλει*, etc. (the word which [he] sent), it will be necessary to take *τὸν λόγον ὃν* ('the word which') down to *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* ('by Jesus Christ'), as a marginal explanation of *τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας* ('the word which was throughout all Judea'), where *ῥῆμα* (RV 'saying') is wrongly understood in the sense of 'word' instead of the Hebrew sense of 'event, occurrence' as in Lk. 21:5; and *οὗτός ἐστι πάντων κύριος* ('he is lord of all') will be a further addition.

CORNELIUS

ch. 11 the Holy Spirit fell upon Cornelius and his household at the very beginning of Peter's discourse (7: 13) admits of explanation; 10:44 may have been supposed to represent only a comparatively small part of what Peter meant to say. Were it necessary to make a choice between ch. 10 and ch. 11, it would be the worst possible course to try to see in the latter the source from which the fuller narrative of ch. 10 was originally derived by amplification (see Wendt, *ZfA*, 1891 pp. 230-251, esp. 250-4). That principle-determining character which, as we have seen, can in no case have attached to the assumed event is imparted precisely by the justification which in ch. 11 the event receives before the church of Jerusalem; and against this it is of no avail that Wendt chooses to attribute some of the strongest passages, such as 11:1 and 11:12, to the latest redactor of Acts.

More important than any of the indications hitherto dealt with is the clue supplied in 10:44-11:17. The 'speaking with tongues' of Cornelius and his household is here placed on a level with that of the apostles at the first Pentecost after the resurrection, but is not yet (as it is in the other passage) described as a speaking in the languages of foreign nations: it is undoubtedly meant, as in 1 Cor. 12:11, to be taken simply as a speaking in ecstatic tones (see GUTHRIE). Certainly this representation of the matter does not seem as if it had been due to the latest redactor of the book as a whole.

In favour of the credibility of the narrative, however, nothing is gained by all this search for a written source. It is a great error, widely diffused, to suppose that one may *pro facto* take as historical everything that can be shown to have stood in one of the written sources of the NT authors. As far as the source was in substance identical with what we now have in the canonical Acts, it is equally exposed to the criticisms already offered. There is one assumption which would escape the force of that criticism—the assumption, namely, that Cornelius was a full proselyte (§ 3 f.)—but it cannot possibly by any analysis of sources be made out to have been the original tradition.

All the more remarkable is the clearness with which the tendency of the narrative may be seen. The

5. Tendency. which historically belongs to Paul, is here set down to the credit of Peter (see Acts, § 3 f.). According to the representation given in Acts, it was preceded by the conversion of the Samaritans (8:5-25), who, however, were akin to the Jews, and consequently not Gentiles (Schürer, *GH* 2:57, *ET* 3:57). It had been preceded also by the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (8:26-39); but he had not thereby been made a member of any Christian church. The really difficult problem was this: In what manner ought Jewish Christians to live together in one and the same church with Gentile Christians, who did not hold by the Mosaic Law? This question is brought by Peter, in the case of Cornelius, on the basis of a divine revelation, exactly to the solution which in reality it was left to Paul to achieve after hard battle at a much later date (see CORN. II, §§ 4, 7). With a certain reserve, which bears witness to right feeling for essential historical truth in spite of all unhistoricity in the narrative, the author attributes no more conversions of Gentiles to Peter; and even the conversion of Cornelius himself is in some measure toned down by the previous Jewish sympathies with which he is credited. There is thus a further step left. It is not till later, in Antioch, that the gospel is preached to Gentiles who had not previously stood in any close connection with Judaism, and the new step is taken (as in the case of the Samaritans) in the first instance by subordinate persons, and not sanctioned by the authorities at Jerusalem till after the event (11:19-24). None the less are mission to the Gentiles and the abolition of the distinction between Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians so essentially vindicated in the

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CORNET For Don. H₂N⁺, C₁⁺⁺, and FeH₂ (see M₁ in § 3.4). The spectrum of CORNET is similar to M₁ (see § 3.4).

CORONATION. [Annotating.] § 11465. It is an ancient model of a tower with a central tower S. 10° 1' K. 14°. It is only in the case of Jewish coronation as mentioned is accompanying, indeed, it is mentioned as preceding the amount (2 K. 11:1). Perhaps 2 S. 11:1 refers to an older custom of mourning for the successor the person's dominions of the dead king; see G. G. W. Perhaps too the amount occurred near or on a particular *place* or *place* of the stone, as in the case of *Munich*, for we can hardly doubt that 1 S. 11:1 is the pillar that was *Shedam* (Chap. 10:1 is correct, though the final letter of *Shedam* has been lost or removed; see Moore, *ibid.* 1:1). Jewish texts tend to have stood by the pillar as the manner was (2 K. 11:1); but here the word for 'pillar' is different (2:12), and we should perhaps follow RV67 and Klostermann in rendering 'platform' (2 K. 23: RV67, RV68).

After the mounting the people greeted the new king with a flourish of trumpets (1 K. 1:31-2 K. 10:26-27, 2 K. 11:14-15:22). In the case of Jehu and Absalom (2 S. 15:6) the trumpet sounds were the signal of accession, though they may have been simply an element in the popular expressions of joy (2 S. 11:14-1 K. 1:31), which included hand-clapping (2 S. 20:1, 2 S. 11:12-13, 1 K. 1:23) and the exclamation 'Live the king' (2 S. 19:24, 2 S. 16:16, 1 K. 1:34-2 K. 11:10). Sometimes there was a procession with music; the new king rode on the royal mule (1 K. 1:33-34) and finally took his seat on the throne.

It is possible that 'today' in Ps. 27 refers not to the birth but to the coronation of the king. See Baethge, *Chr. ad 175*. The latter illustrates from the signatures representing the coronation of the Egyptian king Nub-shesut III, Na'ville, *Temple of Dendera*, *Richard III*, 1890, pp. 1-6. See Weinel's essay on 255 in *UfU* 187-9 [2] and Diehl, *Feldzug Psylliden*, Gießen, 1914.

CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF (הַרְרֻשָׁתָּה), 2 K 23:17. RV¹⁹: 'mount of destruction.' See DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF.

COS κωδ [ANV], 1 Macr. 1523. Sections.

COSAM (קוסאם [Ḳ. WII], fifth from Zernubabel in the genealogy of Joseph (Lk. 3:23). See GENALOGIES, II, § 3.

¹ L. Oliphant (*Har'ar*, 147) conjectures that the (artificial) footprints in the rocks in different parts of Palestine (e.g., at Hebron and at the Naby Samit near Haifa) indicate the very ancient coronation stones.

2. *H. t. t. septu*, formerly wrongly written *H. t. t. septu* (see LEYPT, 1955).

case of Cornblith that Peter has not been able to consider their real motivations as far as Acts is concerned. The third view, accordingly, is in complete contradiction to the first two. In fact, thus, the historical Peter can be seen as Jewish Christian prejudice not voluntarily overcome, withdraws from table-fellowship which he had been in with Gentile Christians, and thereby expresses his refusal to the sharp censure of Paul (see *Coloss.* § 30). In Acts he has completely overcome those prejudices, being before Paul begins his Christian activity. It is not necessary on this account to suppose that the author of Acts freely invented the whole story, including even the name of Cornblith; but, considering his weakness, he brings it into the service of his theory, we have little prospect of ultimately being able to return more than a very small kernel as historical.

6. **Later traditions.** According to the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (20:1; see above, § 3.4) and Recognitions (10:1) Cornelius took the side of Peter as against Paul. When Simon the Sorcerer (i.e., Paul, see Simon Magus) had stirred up a violent mob against Peter, Cornelius comes upon a mission from the Emperor and arrives at an understanding with the friends of Peter; at their request, to set abroad the rumor that his imperial commission has reference to the arrest of Simon. Thereupon Simon makes his escape to Judea. Thus Cornelius here plays the part which in Acts 21 and 23:6-9 is assigned to Claudius Lysias.

According to the *Chronicon* on the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, attributed to Symeon Metaphrasi, the Carthusians created by Peter bishop of Bham, according to the Greek *Menex* (11th Sept.), he is sent by Peter to Skopos on the Hellespont (Thrace), *Enceph. Apost.* c. 11, in 147, and 151. According to the pseudo Isidore in 11 miles (10,000) and 12,000 miles (12,000). Zacharias was created first a bishop of Cesarea by Peter; in *Ap. Const.* vii. for Zacharias is created by Cornelius.

CORNER (ἄκρον), Lev. 19:27-21 v.; (4) of a pillar, CHAN, § 6; (2) of the beard; see CHINGS OF THE FISH, § 5; MOURNING CLOTHS; (3) of a garment (ἄκρον), KRACPELOH, Nu. 15:12 RVing; see FINGERS.

CORNER, ASCENT OF THE (עֲלִית הַכֶּפֶר), Neh.
3 u RV. See JERUSALEM.

CORNER GATE (יִצְחָק דַּפְנִים), Zech. 11 Pro. See
JERUSALEM.

CORNER-STONE (in Job אֶבֶן פִּינָה; Ἀῖθος
γωνιαῖος; in Is. פִּינָה, ἄ. ἀκρογωνιαίος; and so in
NT; in Ps. וַיִּתֵּן כֶּקַּלְלֹתֵינוּ מֵעַל אֶבֶן עֲרִי-
וֹנָה, Sym. γωνία), (a) Job 38; (b) Is. 28:16
1 Pet. 2:6 Eub. 2:2 without ἡν; 2:13; 2:14; 2:15; 2:16; 2:17; 2:18; 2:19; 2:20; 2:21; 2:22; 2:23; 2:24; 2:25; 2:26; 2:27; 2:28; 2:29; 2:30; 2:31; 2:32; 2:33; 2:34; 2:35; 2:36; 2:37; 2:38; 2:39; 2:40; 2:41; 2:42; 2:43; 2:44; 2:45; 2:46; 2:47; 2:48; 2:49; 2:50; 2:51; 2:52; 2:53; 2:54; 2:55; 2:56; 2:57; 2:58; 2:59; 2:60; 2:61; 2:62; 2:63; 2:64; 2:65; 2:66; 2:67; 2:68; 2:69; 2:70; 2:71; 2:72; 2:73; 2:74; 2:75; 2:76; 2:77; 2:78; 2:79; 2:80; 2:81; 2:82; 2:83; 2:84; 2:85; 2:86; 2:87; 2:88; 2:89; 2:90; 2:91; 2:92; 2:93; 2:94; 2:95; 2:96; 2:97; 2:98; 2:99; 3:1; 3:2; 3:3; 3:4; 3:5; 3:6; 3:7; 3:8; 3:9; 3:10; 3:11; 3:12; 3:13; 3:14; 3:15; 3:16; 3:17; 3:18; 3:19; 3:20; 3:21; 3:22; 3:23; 3:24; 3:25; 3:26; 3:27; 3:28; 3:29; 3:30; 3:31; 3:32; 3:33; 3:34; 3:35; 3:36; 3:37; 3:38; 3:39; 3:40; 3:41; 3:42; 3:43; 3:44; 3:45; 3:46; 3:47; 3:48; 3:49; 3:50; 3:51; 3:52; 3:53; 3:54; 3:55; 3:56; 3:57; 3:58; 3:59; 3:60; 3:61; 3:62; 3:63; 3:64; 3:65; 3:66; 3:67; 3:68; 3:69; 3:70; 3:71; 3:72; 3:73; 3:74; 3:75; 3:76; 3:77; 3:78; 3:79; 3:80; 3:81; 3:82; 3:83; 3:84; 3:85; 3:86; 3:87; 3:88; 3:89; 3:90; 3:91; 3:92; 3:93; 3:94; 3:95; 3:96; 3:97; 3:98; 3:99; 4:1; 4:2; 4:3; 4:4; 4:5; 4:6; 4:7; 4:8; 4:9; 4:10; 4:11; 4:12; 4:13; 4:14; 4:15; 4:16; 4:17; 4:18; 4:19; 4:20; 4:21; 4:22; 4:23; 4:24; 4:25; 4:26; 4:27; 4:28; 4:29; 4:30; 4:31; 4:32; 4:33; 4:34; 4:35; 4:36; 4:37; 4:38; 4:39; 4:40; 4:41; 4:42; 4:43; 4:44; 4:45; 4:46; 4:47; 4:48; 4:49; 4:50; 4:51; 4:52; 4:53; 4:54; 4:55; 4:56; 4:57; 4:58; 4:59; 4:60; 4:61; 4:62; 4:63; 4:64; 4:65; 4:66; 4:67; 4:68; 4:69; 4:70; 4:71; 4:72; 4:73; 4:74; 4:75; 4:76; 4:77; 4:78; 4:79; 4:80; 4:81; 4:82; 4:83; 4:84; 4:85; 4:86; 4:87; 4:88; 4:89; 4:90; 4:91; 4:92; 4:93; 4:94; 4:95; 4:96; 4:97; 4:98; 4:99; 5:1; 5:2; 5:3; 5:4; 5:5; 5:6; 5:7; 5:8; 5:9; 5:10; 5:11; 5:12; 5:13; 5:14; 5:15; 5:16; 5:17; 5:18; 5:19; 5:20; 5:21; 5:22; 5:23; 5:24; 5:25; 5:26; 5:27; 5:28; 5:29; 5:30; 5:31; 5:32; 5:33; 5:34; 5:35; 5:36; 5:37; 5:38; 5:39; 5:40; 5:41; 5:42; 5:43; 5:44; 5:45; 5:46; 5:47; 5:48; 5:49; 5:50; 5:51; 5:52; 5:53; 5:54; 5:55; 5:56; 5:57; 5:58; 5:59; 5:60; 5:61; 5:62; 5:63; 5:64; 5:65; 5:66; 5:67; 5:68; 5:69; 5:70; 5:71; 5:72; 5:73; 5:74; 5:75; 5:76; 5:77; 5:78; 5:79; 5:80; 5:81; 5:82; 5:83; 5:84; 5:85; 5:86; 5:87; 5:88; 5:89; 5:90; 5:91; 5:92; 5:93; 5:94; 5:95; 5:96; 5:97; 5:98; 5:99; 6:1; 6:2; 6:3; 6:4; 6:5; 6:6; 6:7; 6:8; 6:9; 6:10; 6:11; 6:12; 6:13; 6:14; 6:15; 6:16; 6:17; 6:18; 6:19; 6:20; 6:21; 6:22; 6:23; 6:24; 6:25; 6:26; 6:27; 6:28; 6:29; 6:30; 6:31; 6:32; 6:33; 6:34; 6:35; 6:36; 6:37; 6:38; 6:39; 6:40; 6:41; 6:42; 6:43; 6:44; 6:45; 6:46; 6:47; 6:48; 6:49; 6:50; 6:51; 6:52; 6:53; 6:54; 6:55; 6:56; 6:57; 6:58; 6:59; 6:60; 6:61; 6:62; 6:63; 6:64; 6:65; 6:66; 6:67; 6:68; 6:69; 6:70; 6:71; 6:72; 6:73; 6:74; 6:75; 6:76; 6:77; 6:78; 6:79; 6:80; 6:81; 6:82; 6:83; 6:84; 6:85; 6:86; 6:87; 6:88; 6:89; 6:90; 6:91; 6:92; 6:93; 6:94; 6:95; 6:96; 6:97; 6:98; 6:99; 7:1; 7:2; 7:3; 7:4; 7:5; 7:6; 7:7; 7:8; 7:9; 7:10; 7:11; 7:12; 7:13; 7:14; 7:15; 7:16; 7:17; 7:18; 7:19; 7:20; 7:21; 7:22; 7:23; 7:24; 7:25; 7:26; 7:27; 7:28; 7:29; 7:30; 7:31; 7:32; 7:33; 7:34; 7:35; 7:36; 7:37; 7:38; 7:39; 7:40; 7:41; 7:42; 7:43; 7:44; 7:45; 7:46; 7:47; 7:48; 7:49; 7:50; 7:51; 7:52; 7:53; 7:54; 7:55; 7:56; 7:57; 7:58; 7:59; 7:60; 7:61; 7:62; 7:63; 7:64; 7:65; 7:66; 7:67; 7:68; 7:69; 7:70; 7:71; 7:72; 7:73; 7:74; 7:75; 7:76; 7:77; 7:78; 7:79; 7:80; 7:81; 7:82; 7:83; 7:84; 7:85; 7:86; 7:87; 7:88; 7:89; 7:90; 7:91; 7:92; 7:93; 7:94; 7:95; 7:96; 7:97; 7:98; 7:99; 8:1; 8:2; 8:3; 8:4; 8:5; 8:6; 8:7; 8:8; 8:9; 8:10; 8:11; 8:12; 8:13; 8:14; 8:15; 8:16; 8:17; 8:18; 8:19; 8:20; 8:21; 8:22; 8:23; 8:24; 8:25; 8:26; 8:27; 8:28; 8:29; 8:30; 8:31; 8:32; 8:33; 8:34; 8:35; 8:36; 8:37; 8:38; 8:39; 8:40; 8:41; 8:42; 8:43; 8:44; 8:45; 8:46; 8:47; 8:48; 8:49; 8:50; 8:51; 8:52; 8:53; 8:54; 8:55; 8:56; 8:57; 8:58; 8:59; 8:60; 8:61; 8:62; 8:63; 8:64; 8:65; 8:66; 8:67; 8:68; 8:69; 8:70; 8:71; 8:72; 8:73; 8:74; 8:75; 8:76; 8:77; 8:78; 8:79;

In (a) the phrase 'cornerstone', RV's 'cornerstone' is parallel to פִּנְיָה, 'its foundations' (or bases), just as in Jer 51:26 'a stone for a *pinnaḥ*' (פִּנְיָה) is parallel to 'a stone for foundations' (אֶבֶן יְסוּדוֹת). In (b) we find the same connection between פִּנְיָה, *pinnaḥ*, and the foundation-stone. Clearly, therefore, the traditional rendering 'cornerstone' for פִּנְיָה is unsuitable. Indeed, the word פִּנְיָה elsewhere only in some cases means 'corner' (see Ex. 27:24 Ezek. 40:20 45:14 Job 1:7 Prov. 7:1). Besides this, the architectural term פִּנְיָה in Ps. 118:22 (A. ἀποκύριος in 1 Pet. 2:6 cp Eph. 2:20; but not in Mt. 21:42 and parallel passages, A. τῆς ἑκκλησίας) evidently means, not 'cornerstone', but 'topstone of the battlement', and 'battlement' is RV's rendering of פִּנְיָה in 2 Ch. 26:15 Zeph. 1:15 3:5.

In spite of tradition, therefore, it would seem that **פֶּנֶם זֶנֶח** means, not a corner-stone, but a principal stone (cp **פֶּנֶם**, Ass. *pinu*, 'front'), one selected for its solidity and beauty to fill an important place in a building, whether in the foundation or in the battlement. Hence the metaphorical sense of **פֶּנֶם**, 'principal men.' Is. 19:13 (so point), t. S. 14:3 Judg. 20:2. (c) The third EV passage (Is. 11:12) with the word 'corner' is extremely obscure in MT. That Jewish readers could be likened either to 'corner-stones' (EV, 14b.) or to 'corner-pillars' (Bachg., We. in *StoT*, comparing the

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the first part, the system is a 2×2 matrix, $M = \begin{pmatrix} M_{11} & M_{12} \\ M_{21} & M_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where M_{11} and M_{22} are 2×2 matrices, M_{12} and M_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $M_{11} + M_{22} = 0$. The second part is a 2×2 matrix, $N = \begin{pmatrix} N_{11} & N_{12} \\ N_{21} & N_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where N_{11} and N_{22} are 2×2 matrices, N_{12} and N_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $N_{11} + N_{22} = 0$. The third part is a 2×2 matrix, $P = \begin{pmatrix} P_{11} & P_{12} \\ P_{21} & P_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where P_{11} and P_{22} are 2×2 matrices, P_{12} and P_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $P_{11} + P_{22} = 0$. The fourth part is a 2×2 matrix, $Q = \begin{pmatrix} Q_{11} & Q_{12} \\ Q_{21} & Q_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where Q_{11} and Q_{22} are 2×2 matrices, Q_{12} and Q_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $Q_{11} + Q_{22} = 0$. The fifth part is a 2×2 matrix, $R = \begin{pmatrix} R_{11} & R_{12} \\ R_{21} & R_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where R_{11} and R_{22} are 2×2 matrices, R_{12} and R_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $R_{11} + R_{22} = 0$. The sixth part is a 2×2 matrix, $S = \begin{pmatrix} S_{11} & S_{12} \\ S_{21} & S_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where S_{11} and S_{22} are 2×2 matrices, S_{12} and S_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $S_{11} + S_{22} = 0$. The seventh part is a 2×2 matrix, $T = \begin{pmatrix} T_{11} & T_{12} \\ T_{21} & T_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where T_{11} and T_{22} are 2×2 matrices, T_{12} and T_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $T_{11} + T_{22} = 0$. The eighth part is a 2×2 matrix, $U = \begin{pmatrix} U_{11} & U_{12} \\ U_{21} & U_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where U_{11} and U_{22} are 2×2 matrices, U_{12} and U_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $U_{11} + U_{22} = 0$. The ninth part is a 2×2 matrix, $V = \begin{pmatrix} V_{11} & V_{12} \\ V_{21} & V_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where V_{11} and V_{22} are 2×2 matrices, V_{12} and V_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $V_{11} + V_{22} = 0$. The tenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $W = \begin{pmatrix} W_{11} & W_{12} \\ W_{21} & W_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where W_{11} and W_{22} are 2×2 matrices, W_{12} and W_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $W_{11} + W_{22} = 0$. The eleventh part is a 2×2 matrix, $X = \begin{pmatrix} X_{11} & X_{12} \\ X_{21} & X_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where X_{11} and X_{22} are 2×2 matrices, X_{12} and X_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $X_{11} + X_{22} = 0$. The twelfth part is a 2×2 matrix, $Y = \begin{pmatrix} Y_{11} & Y_{12} \\ Y_{21} & Y_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where Y_{11} and Y_{22} are 2×2 matrices, Y_{12} and Y_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $Y_{11} + Y_{22} = 0$. The thirteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $Z = \begin{pmatrix} Z_{11} & Z_{12} \\ Z_{21} & Z_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where Z_{11} and Z_{22} are 2×2 matrices, Z_{12} and Z_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $Z_{11} + Z_{22} = 0$. The fourteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $A = \begin{pmatrix} A_{11} & A_{12} \\ A_{21} & A_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where A_{11} and A_{22} are 2×2 matrices, A_{12} and A_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $A_{11} + A_{22} = 0$. The fifteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $B = \begin{pmatrix} B_{11} & B_{12} \\ B_{21} & B_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where B_{11} and B_{22} are 2×2 matrices, B_{12} and B_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $B_{11} + B_{22} = 0$. The sixteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $C = \begin{pmatrix} C_{11} & C_{12} \\ C_{21} & C_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where C_{11} and C_{22} are 2×2 matrices, C_{12} and C_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $C_{11} + C_{22} = 0$. The seventeenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $D = \begin{pmatrix} D_{11} & D_{12} \\ D_{21} & D_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where D_{11} and D_{22} are 2×2 matrices, D_{12} and D_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $D_{11} + D_{22} = 0$. The eighteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $E = \begin{pmatrix} E_{11} & E_{12} \\ E_{21} & E_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where E_{11} and E_{22} are 2×2 matrices, E_{12} and E_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $E_{11} + E_{22} = 0$. The nineteenth part is a 2×2 matrix, $F = \begin{pmatrix} F_{11} & F_{12} \\ F_{21} & F_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where F_{11} and F_{22} are 2×2 matrices, F_{12} and F_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $F_{11} + F_{22} = 0$. The twentieth part is a 2×2 matrix, $G = \begin{pmatrix} G_{11} & G_{12} \\ G_{21} & G_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where G_{11} and G_{22} are 2×2 matrices, G_{12} and G_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $G_{11} + G_{22} = 0$. The twenty-first part is a 2×2 matrix, $H = \begin{pmatrix} H_{11} & H_{12} \\ H_{21} & H_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where H_{11} and H_{22} are 2×2 matrices, H_{12} and H_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $H_{11} + H_{22} = 0$. The twenty-second part is a 2×2 matrix, $I = \begin{pmatrix} I_{11} & I_{12} \\ I_{21} & I_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where I_{11} and I_{22} are 2×2 matrices, I_{12} and I_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $I_{11} + I_{22} = 0$. The twenty-third part is a 2×2 matrix, $J = \begin{pmatrix} J_{11} & J_{12} \\ J_{21} & J_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where J_{11} and J_{22} are 2×2 matrices, J_{12} and J_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $J_{11} + J_{22} = 0$. The twenty-fourth part is a 2×2 matrix, $K = \begin{pmatrix} K_{11} & K_{12} \\ K_{21} & K_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where K_{11} and K_{22} are 2×2 matrices, K_{12} and K_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $K_{11} + K_{22} = 0$. The twenty-fifth part is a 2×2 matrix, $L = \begin{pmatrix} L_{11} & L_{12} \\ L_{21} & L_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where L_{11} and L_{22} are 2×2 matrices, L_{12} and L_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $L_{11} + L_{22} = 0$. The twenty-sixth part is a 2×2 matrix, $M = \begin{pmatrix} M_{11} & M_{12} \\ M_{21} & M_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where M_{11} and M_{22} are 2×2 matrices, M_{12} and M_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $M_{11} + M_{22} = 0$. The twenty-seventh part is a 2×2 matrix, $N = \begin{pmatrix} N_{11} & N_{12} \\ N_{21} & N_{22} \end{pmatrix}$, where N_{11} and N_{22} are 2×2 matrices, N_{12} and N_{21} are 2×1 matrices, and $N_{11} + N_{22} = 0$

the most important occurrence of the opposed category, the one that bears the most obvious relation to the more contradictory accounts of it which we can process in table 2, and Acts 15, the more necessary is to adopt a critical method for its investigation. I believe that this method arises in which both accounts are to be taken into consideration. In order to do so, it is essential that we return to the times of Paul's journey to Corinth in order to have a conversation

1. Paul's Journeys
to Jerusalem in
Gal. and Acts.

But we are not alone. Unless we do, the
 continuance of the epidemic that is eating us will
 be a perpetual and a constant statement.

Paula, a black woman, who has been a part
 of the development of the black community in
 the United States, is a black woman who has been
 a part of the development of the black community in
 the United States. I will have been a part of the
 development of the black community in the United States.

Now, the journey mentioned in Acts 16 must be taken to be identical with that in Gal. 1, even though the narrative of Acts contains not the slightest hint that it was not made until three years after Paul's conversion, and had been preceded by a sojourn in Arabia and a second sojourn in Damascus.

It would seem, then, that the second journey recorded in Galatians 124 must coincide with the one in Acts 1126, which, according to Acts 1225, did extend to Jerusalem.

the famine during the reign of Claudius (by which the Jews were almost exterminated in Palestine before 48), in the manner of 1.10, repeats the narrative of Acts 11, to imply (1) that the famine of which Herod Agrippa I. died, the conversion of Paul, occurred shortly after the death of Jesus, and (2) that it was no more than a year after the appearance of the Lord, i.e., the fiftieth year of Jeremiah (*Jer.* 25:11-12; *Am.* 8:11) or, at the minimum, the interval of seventeen (*Gen.* 47:14), but it is implied by Gal. 1:23 before Paul's conversion and 1 Thim. 4:10 after it, *Christus regnavit*, § 74 *ff.* Thus the date of the journey in Acts is required to occur not only in one post-41, but also, and not not so, but after the beginning of the famine.

Still, since it mentions no object for the journey besides the sending of alms, the narrative of Acts 14 may be charged with having passed over in complete silence the conference mentioned in Gal 2:1-10.

This is no trifling matter. It is remarkable that a conference on the same subject should follow in Acts 16, for a repetition of the discussion within the next few years is not a normal prospect, but that no reference is made in Acts 16 to an earlier discussion. The journey mentioned in Acts 14, at all events, as Paul is concerned – may, on other grounds, be considered open to the possibility of having been determined by circumstances recorded in Acts 20: 21 ff (p. 115, 116).

² That it extended over the whole world (*οικουμένη*) is an error of Acts.

COULTER (CN): CREYOC [BAI], IS. 13, 6,
 somewhere rendered 'plovchare' (ΑΡΟΤΡΟΝ [BAQ]),
 24 foot 3 in. [1 in] Mic. 1. See AGROUTURI, § 3.

4. *Scirpus rigmitum*, Ps. 68: 10 (1 Veng. 'their com.

At the time of the 1990 census, the population of the

[illegible]

These may possibly have been of cotton.

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Rom 15: 27 and 1 Cor 16: 15-16, whether by mistake or purpose, for a far more fully pointed in the narrative for S. 15: 15-16.

In order to avoid recognizing the contradiction between Gal 2: 1-10 and Acts 15: 1-30, a whole class of writers have assigned the Council of Jerusalem to the journey described in Acts 18: 1-18. They ignore the objection that on this view Paul in Galatians suppresses important facts so far as to pass over two journeys to Jerusalem without mention.

On the other hand, it is a mistake to suppose that Acts 15: 22 does not imply a visit to Jerusalem at all.

Although *ἀποδοξάω* might signify the journey up to the shore to deliver it to the Jews, a man could not possibly be said to deliver it to the Jews if he were to deliver it to the Gentiles. Thus we are bound to supply the Council in Jerusalem by many interpreters even when denying the first day of the journey. On this last point, however, we cannot in fact be supported by the negative evidence of Galatians. For, if it is silent as to this journey, but not as to a day or two, it reaches the point at which mention of it would have come, instead of assuming such a journey, after describing the visit to Antioch. If the writer passes on to the Gentiles and thence to practical questions, entirely losing sight of his original purpose, which was to enumerate the persons and matters with the original apostles. Finally, indeed, he thought remarkable that Paul's doing, if intended, is not mentioned in Acts 15: 22, but this does not warrant the assumption now to be made.

Some of us have assumed that the Council of Jerusalem was really held on this occasion (Acts 15: 22), and not earlier. The author, having purposely transposed it to an earlier date, would express himself as briefly and obscurely as possible when he came to the point at which it really occurred.

This assumption has the advantage of bringing not only the first (Acts 13: 1-14) but also the second (Acts 15: 1-30) journey within the first seven or eight years after Paul's conversion, thus providing a natural time up to which the writer has reached. It is true, however, he would in this way put Barnabas who was personally known to the Galatians and the Corinthians, and that he could have been separated from Paul (Acts 15: 36-40) until after the second missionary journey, during which the communities in Galatia (22), Old Galatia (26), and in Corinth were established; to the passage, Gal. 2: 1-10, we are perfectly justified in the assumption that Barnabas was known to the readers by report alone.

The assumption of such a transposition is entirely wanting in probability.

The motive proposed, the writer to transpose the Council of Jerusalem to an earlier date is supposed to have been the desire to bring the whole of Paul's missionary work to its beginning within the scope of the decree of the apostles (Acts 15: 22-23), but had this really been the writer's intention, he would have indicated the Council not before Acts 15, but before Acts 13. What should have hindered him from so doing, if he was minded that he allowed himself to make free with his materials in this way at all, is not apparent.

Others actually transpose the journey described in Acts 13: 1-14 so as to make it come between the Council of Jerusalem and the separation of Barnabas from Paul, and therefore after Acts 15: 34.

Their strongest reason is the fact that Paul mentions only Syria and Cilicia as his places of residence up to the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. 1: 21). This is hardly conclusive, for, although Paul was pledged to enumerate all his meetings with the original apostles, he was not bound to mention all the provinces in which he had resided without meeting them. In any case, even if the transposition of Acts 13: 1-14 and Acts 15: 1-30 is accepted, it gives no support to the assumption mentioned under *d*, since for that assumption the writer of Acts has put the two sections exactly in the wrong order; his suppositional purpose, as well as the motive of historical accuracy, would have led him to put 15: 1-34 before 13: 1-14.

It is only by very bold treatment of the different sources of Acts, by which the accounts of Paul's journeys in Acts 11: 15-18 become merely the result of an erroneous combination of the writer's authorities, that Clement (*Chronol. d. Paulin. Pr.*, 1893) contrives to identify Gal. 2 with Acts 21 and Joh. Weiss (*St. u. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 480-510; 1895, pp. 252-264), on the contrary, with Acts 9 and (at the same time) with Acts 15: 1-12. It is, in fact, quite impossible to deny the identity of the events related in Gal. 2 and in Acts 15. See CITRONOTOGY, § 74.

In view, however, of the doubts cast upon Acts, it is

more correct to refer to the book the last of the

2 Gal 2: 1-10 the primary passage

the Council of Jerusalem. It is not possible to suppose that the Council of Jerusalem was held at Antioch, for the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem. The Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem, and the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem.

But we must not permit our imagination to be misled by the dispute at Antioch, which is held in Gal. 2: 1-10. The Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem, and the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem.

3. The dispute at Antioch.

The dispute at Antioch is held in Gal. 2: 1-10. The Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem, and the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem. The Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem, and the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem. The Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem, and the Council of Jerusalem was held at Jerusalem.

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As we are not informed of any answer from Peter to Paul's remand in Gal. 2: 1-10, it is commonly (though very rashly) assumed that Peter admitted his error. That Paul should record an explicit answer from Peter, however, was hardly to be expected, if only for the reason that he must have thought it inconclusive. Still, even if Peter was thought to have yielded, the others who shared his opinion did not yield. Otherwise, why is the dispute at Antioch followed so quickly by the entrance of the Judaising party into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia and Corinth, in complete contravention of the agreement in Gal. 2: 10, and by the nearly successful attempt to induce the Galatians to adopt circumcision (Gal. 5: 2-12; 6: 12-14) and to alienate the Corinthians from Paul altogether (2 Cor. 11: 12-13; 5: 12-13; 7: 5-6)? How could so important and persistent a movement— if it had already been encountered by Paul on two separate occasions, both in Galatia and in Corinth (Gal. 1: 5-13; 1 Cor. 9: 2 Cor. 11: 14)— have been carried on if it had been opposed by the first apostles? Whence came the letters of recommendation which, according to 2 Cor. 3: 1, these emissaries brought with them? As they formed the ground upon which the suspicion against Paul as one who had never known Jesus (1 Cor. 9: 1) proceeded, what weightier credentials could they have contained

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than the statement that their hearers represented immediate disciples of Jesus? Would the sceptical Cerebrians have been satisfied if the authentication had come (let us say) from Ephesus, or from some other town outside Palestine?

How comes it, again, that even at the end of the second century the pseudo-Chionetime homilies (17.1a) represent Peter as reproaching Simon—under whose name Paul is there attacked (see SIMON MAGI 8)—for having called him a *κατασκευαστος* (Gal. 2.11; RV 'stood condemned')? This shows how deep a wound was inflicted on including Christianity by Paul's bold attack on Peter. For this reason, not a word is said in Acts about the scene; though it is quite inconceivable that the author had no knowledge of it (see ACTS, § 6). Further, in the place in Acts where this scene ought to have been mentioned there is recorded a similar dispute (*παροισμὸς*, Acts 15.1) between Paul and Barnabas (see BYRNATHUS), who, according to Gal. 2.1, had gone over to the side of Peter. This dispute, however, does not turn on any question of principle. It was merely a personal matter (Acts 15.2-4). The comestime is a tempting one that this scene, if not an invention, is at least an interpolation, based on some written source, introduced for the purpose of effacing the memory of the more important quarrels.

We are now in a position to investigate the Council of Jerusalem itself. It was occasioned, on the part of

4. Occasion of the council.

Inclusive Christianity, by the appearance of the 'false brethren' who had made their way unauthorised into the Pauline and other churches, seeking to spy out and to suppress the freedom from the Mosiac Law that had been attained (Gal. 2.4). As this cannot have been in Jerusalem, we may accept the statement of Acts (15.1, cp 14.2) that it was to Antioch they came. Up to that time no such intrusion had occurred, although the circumstances at Antioch cannot have long remained unknown to the lead is at Jerusalem. It is, therefore, not improbable that the new and sudden aggressive movement proceeded from recently converted Pharisees, even though the statement to this effect in Acts 15.5 is made without reference to 15.1, and therefore appears to come from another source. Paul was prompted to go to the council of the apostles by a revelation (Gal. 2.2). Probably it came to him not as a bolt from the blue, but only after the question to be decided by the council had already stirred his soul to its depths. No less than his entire life-work—his of bringing the heathen to Christianity without loading them by the Mosiac Law—was at stake. According to Acts (15.2), he and Barnabas were deputed to go to Jerusalem by the church at Antioch in consequence of a fruitless discussion there. This motive for the journey is not, of course, absolutely incompatible with the revelation mentioned by Paul; but it is in any case significant that Paul speaks only of the revelation and Acts only of the delegation. Whatever the motive, what is it that Paul can have gone to Jerusalem in search of? A tribunal to whose verdict he would voluntarily submit, whatever its tenor? By no means. He had from a higher authority his gospel of freedom from the Law, and rated very little for the original apostles (Gal. 1.6-9; 2.5-7). Or did he expect to find among their assistance against the 'false brethren'? We think that he did not; if he did, his expectation was not justified by the event (see below, §§ 7, 8). The purpose with which he went to Jerusalem was to discover the source from which the 'false brethren' drew their support. He intended to take that support away from under them, and, in order to do so, it was necessary that he should appear in person. 'Last by any means I should be running or had run in vain' (Gal. 2.2); *μήπως τίς κενόν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον* is not an interrogative; Paul would never have made the justification of his work dependent on the judgment of the original apostles.

Were the conferences at Jerusalem public, or were they private? No clear picture of them is presented in Acts—perhaps because the account is compiled from various sources.

5. Public or private discussions?

A general assembly is set before us in Acts 14.4. We may suppose the private assembly mentioned in 14.2 to have been on another day (though the author says it being as to this). Suddenly, however, in 14.22, 'all the multitude (*ὅλη το ἄνθρωποι*) is present; and it reappears in 14.23 as responsible for the final decision, although in 14.23 this is attributed to the apostles and elders only. Paul, on the other hand, in the words *κατ' ἴδιον*, 'privately' (Gal. 2.9), passes from a public to a private conference, as also probably in 2.6 for the discussion about the circumcision of Titus (2.6-8) can most easily be supposed to have occurred in a public assembly, in which expression was also given to the position in which the original apostles did not themselves finally adopt.

So far there is no inconsistency between Galatians and Acts: both know of meetings of both kinds. The crucial question, however, is, Was any final decision arrived at in a public assembly?

If the decision was not in Paul's favour, the claims of truth and of prudence alike must have led him to mention it. Much, however, of what is recorded in Acts—e.g., the speech of Peter (15.7-11)—points very clearly to a decision in Paul's favour; and to pass this over in silence would have been folly.

The picture presented in Acts, therefore, of a decisive public assembly is entirely incorrect.

The case is similar with what is said, or implied, as to Paul's attitude toward the original apostles. According to Acts, he holds quite a subordinate position. He is allowed to state his case, but not to take part in the debate; he has simply to submit to the decision.

6. Paul's attitude to the original apostles.

According to Galatians, he debates as with his equals. Indeed, he even refers to the original apostles ironically as 'of reputation,' 'reputed to be pillars,' 'to be somewhat' (*οἱ δοκούμενοι, στήλοι καὶ ἐκείνη*; Gal. 2.9).

Even if it be granted that the title, 'pillars' (*οἱ στήλοι*) may have been originally applied to them by their adherents as a term of honour, the phrase 'reputed' (*δοκούμενοι*) cannot have been so used. It is explicitly derogatory. The most that can be done to soften the force of Paul's irony is to conjecture that he did not invent the expression until the incident at Antioch had diminished his respect for them.

Paul took Titus as his companion of set purpose. The uncircumcised assistant of his missionary labours would serve as an 'object-lesson' in support of his fundamental principle.

7. Question of circumcision of Titus.

An attempt was made to procure his circumcision; but, owing to the opposition of Paul and Barnabas, it had to be abandoned.

This is clearly the meaning of Gal. 2.1-5, and only the most violent feats of critical ingenuity can find any other explanation of the passage. One interpretation is that no attempt whatever was made (*οὐκ ἐπαγχαθή*) to procure the circumcision of Titus. If so, why the opposition of Paul and Barnabas? Again, the attempt was made, yet not on grounds of principle, but in the interest of Paul, to save him from daily defilement. How did he avoid defilement from other Gentile converts, with many of whom he associated daily? Perhaps, on account of the 'false brethren,' Paul did, after all, of his own accord, allow Titus to be circumcised. Did he hope thereby to maintain the truth of the gospel (Gal. 2.5) that no man need be circumcised? It has even been proposed to follow the Greek text and the Latin version of D with Irenaeus, Tertullian, and other Western fathers, in omitting the negative (*οὐδε*) in Gal. 2.5 (whether 'to whom, *οὐκ*, also be omitted is of less importance), as if Paul could have been so blind as to consider compliance at the most critical moment to be harmless, because only temporary (*πρὸς ὥραν*). It is, on the contrary, probable that after 2.5, to complete the sentence beginning with 2.4, we ought to supply not 'we did not give place' (*οὐκ ἐχώρησεν*), as if, had the 'false brethren' appeared, Paul would have been prepared to comply, but 'on account of the false brethren' it was all the more necessary to offer a strenuous opposition. For at the outset they had demanded the circumcision of all Gentile converts even. As this is expressly stated in Acts 15.1, it is the more certain that it is necessarily presupposed by the negative (*οὐδε*) of Gal. 2.5. Nothing worse occurred, and not even Titus was compelled to be circumcised. The worst thing that might have occurred was, according to 2.7, have been that Paul should have run in vain (*εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον*); i.e., that a decree should have been passed prohibiting the admission of Gentiles into Christianity without circumcision.

Thus the demand for the circumcision of Titus appears

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as a compromise proposed for the first time when the original proposal for the circumcision of all Gentile converts met with insuperable opposition from Paul and Barnabas. The very circumstantiality of a conference that passed through so many aspects is enough to show that these proposals could not possibly have been made without at least the moral support of the original apostles. Had the latter been on Paul's side from the first it has been held that they are to be included in the subject of 'gave place,' *ἔδωκεν*, any attempt of the kind must have been instantly frustrated by their authority.

It is, therefore, useless to construe Gal. 2:14 as a reason subsequently introduced to explain 2:15, as though the circumcision of Titus was refused by all parties alike, for the reason that it was demanded by the 'false brethren' alone. Considerations of language also render inadmissible the other interpretation, which supplements so as to read 'and indeed on behalf of the "false brethren" . . . it was said that he ought to be compelled to be circumcised (*ἐπικυρώσει* without *αὐτὸν*). The importance attached to the memory of the case of Titus is best shown in Acts; his name is never mentioned at all, those who accompanied Paul to the conference being 'Barnabas and certain others' (*τινες ἄλλοι*; Acts 15:2) see Acts, § 6). It is not going too far, therefore, to say that the original apostles were at the outset included in their attitude; indeed, if we may judge by what occurred soon afterwards at Antioch, this understates the case.

In harmony with this attitude was that which they adopted towards the subsequent mission to the Gentiles.

8. The apostles and the mission to the Gentiles.

Paul's practice of admitting Gentiles as members of the Christian Church without circumcision cannot have obtained the sanction of the other apostles at the outset. Assent was wrung from them with difficulty. Indeed, they did not give way on any ground of principle; otherwise their behaviour in the dispute at Antioch would have been impossible. They gave way only because of the divine verdict as shown by the event (*ἡ ἀνάγκη . . . ἡγορευθεὶς τῇ ἑκκλησίᾳ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*; Gal. 2:9); cp. Acts 15:12, to which they submitted perforce, though without recognising its underlying justification. Peter and James, therefore, cannot have expressed themselves, even approximately, as in Acts 15:7, as they are said to have spoken. Had what Peter (15:7) emphasizes in regard to Cornelius really occurred, there would have been no Council of Jerusalem at all (Acts, § 4).

Peter is further said (15:7) to have declared that God had removed the difference between Jews and Gentiles by purifying the hearts of the Gentiles, 'as though in the eyes of a Jew the impurity of the Gentiles were impurity of the heart itself.' He is, moreover, represented as saying (15:11) that his hope of salvation was through the grace of God alone, whereas at Antioch he maintained that the observance of the Law was necessary to salvation. Finally (15:10) he calls the Law a yoke intolerable even to the Jews, yet at Antioch he again submitted himself to it. He calls it a 'tempting of God' to put the yoke on the Gentiles also; yet at Antioch he broke with the Gentiles because they did not take it on themselves, thus putting moral pressure upon them to 'release' themselves (Gal. 2:14). In short, the speech of Peter (15:7) and Pauline Paulism (Gal. 2:14) are mutually irreconcilable. There is violence on the latter side that the author did not seem to notice, contrary to estimate the positions of the speakers, in the fact that the speech of James is considerably more reserved. The reference to Cornelius in 15:11, however, is just as unobscured as that in 15:7. James, and possibly he employed the quotation from Amos unless it be maintained that the discussion was carried on in the ignorance of the hated foreigners; for in the original it is not so, and that the rescue of men and nations to whom God's name had been made known should seek the Lord, it is only said that the Jews themselves should 'revert' to the Law (*ἐπιστρέψατε*), and that the other nations that had at any time been under the dominion of God (*ἡ ἑθνη*; cf. 15:12) do. Yet James pays his tribute to Paulinism if he implies that the imposition of the whole Mosaic Law upon the Gentiles is a burden to them in action, as long since, they ought to be relieved (15:10). Paul, on the other hand, did not make the positive proposal of 15:1. See below, § 15.

The result of the conference, according to Galatians, was a 'law of the Jews' (*νόμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων*) 2:14. What the precise extent of this *νόμος* was can be learned only by inference from the incidental facts. A division of missionary districts was arranged. The reason why the original apostles desired to carry on their work only among the Jews can be gathered with absolute certainty from the situation of affairs which had been brought about. The separation of the missionary districts had been the result of the conference concerning the circumcision of the Gentile convert. Had the circumcision of these converts been decided on, the original apostles need have felt as little cause to shrink from missions to the Gentiles as a few had to shrink from the work of winning proselytes. As the sequel at Antioch shows, what they found intolerable was the idea of that intimate daily association with unconverted heathen which would have become unavoidable if missionary work had been engaged in by them without circumcision of the Gentiles. That was the reason why they abandoned this part of the work to Paul and Barnabas. To look for the reason of the separation of missionary districts in differences of aptitude for winning other Gentiles or natural Jews is to misapprehend the causes that were really at work. Such consideration, as those mentioned may have had some circumstantial influence, but how could the same at Antioch have been possible if the presence of aptitudes had been the sole or even the chief cause of the separation? Not a word is there said about Peter's missionary work; the only question is whether he is prepared to eat at the same table with Gentile converts.

It is equally certain that the separation of districts was intended in an ethnographical, not in a geographical, sense. Had the original apostles undertaken to labour for the conversion of the Gentiles as well as for that of the Jews in Palestine without making upon any ground of principle, they would immediately have found themselves face to face with all the difficulties which had caused them to avoid the Gentile countries and confine their efforts to the land of their fathers. The separation had no purpose unless missions to natural Jews were to be assigned to them as their province. Conversely, Paul and Barnabas were, of course, to go only to men of Gentile birth. Jews seeking only a man whom they met in Gentile countries they were bound to turn away, referring them for guidance to their natural Jewish Christian missionaries. This might have led to the further consequence that in one and the same town there would have been at once two Christian communities, one of Jews and one of Gentiles. Association at meals, as well as at the Lord's Supper, would have been impossible between them. This intolerable state of affairs, however, was exactly what the Pauline leaders had long ago contrived to avert; and this success was regarded by Paul as the highest triumph of the view of Christianity which he advocated. It is very reasonable to ask how he could have had any share in an arrangement by which, in the churches he had founded, the will of separation between Jewish and Gentile Christians, which it had cost so much labour to destroy, was again raised up. To fall back on the view that the separation was intended to be geographical would, however, be wrong. A separation on such a basis the apostles, as has already been shown, could not possibly have accepted. It would be necessary to draw the conclusion that the statement of Galatians must be pronounced unhistorical, and the apostles themselves, and Pauline, were there really no other way out of the difficulty. Before taking this step, however, we shall do well to remember that men have often enough acted upon a compromise without having formed any adequately clear conception of its consequences. The Christian church would specially have fallen a victim into two separate communities, the one of Jewish and the other of Gentile Christians, had

9. Result of Council according to Gal.

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no agreement been reached. Neither of the parties was able to abandon its view: each felt itself under a strict religious obligation to maintain its own principles. There must, therefore, have been the greatest eagerness to grasp at any formula that presented itself as a solution. 'We to the Jews, you to the Gentiles,' appeared to be a formula of the kind, and joy in the renewed sense of brotherhood may have blinded men's eyes to the impracticability of the proposal. This would happen all the more readily if the formula was so loose that each party could understand it in a different sense. In the absence of more precise definition, the geographical interpretation must have seemed to Paul as obviously the correct one as the ethnographical interpretation appeared to the other apostles — to Paul, who became not merely to the Gentiles a Gentile, but also to the Jews a Jew, that he might by all means win some, and, in order to save those belonging to his own race, would willingly have been accursed from Christ (1 Cor. 9.20 f.; Rom. 9.3; cp BARN. § 1). In the scene at Antioch the misunderstanding revealed itself only too clearly; but this does not prove that there was no misunderstanding at Jerusalem. Even in the aspect under which the matter had to be presented at the conference at Jerusalem, the unity sought for was limited. The 'right hand of fellowship' (δεξιὰ κοινωνίας) which they held out to each other was at the same time a parting handshake. According to their fundamental principles, the Jewish Christians neither would nor could have any very intimate communion, any really brotherly intercourse, with the Gentile Christians. It is worthy of notice that the support of the poor is represented in Gal. 2.10 less as being the only demand made upon the Pauline churches than as being the only bond by which the two halves of Christendom were to be kept together.

There is, however, no necessity for assuming that these aims from the Gentile Christians were like temple dues, or intended to express a position of inferiority as compared with that of Jewish Christians. In view of the notorious poverty of the church at Jerusalem (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5), it would have been unreasonable to require reciprocity, and doubtless Paul was glad to evince his goodwill on such neutral ground. For the rest, it was quite impossible that the Gentiles should be treated by the Jews as having equal rights and full citizenship in the kingdom of God. The OT promises applied only to the chosen race and to those who had been received into it by circumcision. The Jewish Christians had made the concession—from their point of view a concession of real magnitude—of sanctioning the mission to the Gentiles without circumcision; but it was not to be supposed that this could be granted except on the basis that this class of converts was to hold somewhat the same position as that of the semi-proselytes (συνεισδυοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων) among the Jews; they figured only as a 'younger branch in the kingdom of God.' In no case could the original apostles have set the same value on the conversion of these Christians of the second class through the agency of Paul as on their own missionary activity. It is remarkable that Gal. 2.6 does not run, on the analogy of 2.8a, 'unto the apostleship of the Gentiles' (εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν). Freedom of constriction is, of course, a characteristic of Paul's style, and thus 'unto the Gentiles' (εἰς τὰ ἔθνη) also may be explained as a case of brachylogy. Still, it is noteworthy that—e.g., in 1 Cor. 9.1—he does not base any appeal on the fact that apostleship (ἀποστολή) had been conceded to him by the original apostles. How effective—if open to him—this appeal would have been against the Judaizers at Corinth who called his apostleship in question, and set up those very apostles as the supreme authority! The truth is that he does not appear to have received any such recognition. Thus he would seem to have been recognised only as a fellow-worker, in the Christian field, not as a fully accredited apostle.

According to Acts, the result of the Council was a decree in 15.23-29. Nevertheless, as long as the word

10. The decree in Acts. 'imparted nothing to me' (ἐμὸν οὐδὲν προσέθετο), in Gal. 2.6, allowed to stand, we shall be precluded from accepting this binding as a formal decree. Whether the words mean 'The δοκοῦντες imparted nothing further to me' (so according to 1.16), or 'They made no further rejoinder to my communication' (so according to 2.2), is immaterial. Their meaning made clear by 'contrariwise' (τοὐναντίον) in 2.7: 'Not only did they say nothing unfavourable to me, but also they pledged themselves to fellowship with me.' We cannot better convince ourselves of the certainty of this conclusion than by examining the attempts that have been made to avoid it.

Theologians have done their utmost to maintain that Paul was justified in using the words ἐμὸν οὐδὲν προσέθετο, instead of mentioning the decree of the apostles, because the decree was known to the Galatians already, or because he did not want to put a weapon into the hand of his opponents, or because the decree was only temporary, perhaps, not binding at all, but merely having reference to a custom, the object of which had been even discovered to be the protection of the Gentiles against trichinosis. In the last of these methods of evading the interpretation stated above, all idea of a formal decree having been promulgated is given up; but even if the agreement on the substance of the decision had been only verbal, Paul could not have said, ἐμὸν οὐδὲν προσέθετο.

Apart from this, the dispute at Antioch conclusively disproves the historicity of the decision, whether in the form of a regular decree or not. It is clear that any such arrangement, had it been come to, would have had the effect of rendering it possible for Jewish and Gentile Christians to associate with one another at meals. (as is stated in Acts 16.4) Paul and Silas continued to enforce the decree during their next journey, we are bound all the more to suppose that it came into force at Antioch immediately after its promulgation there. In that case, James and his followers had no reason for taking offence at Peter's eating with Gentile converts.

If, then, we are forced to admit that no arrangement of this nature was made at the Council at all, there are many who would like to retain the opinion that Paul was substantially in favour of such an arrangement. This, however, is a mistake. The four prohibitions are

11. Its prohibitions. taken, either from the seven 'Noachic precepts' (as they are called in the Talmud), by means of which a *modus vivendi* is said to have been arrived at between the Jews and the 'sons of Noah' (the Gentiles), or directly from the original ordinances on which these are based (Lev. 17.10-18.30), which likewise were promulgated, not for the Israelites alone, but also for the foreigners in their midst. The latter source is the more probable, for the Talmud prohibits actual unchastity; but it cannot be doubted that, had such a prohibition appeared to be at all necessary in Acts 15, the prohibition of murder and of theft would also have been adopted from the Talmud. In its association with ordinances so far from being common to all mankind, so peculiarly Jewish, as the prohibition of blood, of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, and of the flesh of animals sacrificed to idols, it is much more likely that the interdiction upon what is here called *πορνεία* refers to marriages within the degrees of affinity forbidden in Lev. 18.6 ff. (cp BASTARD). Moreover, as the passage in Leviticus lies at the foundation of Acts 15, in a general way only, it is possible that marriages with Gentiles also may have been included; these were prohibited by Ex. 34.16 Dt. 7.3 Ezra 9.2, and would have made it quite impossible for a Jewish Christian to enter the house of a Gentile who had contracted such a marriage.

Now, as to Paul's view in regard to eating things sacrificed to idols, we have full and exact information. As a general rule (1 Cor. 8.10.21-23; Rom. 14.14) he allows it; it is to be avoided only in cases where it might cause offence to a weak Christian who mistakenly thinks that the Levitical prohibition of it is of perpetual obligation.

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Paul does recognise, it is true, one exception, which he mentions in 1 Cor. 10:14-22, though, curiously, not in the exactly similar case in 8:13 (cp. DeMoss, § 81); but even this passage contains no prohibition of the practice excepting at a religious ceremony of this kind. In the decree of Acts, on the contrary, the eating of things offered to idols is, it need hardly be said, forbidden in all circumstances, just as to partake of blood, or of the flesh of animals that have died or been strangled, is forbidden. Here the prohibition turns on the nature of the thing itself (cp. ἀσυνγνώστα, Acts 15:20); the soul was thought to reside in the blood (Lev. 17:14), and to eat the soul would have been an abomination. Now, as Paul does not concur in the decree of the apostles on the question of eating animals sacrificed to idols, it would not be wise to assume his agreement in regard to the prohibition of blood and of the flesh of animals that had died or been strangled, about which we have no expression of opinion by him. As to the question of marriage, he carried on an uncompromising warfare against unchastity of every kind (1 Cor. 5:6-13:23); but unchastity does not appear to have been what was intended in the decree of the apostles. Marriages with unbelievers, on the contrary, he did, it is true, advise against (1 Cor. 7:39), but in no case on grounds of principle. Otherwise he could not have enjoined that a Christian married to an unbelieving spouse should continue the relation if the other consented; nor could he have declared that the unbelieving spouse was sanctified by marriage with a Christian, and that even the children of a mixed marriage were holy (1 Cor. 7:12-14). The children were not baptised; if they had been, their sanctity would have been a consequence of their baptism, and not deducible from their connection with their parents simply. Accordingly, if Paul discourages marriages with unbelievers for the future (7:39), his reason cannot have been that they were in themselves wrong, but only that they were incompatible with the deeper spiritual sympathy of true spouses. On these grounds we are obviously still less entitled to assume that Paul would have pronounced to be wrong all marriages within the degrees of affinity, down to that with a sister-in-law, forbidden in Lev. 18:6-18, except in those cases which are manifestly contrary to nature, as, e.g., that given in 1 Cor. 7:1-2. On no single point, therefore, does Paul even express substantial agreement with the restrictions imposed by the decree of the apostles.¹

The last attempt to rescue some remnants of credibility for Acts connects itself with 21:25. Here Paul is acquainted with the decree of the apostles as if it were something new. It is absolutely impossible to reconcile this with the representation of Acts 15; but it is suggested that, if the latter has to be abandoned on account of Galatians, it may be possible to retain at least what is said in Acts 21. On this view the apostles issued the decree simply on their own responsibility, without consulting Paul; and this version of the matter was derived by the author from one of his sources. Unfortunately, the source of this passage (at least, according to all attempts hitherto made to distinguish the sources of Acts) is made out to be the same as that of Acts 15:20, or of 15:28 f., or of both those passages. To avoid this conspicuous failure in the argument, J. Weiss deletes from the account in

1 Some scholars have upheld the modified view that these restrictions were at all events customarily observed at the time among the Gentile Christians, many of whom had previously been semi-proselytes to Judaism and would therefore have naturally continued to obey these ordinances as Christians; and these would have been followed by the other Gentile converts. The only church, however, concerning which we have any information in this connection proves the contrary. In Corinth Paul had to contend with the very worst modes of unchastity, and with practices in regard to things offered to idols that went too far even for him; and mixed marriages were quite usual. It is hardly possible to believe that things could have been so completely different elsewhere, even if Corinth was exceptionally bad in these respects.

15:5-11:13 (for 15:1-412, see above, § 1 div. f.) all references to Paul and Barnabas (15:2-8) as editorial additions, and assumes that in the original source 15:5-11:13 related only to the conference of the original apostles among themselves, which is then called to mind in 21:25. Apart from the extreme helplessness of this assumption, it is to be remarked that this particular source is considered by Weiss himself, as well as by all other critics of the sources of Acts, to be untrustworthy. In particular, the verse in question (21:25) has been actually taken to be an interpolation, and in fact is so little necessary to the context that if it were wanting its absence would not be noticed. Read with the context, it causes no difficulty; but the context itself is not historical (see Acts, § 7). In any conceivable view, therefore, suspicion is thrown on the verse by a critical examination of the sources. In the absence of any confirmation, it certainly does not possess enough of internal probability to justify its acceptance.

In fine, it appears that the Tübingen school is not without justification in maintaining that the decree of the apostles is a fiction invented by the author for the purpose of promoting a union of Jewish and Gentile Christians. Only, in the second century it would have been little calculated to secure this object. The assumption is that these regulations were new at the time of writing. Now, they contain very stringent restrictions upon the freedom of the Gentile Christians in the interests of the Jewish; but the Gentiles were at that time so largely in the minority and so full of the consciousness of their title to membership in the Church, that they would hardly have acquiesced in such restrictions, then. Besides, the regulations contained in the decree of the apostles must, in their essence, have been actually in force at the time of the composition of Acts (see Acts, § 10), however little they may have been so in the first century.

The Epistle of Barnabas (3:6-16) betrays traces of this in the complaint that Christians believed themselves bound to observe the Mosaic Law, and from the middle of the second century there is evidence of this on all hands (Dob. 6:35; Jer. 1, 2, 35; Luc. 24:44; 1 Pet. 2:11; 1 Pet. 3:17; 1 Pet. 4:17; 1 Pet. 5:13; 1 Pet. 5:14; 1 Pet. 5:15; 1 Pet. 5:16; 1 Pet. 5:17; 1 Pet. 5:18; 1 Pet. 5:19; 1 Pet. 5:20; 1 Pet. 5:21; 1 Pet. 5:22; 1 Pet. 5:23; 1 Pet. 5:24; 1 Pet. 5:25; 1 Pet. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:27; 1 Pet. 5:28; 1 Pet. 5:29; 1 Pet. 5:30; 1 Pet. 5:31; 1 Pet. 5:32; 1 Pet. 5:33; 1 Pet. 5:34; 1 Pet. 5:35; 1 Pet. 5:36; 1 Pet. 5:37; 1 Pet. 5:38; 1 Pet. 5:39; 1 Pet. 5:40; 1 Pet. 5:41; 1 Pet. 5:42; 1 Pet. 5:43; 1 Pet. 5:44; 1 Pet. 5:45; 1 Pet. 5:46; 1 Pet. 5:47; 1 Pet. 5:48; 1 Pet. 5:49; 1 Pet. 5:50; 1 Pet. 5:51; 1 Pet. 5:52; 1 Pet. 5:53; 1 Pet. 5:54; 1 Pet. 5:55; 1 Pet. 5:56; 1 Pet. 5:57; 1 Pet. 5:58; 1 Pet. 5:59; 1 Pet. 5:60; 1 Pet. 5:61; 1 Pet. 5:62; 1 Pet. 5:63; 1 Pet. 5:64; 1 Pet. 5:65; 1 Pet. 5:66; 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1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

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metaphor, he designated "enchantment." This term was then extended to every alliance, even where the parties were in a position to do up a mutually binding document in the case. A *Kindel* and a *Kindelheit* are *Kind* (Knecht) and *Kind* (Knecht). As equals did not actually lay shackles upon each other, this is evidently a figurative name of the word; and as the thought of mutual obligation cannot have been immediately suggested by the imposition of fetters, it is as clearly secondary. The royal word of judgment or assent, *Kindheit*, when strengthened by an oath, was so firm, it could not be broken. A "fettered" horse

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was one firmly built, a 'fettered' place one surrounded by solid walls, 2 K 38, 12-17 (cp *fortis* fortress, fortified town, from the same root, Shalm, etc. 34, and see Del. *loc.* *IIITZ*, 135).

From the Amarna correspondence we know that some time before the Hebrew invasion a Babylonian dialect was written, and undoubtedly also to some extent spoken, in Palestine. The Israelites may therefore have become acquainted with this term through the Amorites. In the nomadic state, the priestly oracle by the casting of lots, the *gûl*, probably sufficed. Agricultural and city life called for increased civil authority. It is possible that *gûl* in the sense of 'binding ordinance', 'sentence', was adapted to supply the need of a corresponding word to designate the judicial decision of a ruler.

In the Hellenistic narratives the denominative *gûl* occurs with the significance 'to appoint' (1 S. 18). The noun was still used by the author of Ecclesiastes to denote the sentence pronounced by a judge (Ecc. 3). The fact that the dominant idea attached to the word at all times was that of a binding decree is better accounted for by this Babylonian derivation than by recourse to the *gûl* 'bind' 'to sever'. It also yields a satisfactory explanation of the early appearance of *gûl* in the sense of 'alliance', in accordance with the significance of 'community', 'nation'. On the other hand, the sometimes observed ceremony of placing between the severed pieces of an animal in making a solemn pledge may have been an inheritance from the nomadic period. In the phrase *gûl gûl*, possibly testifying to this rite, the verb throws no more light upon the noun than in the Greek *ἀποκτείνω*; whilst the secondary meaning of *gûl*, 'to decree' (cp the gloss to Hag. 25), bears witness to the primary and persistent significance of *gûl*.

The classical distinction between *διαθήκη* (*diathēkē*, will) and *συνθήκη* (*synthēkē*, agreement) was not entirely lost in Hellenistic Greek.

συνθήκη is exclusively used of a political alliance in 1 and 2 Macc. Apollonius' preference for *συνθήκη* cannot be explained by prejudice; its use by Symmachus was evidently dictated by considerations of style; even Theodotion's conservatism did not prevent him from abandoning at times the uniform rendering of *διαθήκη* by the Alexandrian translators can scarcely have been due to anything else than a consciousness of the fundamental meaning of *gûl*. This likewise applies to the independent rendering of the word by *ἔργον* in the Targums.

(i.) *Civil*.—In civil life the Hebrews seem to have employed the word to denote sentence, decree, ordinance, statute, law, pledge, testament, alliance, covenant, community, nation.

4. Specialised significations.

A successful leader against the enemy was in early Israel designated a judge (*šāpāt*), because the foe was regarded as a transgressor, the victory as a judgment, and the valorous chief as the natural arbitrator in internal feuds (cp GOVERNMENT, § 17). Even the king was a judge as well as a warrior, 1 K. 3, 16 ff. [1], 1 S. 8, 20 [E]. When this unity of the judicial and administrative functions ceased, the old term designating the decision of a ruler remained in legal phraseology. A collection of judicial decisions (*gûl gûl*) was called a *berith*-book, Ex. 21, 1 [E], the sentence was termed a *berith* (Eccles. 38, 3). But it also continued to denote the victor's decree affecting the condition of a city that capitulates (e.g., Jabez, 1 S. 11, 1 [1]), a territory that is ceded (e.g., Ishbaid's, represented by Amur, 2 S. 3, 12 ff. 21 [1]), a rival kingdom that is forced to come to terms (e.g., Benhadad's, 1 K. 20, 34 [E]), or a kingdom reduced to a state of dependence (e.g., Zedekiah's, Ez. 17, 13-16); and it was applied to the ordinance, statute, law, or constitution imposed by a king upon his own people, as David's (2 S. 5, 1 [1]), Josiah's (2 K. 23, 3), Zedekiah's (Jer. 34, 8 ff.), Antiochus's (Dan. 9, 27; 'the shall impose severe regulations on the many during one week'). Such a royal declaration was considered inviolable; a king would not go beyond his word in severity, nor fail to fulfil his promise. The Jabezites regarded their lives as safe, if Nahash would solemnly declare his willingness to rule over them as his servants. Antiochus Lysipator is severely censured (Is. 33, 8) for himself violating the constitutional rights he had granted (1

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Mace. 6, 1 ff.; 2 Macc. 13, 2 ff.). Thus the word assumed the meaning of 'a pledge'. The captives placed themselves to cheer the king (2 K. 11), the nobles of Jerusalem to set their slaves free (Jer. 34, 1), Zedekiah and other citizens to drive away the ways of Zedekiah (Jer. 34, 10 ff.).

(ii.) *Domestic*.—Applied to domestic relations the *berith* was at first simply 'the law of the husband' (Gen. 7, 1). Since a wife was captured, bought, or given in marriage, her absolute subjection to her husband's authority was properly characterised as 'enfranchisement'. Social development, however, without introducing the idea of equality, tended to emphasise the obligations that grew with power. The husband's *berith* became a solemn pledge given before witnesses (1 K. 16; Mal. 2, 14). In this sense the word could be used also of the wife. In Prov. 2, 17, *gûl gûl* seems to mean 'the promise by her God'; the same pledge of faithfulness is alluded to in 1 K. 16, 1 (not for the sake of thy promise), and possibly also in 1 Esdr. 25.

A father's decision was binding upon his children. Especially the last paternal decree, the testament, was irrevocable. Whether it was a disposition of property or a dispensation of blessings and curses, deemed effectual in antiquity, it was termed a *berith* (Gal. 3, 15; Heb. 9, 17; *test. auct. patr.*, passim), and had the nature of a promise.

(iii.) *International*.—Between nations equal in power a favour conferred or promised calls for a gift in return. To perpetuate mutually advantageous relations, pledges are exchanged. In this way political alliances may arise with mutual obligations. The best example of such a covenant is that between Solomon and Hiram (quoted in the Deuteronomistic note, 1 K. 7, 26, 12), can be relied upon. Of this nature were probably also the agreements between Hezion and Amah, Benhadad and Asa, and Benhadad and Baasha, referred to in 1 K. 15, 18 [1]. The *berith* with Assyria, Hos. 12, 1 [1], was originally intended as an alliance of this kind, though Hosea had reason to complain that out of such alliances there grew only new rights, i.e., demands (10, 1). Sennacherib's league with Rome was of the same character (1 Mace. 11, 1-3; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7, 1).

(iv.) *Religious*.—Since the relation of nations were thus frequently regulated by a *berith*, it is not strange that such a basis should sometimes have been assumed without sufficient foundation. When the once peaceful Arabic neighbours began to push the Edomites out of Mount Seir, Obadiah looked upon this as a breach of covenant on the part of allies (1, 7). The simultaneous attack of several peoples on the Jewish commonwealth described in 1 Mace. 5, 1 ff., seemed to the author of Ps. 83 to be the result of an alliance against Judaea (1, 2). Israel, if Amos 1, 6 is in its right place (see Amos, § 60), Tyre is charged with forgetting the 'covenant of brothers' with some other city or people, probably Phoenician; kinship is the basis of the assumption. Zech. 11, 1 ff. probably describes a change in the policy of the reigning pontiff as regards the Gentiles, rather than actual alliances with neighbouring states, as the consequent internal feud suggests. It is also natural that recourse should be had to the same fiction to justify or to condemn present conditions and demands. In the Negebi tribes of Israelite and Edomite extraction assumed themselves of their rights, against the Philistines, to certain wells and oases, by virtue of a solemn pledge given by Abimelech of Gerar to their *berith* *goyim*, Isaac (Gen. 26, 1 [1], 21 ff. [1]). Similarly, the border lines between Aramean and Israelite territory in Galilee were regarded as fixed by an agreement between Laban and Jacob, securing also the rights of certain Aramean enclaves on Israelite soil (Gen. 31, 44 [1]). Certain remarkable facts in the history of the Gileadites (see Gen. 48, 1) gave rise to the story told in Josh. 9, 6 ff. [1], 9, 1 [1]—a story which shows how unobjectionable such alliances with the natives were considered in other times. When 1 Mace. 8, 17; 2 Mace. 4, 1 are scarcely historical,

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phetic teaching had led to a recognition of the baneful influences upon the life of Israel of Canaanitish modes of thought and worship, the warning took the form of a prohibition of alliances projected into the period previous to the invasion (Dt. 7.2 Jud. 2.2 [Dt.] Ex. 23.12 [E] Ex. 34.12-15 [P]). Gen. 11.13, though found in a late Midrash, may reflect the memory of a long dominant Canaanitish majority in Hebron, since, with all the glorification of Abram, the three chiefs Mamre, Eschcol, and Aner are designated as *בְּרִיתֵי* 'holders of the pledge.' To legitimatise the Davidic dynasty, Jonathan was represented as having abdicated the throne in favour of David, while Saul was still alive, on condition of remaining next to the king in rank (1 S. 23.17 f. [E]). Such an action on his part was then accounted for by the story of a still earlier Yahwé-bérith of friendship (1 S. 18.3 [E₂]), referred to again in 1 S. 20.8-16 [E]. The friendship itself is sufficient to explain David's kindness to Jonathan's family; but the passage testifies to the custom of pledging friendship by an oath and a solemn ceremony.

(v.) *Bérith* = 'nation.'—In Dan. 11.22 *בְּרִית* is the title given to Onias III. This probably means prince or ruler of the nation. The *בְּרִית קָדְשׁ* Dan. 1.2² p. is the holy nation against which Antiochus I Epiphanes directed his attention and his fury; and *בְּרִית קָדְשׁ* are the apostates who abandoned the holy nation and lived like the Gentiles (cp. 1 Macc. 1.15, also Judith 9.13 1 Macc. 1.63). These renegades are called *בְּרִיתֵי קָדְשׁ* Dan. 11.32; 'those that bring condemnation upon the nation,' are responsible for its misfortunes. This significance should probably also be given to the word in Ps. 74.20 (Hitz., Che.). The *בְּרִית* Mal. 3.1, may be the angelic representative of the nation. At a somewhat earlier period in some inserted passages in 11. Is. (see ISRAEL, ii, § 16, Che. *SBOT*) *בְּרִית* seems already to occur in this sense. The context indicates that *בְּרִית* Is. 12.6 49.3, is meant to designate Israel as an independent organised community (lit. 'a commonwealth of a people').¹ Until Israel had regained its status of independence it could not rebuild the ruined cities, or restore the land to its former glory. This meaning may possibly be traced still further back; BAAL-BÉRITH (7.7), as the Elohist designates the god of Shechem, may mean 'god of the community.' The word used of the city-kingdom of Shechem in the seventh century (cp. Ass. *Birtu*, *בִּרְתָּא*, fortified town) may well have been applied to the ardently desired kingdom of Zion at the end of the sixth.

(vi.) *Metaphorical*.—Metaphorically *בְּרִית* is used in Job 31.1 of the law that Job has imposed upon his eyes that they shall not look upon a virgin; in 40.28 [11.4] of the pledge which Leviathan is not likely to give, that he will allow himself to be captured and become a slave; and in 5.23 of Job's agreement with the stones of the field that they shall not prevent the cultivation of his land.

No important transaction was done in antiquity without religious sanction. The oath and the curse were extensively used in judicial proceedings, legislative enactments, and political treaties. Before passing sentence, the judge pronounced a curse or adjuration to arouse the conscience and elicit a confession (1 K. 8.31 [D] Nu. 5.21 [P] Lev. 5.1 [P] Prov. 29.24 Mt. 26.62). A pledge or promise was made more binding by a curse (7.28, Ex. 17.16 Deut. 29.11 [12] 20.11). To set forth symbolically this curse, animals were cut into pieces, and the person giving the pledge passed between the severed parts, signifying his readiness to be thus destroyed himself, if he should fail to keep his promise. It is to be observed that in the only passages where this ceremony is referred to (Gen.

¹ Cp. *אֶסֶת אֶתְּא* 'a wild ass of a man,' i.e., a wild man, Gen. 16.12. So in the main Duhm, though his conception of *בְּרִית* is different. Dr. Kratochewicz (*The Foundation of the Law*, vol. 1, and *Kosters*) explains 'a covenant with the people'—i.e., one in or through whom my covenant with the people is realised.

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15 and Jer. 34.18 f.), there is no question of an alliance, and only one party passed between the pieces (cp. Dictys Cretensis, *Epheueris belli Trojani*, i. 15). Whether this custom was observed also in the conclusion of treaties, as was the case in Babylonia, if Ephrem was correctly informed (*Comment.* to Gen. 15), is uncertain, and there seems to be no justification for connecting this rite in particular with an agreement between two parties, or for supposing *בְּרִית* to have been the name of a ceremony of which it was an essential part. In most instances no doubt the oath sufficed. Sometimes the right hand was given in addition (Ex. 17.16, 2 Macc. 13.22), or a handshake took the place of the oath (Lev. 10.10 Prov. 6.1 17.1 22.26). It is possible that during the oath salt was sometimes thrown into the fire to intensify, by the crackling sound the terror-inspiring character of the act, originally to render more audible the voice of the deity in the fire, hence the salt-bérith (Lev. 2.13 [P] Nu. 18.10 [P] 2 Ch. 13.5). As vows were taken and agreements made at some shrine, the nomenclature dwelling in the sacred stone or structure was the chief witness (Gen. 31.43 [P] 5.2 [P] Josh. 24.27 [E] 2 K. 11.4 23.3), and a sacrificial meal preceded or followed the act (Gen. 26.30 [P] 31.46 [P] 1 K. 24.11 [P] 2 S. 3.20 [P]). The sprinkling of sacrificial blood upon the worshipper, a survival of the custom of sharing it with the deity, appears to have disappeared early from the cult. But it may have continued longest in the case of persons taking a solemn pledge, as is suggested by its use in the installation of priests (Ex. 29.20 [P] Lev. 8.23 [P]). This would account for the term *berith-blood* (Ex. 24.8 [E]). Where an alliance was desired presents were offered by the party taking the initiative (Gen. 21.27 [E]); probably the sacrificial animals; Hos. 12.2 [1] 6.

Since a decree, pledge, or compact was thus, as a rule, ratified by some sacred rite at a sanctuary, the word *בְּרִית* readily assumed 'bérith,' a religious significance, and was applied to a solemn declaration of the deity.

(i.) *In J. E. and early Prophets*.—In the earliest Judæan narrative Yahwé gives to Abram a promise that his descendants shall possess Palestine and symbolically invokes upon himself a curse, if he shall fail to keep it (Gen. 15.13 [P]; cp. Gen. 21.7 [P]). When Moses is reluctant to leave the mountain-home of his god and pleads for an assurance that Yahwé shall go with him, a solemn promise is given him (Ex. 31.1 a [P]; add, with *SBOT*, 28). The original context can scarcely have been anything else than a declaration that Yahwé will accompany his servant, probably in 'the messenger,' the *בְּרִית*. This promise was no doubt also referred to by the Elohist, though the importance of the ark in his narrative (cp. Nu. 10.33 f. [E]) renders it probable that Yahwé's presence was here connected with this palladium. After the subjugation of the Canaanites by the first kings of Israel the question arose as to the justice of this deed. Israel's right to the land was then established by the fiction of a promise given to the mythical ancestor. A religious problem of grave importance was how Yahwé, whose home was on Sinai, or Horeb, could manifest himself at the Palestinian sanctuaries. The solution was that he had pledged himself to go with Moses in 'the messenger.' The story of Elijah's visit to Horeb was probably written early in the eighth century; in it *בְּרִית* occurs in the sense of commandment (1 K. 19.15). This is also the meaning of the term in Dt. 33.9 (the Blessing of Moses), as the parallel *אֶתְּא* shows, and in Josh. 7.11 [E]. Hosea uses the word to denote an injunction of Yahwé upon the beasts of the field not to harm Israel (2.20 [12]), and a commandment of Yahwé to the general (8.1; possibly also 6.7). It is noticeable that this prophet, who through a sad domestic experience learned to apply the figure of a marriage to Yahwé's relation to Israel, never employs *berith* in the sense of a covenant. The *בְּרִית* was probably still operative in the Law of the husband, and the idea of a covenant with

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Yahwé had not yet been formed. The covenant with death, the compact with Sheol (Is. 28:15-17), appears to be an alliance with the powers of the nether world, implying mutual stipulations. Men who preached the destruction of Israel and Yahwé's independence of the people, would not be likely to characterize the existing relation by a term current in necromancy.

(ii.) *Deuteronomist*.—Even the transformation of the Yahwistic and Elohist narratives of the Horeb-bérith, in the reign of Manasséh, by which the promise given to Moses became a solemnly imposed law (the Decalogue of J. Ex. 34:13-26, and that of E. Ex. 20:1-17), and the judicial decisions of the birth book, Ex. 20:22-23, became divine injunctions, does not contemplate an alliance. In the law promulgated by Josiah in 621 (not likely to be found outside of Dt. 12:26; but see DEUTERONOMY, § 5 f.) the word does not occur. But this law was designated at the outset as a birth-book (2 K. 23:21). It seems to have been intended to take the place of Ex. 20:22 ff. The promise to Abraham is strongly emphasised by the Deuteronomistic writers and enlarged to one given to Isaac and Jacob as well (Dt. 1:11-12; 28:1-2; 32:1-5 [Dt.]; cp also Dt. 18:15-16; 18:18-19; 28:1 etc.). At a time when Judah was in imminent danger of losing its heritage, faith took refuge in this divine assurance, manifesting Yahwé's love, and justified by the obedience of the patriarchs (Dt. 1:11-12; Gen. 26:4 ff. [Dt.]). One writer of this school declares that Yahwé announced on Horeb his birth consisting of the ten words (Dt. 1:3-5 ff.), and that this birth was written on tablets of stone (9a) and placed in the ark (see ARK, § 1 f., 3, 9). Another author made the Josianic code the basis of a covenant concluded in the fields of Moab (Dt. 29:12-14; 31 ff. etc.); 26:17-19; cp the later gloss 29:1 [28:69]. Here the idea of a compact between Yahwé and Israel involving mutual rights and obligations is fully developed. Yahwé pledges himself to make Israel his own people, distinct from, honoured above all others; Israel declares that it will make Yahwé its god and obey his commandments. This conception was subsequently transferred also to the Horeb-bérith; cp Judg. 2:1 ff. [Dt.].

(iii.) *Jeremiah and Ezekiel*.—Jeremiah does not seem to have participated in this development. He used bérith only to designate Josiah's law, which he regarded as having been given through Moses at the time when Yahwé brought Israel out of Egypt (11:2 f.; 68:10-31 ff.). It is evident from the context that בְּרִיתָהּ (11:10) indicates not the disannulment of a covenant, but the breaking of a law by disobedience, the law still remaining in force. Ezekiel, on the other hand, not only employs בְּרִיתָהּ in the sense of 'law' (20:37; 'the fetter of the law', 11:7), but also applies it for the first time to the conjugal relation of Yahwé and Israel (16:8-59-60). Marriage is here based on mutual pledges; it is a covenant. According to Ezekiel's view of history, Yahwé had entered into such an alliance with Israel in Egypt, but the people had by a long career of unfaithfulness forced its dissolution (16:59). Yet he hopes that in the future Yahwé will renew his intimate relations with Israel. There will be no covenant, however (for Israel's pledge cannot be trusted; 16:61), but a gracious dispensation of Yahwé (16:62), everlasting (37:26), and full of prosperity (31:25), ushered in by the restoration of the Davidic rule and the temple-service (37:25-26).

(iv.) *Exilic times*.—How ardently the next generation expected that the fallen tent of David would be raised up again, may be seen in the appendix to Amos (9:11 ff.) and in the more pregnant form given to the promise 2 S. 7:16 [Ez.] in 2 S. 23:5 (בְּרִיתָהּ). Such hopes may have been awakened by the honour shown to Jehoiachin by Amil Marduk in 561, and may have attached themselves to his son SINSIBAZZAR (57 ff.). They were naturally encouraged by the sympathetic tone of Deuteronomy's message (Is. 40-48), even though this writer himself knows no other Messiah than Cyrus. With the

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freer intercourse between the holy city and the Jews of the dispersion, possible after the Persian conquest (cp Zech. 6:6), and the appointment of Sheshbazzar, and after him of Zerubbabel, as governor, the Second Isaiah's evangel was brought to Palestine, and changed the comfortless lamentations of the native population (Lam. 3) into songs of redemptive suffering (Is. 42:1-49:6; 50:4-52:13; 53:1-2), or of future restoration (the Zion songs in Is. 40-55). It was felt that by the accession of a king of the old dynasty, a living witness would appear of Yahwé's faithfulness to David (Is. 55:1 ff.), a restorer of the territory once possessed (Is. 55:4 & Mic. 4:1-5 ff.), a fulfilment of the promised dispensation of everlasting peace (Is. 54:1-55:3), and that Zion would thus become again an organised community (צִיּוֹן מְבֻרָכָה), able to build up what had fallen into ruins, to attract the exiles to their spiritual home, and to teach the nations the manner in which Yahwé should be worshipped (Is. 42:6-49:1).

(v.) *Haggai, Zechariah, etc.* The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah bear witness to the strength of the royalist sentiment at Jerusalem. The hopes of the Jews proved illusory; but in the midst of disappointment the belief in Yahwé's promises lived on. 'Malachi' felt assured that Yahwé would return, and accounted for his delay by the sins of the degenerate priestly descendants of the faithful and reverent Levi, to whom Yahwé's promise (7:2) of life and prosperity was given (2:1-6), and of those who, fascinated by foreign women, had forgotten the pledge (7:2) given to the wives of their youth (2:14). The author or authors of Is. 56-66 also deplored the marriages with aliens and the survival of forbidden forms of worship, but saw the remedy in the law: the keeping of Yahwé's commandments (7:2) would render the very unclean fit for membership in Israel (56:4); the distinction of Israel lay in that gracious arrangement (7:2) by which Yahwé's law, proclaimed by men of the spirit and repeated by a mindless people, would be its perpetual possession (59:21), a divine dispensation involving prosperity as a reward of obedience (61:8). The author of Jer. 30 ff., however, rises to a far greater height. He looks forward to a new regime based solely on Yahwé's love, which will take the place of the old and less permanent relation (Jer. 31:1 ff.). This work may perhaps be assigned to the time of the Greco-Persian war, when the writer confidently looked for extraordinary proofs of Yahwé's pardoning grace (see JEREMIAH, ii. §§ 7 [iii.] 8 [ii.]).

(vi.) *P*.—The conception of the bérith as a gracious act on the part of God, by which he binds himself to a certain course of action in reference to Israel and the world, implying the bestowal of blessings and the revelation of his will, becomes dominant in the Priestly Code. The bérith or engagement is here carried back to Abraham and Noah. Beside the Noah-bérith (Gen. 9:1-17) there is no room for an Adam-bérith; beside the Abrahamic (Gen. 17; cp Ex. 2:24-6:4), no need of a Sinaitic. The Noah-bérith secures the stability of earth's conditions and of man's life, and the accompanying law of blood is but a beneficent provision for the preservation of the race; the Abrahamic guarantees to Israel the land of Palestine and a large population, and the command of circumcision implies only a distinction conferred upon this people from which all further favours flow. The sign in the sky and the sign in the body are constant reminders to the duty of these merciful engagements. By the use of בְּרִיתָהּ and בְּרִיתָהּ ('establish,' occasionally 'maintain') instead of בְּרִיתָהּ the nature of the bérith as a gift, a divine institution, is emphasised. Though the word has thus become a religious *terminus technicus* in this code, it still occurs with the sense simply of commandment, Ex. 31:16 (the law of the sabbath), Lev. 24:1 (the injunction concerning sabbath, or of promise, Nu. 25:13 ff. (the assurance to Phinehas of an everlasting priesthood in his line).

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(vii) *Later writers.* The author of Jer. 50 f. (see JEREMIAH, ii, §§ 7, 8 [iii]) refers to the Abrahamic dispensation in the spirit of the Priestly Writer (see that vividly expressed passage on the return of the men of Israel and Judah, Jer. 50:3);¹ and Jer. 11:21 reflects the same conception. Ps. 89:30 105:8 106:45 111:5 also show the influence of this idea.

On the other hand, in Ps. 25:14 132:12 בְּרִית is only a synonym of קָדֶשׁ, and in 118:50 107:78 of קָדֶשׁ. In Ps. 50:5, בְּרִית בְּרִיתָהּ יְהוָה, 'those who pledge their troth to me by sacrifice,' are graciously told that Yahwē will not demand excessive offerings,² and in 78:10 the men of the Mosiac period are charged with not being faithful to the pledge given to Yahwē.

Besides the Abrahamic dispensation (1 Ch. 16:15 2 Ch. 6:14 Neh. 1:5 9:31), the Chronicler particularly emphasises the engagement made with David (2 Ch. 13:5 21:7), but also uses בְּרִית of a pledge in general (2 Ch. 29:10 31:12 Neh. 13:29). The Prayer of Jeremiah (Jer. 32:44) is quite after the fashion of the Chronicler; in 32:41 the author has in mind 31:34, but interprets the בְּרִית vaguely as a promise that Yahwē will not cease to show mercy to Israel.

The author of Ecclesiastics (c. 180-200) introduces for the first time an Adam-bērit̄ as an everlasting dispensation (17:12), led by his biographical interest to mention severally the divine promises to Noah (11:12), Abraham (17:10 f.), Isaac (27:22), Jacob (27:28), Aaron (45:7-15), Phinehas (27:21 f.), and David (27:25 17:11), and employs the term in the sense of law (21:24 15:5), and of covenant (11:12, based on Is. 28:15, but אָמַן understood figuratively; cp Wisd. 1:6). The thought of Eccles. 15:15 (ἐν ἡμέραις οὐρανῶν, 25:25) is further developed in Jer. 33:14-26 (wanting in G¹, but translated by Theodot.; see JEREMIAH, § 11); the divine arrangements as respects the house of Levi and the house of David are as inviolable as the divine arrangements in nature, the laws of day and night, of heaven and earth. Deutero-Zechariah (Zech. 9:11 after 148 B.C.; see ZACHARIAH, ii, § 5) promises deliverance to the Jews of the dispersion on the ground of the faithful observance of the sacrificial cult at the sanctuary by which Israel continually pledges its troth to Yahwē (בְּרִית בְּרִיתָהּ, 'because of thy pledge-blood'; 9:11; cp Ps. 50:5). Dan. 9:4 (164 B.C.) refers to God's merciful promise to bless his people. The בְּרִית קָדֶשׁ, Is. 21:7-9, 128 B.C.³ is most naturally understood in the light of Eccles. 17:12, where the Adam-bērit̄ also involves the revelation of God's laws and judgments. In 1 Macc. 2:50 אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּרִית אֲבוֹתֵינוּ may be a designation of the holy nation, the theocracy, whilst 4:10 probably refers to the promise to the patriarchs, as 2:54 does to that to Phinehas. In Ps. Sol. 10:5, the law appears as a testimony of the eternal dispensation established with the Fathers (P¹60). The author of Jubilees quotes (6:6) from Gen. 9:12 f. and (15:10) from Gen. 17:7, but in his independent use of the term shows no trace of the conception prevailing in the Priestly Code. He introduces the Noah-bērit̄ as a pledge given by the patriarch (the original seems to have read בְּרִית בְּרִיתָהּ יְהוָה, 6:6), which is renewed by the people every year through observance of the feast of weeks (6:17), and the Sinai-bērit̄ as a pledge which Moses takes from the people (6:10); he employs the word as a synonym of 'law,' 'statute' (1:10 15:34 21:11 30:20), and possibly uses it also in the sense of 'theocracy' (6:15), where the feasts of the Jewish community are contrasted with those of the Gentiles. 'Arbiter testamenti illius' (τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτης), Assumption of Moses [Charles] 114, seems to be a translation of בְּרִית בְּרִיתָהּ (cp Job 9:11), and represents Moses, not as a third party effecting an agreement between God and his people, but

¹ Read with Co., בְּרִיתָהּ and insert 'ב' before בְּרִיתָהּ. Come let us join ourselves (anew) to Yahwē, for a lasting *bērit̄* cannot be forgotten.

² Cheyne, however, takes Ps. 50 to have been written as an expression of non-sacrificial religion.

³ Following Duhm. But cp Isa. vii, ii, § 13.

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as the preacher proclaiming his law (cp Amos 5:10 Prov. 25:12 etc.). This is to be inferred already from the sufficiency of it is God's bērit̄—and it is distinctly stated in 3:11 'the commandments in respect of which he was to us a mediator'—i.e., which he was the means of revealing to us (cp 27). The Abraham-bērit̄ is mentioned in 3:6 11:2 f. Enoch 69:6 is a fragment of a lost Apocalyphe of Noah; it presents the Noah-bērit̄ as the all-sufficient blessing of the elect.

(i) *Other Is.* 1 k. 17:2, which refers to God's promise to Abraham, would seem to have belonged originally to a Jewish Apocalypse of Zechariah, current among the Baptist's disciples. Jesus himself does not seem to have used the term in any sense.

7. NT. The thought of a new dispensation, so attractive to his disciples, may not have been foreign to his own mind. If it is not found even where it might most naturally be expected, as in Mt 21:41, the reason may be that his favourite expression, the kingdom of God, was intended to convey a similar idea. His words at the paschal table have evidently undergone successive modifications and expansions; and it is difficult not to trace Pauline influences. At any rate the declaration, 'This is the new διαθήκη in my blood' (1 Cor. 11:25 1 k. 22:16), seems to be an expansion of the earlier, 'This is my blood of the διαθήκη' (Mt. 26:28 Mk. 14:24). It is not inconceivable that Jesus actually said בְּרִית דָּם קָדֶשׁ, meaning thereby 'This is the blood in which I pledge my loyalty' (cp Ps. 50:5 Zech. 9:11). But the Greek translation suggests an Aram. בְּרִית דָּם קָדֶשׁ, in which the last word is likely to be an explanatory addition by a later hand, the original utterance being simply 'This is my blood.'

(ii) *Paul.* In Gal. 3:15 ff. Paul compares God's assurance to Abraham with a man's testament (διαθήκη), which cannot lose its validity by any arrangement subsequent to his death, and in addition seeks a proof of the inferiority of the law in the fact that it was given not directly by God himself, but through angels and a human agent (μεσίτης, used as in Assump. Mos. 114 31:24). In 4:24 he contrasts the present Jewish commonwealth (ἡ νῦν ἑτοιμασμένη), deriving its existence as a theocracy (διαθήκη) from the legislation on Sinai with the heavenly society (ἡ ἄνω ἑτοιμασμένη) from which the spirit-birth the new theocracy derives its life (cp Heb. 12:22). The new form of government (διαθήκη), according to Paul, was possible only through the death of Jesus abolishing the authority of the Law (hence the change to ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αἵματι, 'through my blood', 1 Cor. 11:25), and, as opposed to the maintenance of a social order by enforced obedience to external statutes, consisted in a free, love-prompted surrender of life to the divine spirit's guidance (2 Cor. 3:6). The idea of a special arrangement (διαθήκη), still in the future, by which all Israel is to be saved (Rom. 11:26 f.), does not introduce a foreign element into Paul's conception of the spiritual theocracy (for it implies only deliverance from sin), but is a concession to particularism, out of harmony with his general attitude, and due to his patriotic feelings (Rom. 9 ff.). Paul also uses the word as a designation of the O.T. (2 Cor. 3:14).

(iii) *Other writers.*—In the epistle to the Hebrews the Abrahamic dispensation yields to that of Melchizedek. Abraham is introduced only as an example of patient reliance upon God's promises (6:15), and as a representative of a priestly order inferior to that of Melchizedek (7:4 ff.); Jer. 31:31 ff. is recognised as a description of the often promised new constitution (διαθήκη, 8:8 ff. 10:10); but it is argued that, as a man's testament (διαθήκη) is not valid until after his death (9:16 f.), and as consequently the Mosiac constitution possessed no validity until a death had taken place (that of the sacrificial animal), so the better Christian dispensation could not be ushered in except by the death of Jesus (9:15 10 ff.), this departure of Jesus is, however, regarded as necessary in order that he might be

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priest—as he could not be on earth (7:13) in the celestial temple (6:20-21), and as such bear the responsibility for the new arrangement (7:1-3), and on God's behalf make it operative (7:13-15, 22-24) by sprinkling the blood on men's consciences, thus pledging and devoting them to the new priestly service (10:6, cp Ex. 29:20 [1] Lev. 8:11 [1]). The rank of the law' (*diathēke*) is mentioned in Heb. 9:4 (cp Rev. 11:19). In 1 Ph. 2:12 the one great promise is considered as renewed by a series of solemn assurances (*ai diathēkai tēs epangelias*). Peter's contemporaries are represented in Acts 13:25 as 'sons', i.e., heirs, who might enter into possession of the promise (*diathēke*) to Abraham, whilst in 7:8 the word *diathēke* is used to designate the ordinance of circumcision.¹

The most recent inquiry into the historical meaning of *diathēke* is Kautzsch's *Die Bundesstellung im Alten Testament* (1901). See also Vailant, *Z. f. W. 12* (1922) 224-230; 1324-229 [1923]; Bertholet, *Die Stellung d. Veralteten im Judentum* (1924), 46, 47 f. 176, 214 f. 171; WRS *Rel. Sci.* (1925) 299 ff. 112 ff. 479 ff.; Kautzsch, *ibid.* 46 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, 'Covenant' in the *Exposit.* 9, Nov. '98, pp. 321-336.

COVERLET (כִּסְוֵת), 2 K. 8:13 RV. See B. D., § 3.

COVERS (קִסְוֹת), Ex. 37:16, etc.; see C. P., 6.

COW (בָּקָרָה), Is. 11:7. See C. P., § 2.

COZ, RV strangely HAKKOZ (קִי; קוֹס [B. M. A.], חֶסֶד [RV superer.], [B. M. A.], קוֹס [L.]) of JUDAH (1 Ch. 15). The name is probably not connected with Hakkoz. As it occurs nowhere else, perhaps we should read HAKOZ (חֶסֶד, חֶסֶד; cp B. M. A.). See HAKKOZ, T. K. A.

COZBI (קִיבִּי), 'deceitful', § 79; cp Ass. *kuchū*, 'lasciviousness', Haupt, *SBOT* on Gen. 38:11, daughter of Zur (Nu. 25:13-14), a Midianite, who was slain by Phinehas at Shittim (Nu. 25:6-18, P; 2ACB E) [BAFL], 2ACB A [Jos. *Ant.* iv. 6:10-12].

COZEBA, AV CHOZELBA (בִּזְרָה), 1 Ch. 4:22 f. See ACHIZIB, 1.

CRACKNELS (נִקְרִים), 1 K. 11:3. See BAKEMEATS, § 2.

CRAFTSMEN, VALLEY OF (נֵי הַחֲרָשִׁים), Neh. 11:35 RV. See CHARASHIM.

CRANE (קָנָר), καταρῖς [B. M. A.], Is. 38:14 Jer. 8:7 RV, AV by an error (see below) 'swallow.' In Is. 38:14 there is no 'or' between the first two names in MT, and καταρῖς omits *qanar* altogether, rendering the other word (קָנָר) correctly καταρῖς (see SWALLOW, 2); in the second passage where in MT the same two words occur (Jer. 8:7) the connective particle is again omitted, this time by B. Hence it has been suggested that in neither place should both words occur (Klostermann, P. h. m., etc., omit קָנָר in Is. 1; this receives some countenance from the fact that the MT order of the words is reversed in Targ. and Pesh. in Jer. 8:7. The transposition misleads most Jewish authorities as to the real meaning of the two words respectively, and our translations followed them. That קָנָר (or rather קָנָר; see SWALLOW, 2) means 'swallow' or 'swift' there can be no doubt, and so the words 'crane' and 'swallow' should at least change places (as in RV).

What *qanar* means is somewhat uncertain; ² probably *Grus communis* or *cinerea*, which is the crane of Palestine. Once it bred in England. The passage in Isaiah refers to it 'chattering'; ³ and its powers of

¹ On the meaning of *diathēke*, see Hatch, *Essays on Biblical Greek*, p. 47.

² Lagarde suggested that it means 'bird of passage' (قنار = قنار 'to turn back, return' *Urborn*, 50).

³ The Heb. (קָנָר) properly signifies a shrill penetrating sound, and is therefore more applicable to the shrill cry of the swift than to the deep, trumpet-like blast of the crane. See the rest of Che's note in *Proph. Is.*, ad loc.

CREATION

giving utterance to loud and trumpet-like sounds both when in flight and when at rest are well known.

Cranes are migratory birds, spending the summer in N. latitudes and the winter as a rule in Central Africa and S. Asia; but some pass the cold season in the plains of S. Judaea. While travelling they fly in great flocks, and at times come to rest on the borders of some stream or lake. They appear to have fixed roosting-places, to which they return at night in large numbers. Jeremia's notice of the regularity of their seasonal migrations.

S. M. — A. L. S.

CRATES (κρατής, ἡ κρατής [V]), the name of a former viceroy 'in Cyprus' (ἐπὶ τῶν Κυπρίων), who was left in charge of the citadel of Jerusalem by SOSTRATUS in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes: 2 Macc. 1:29.

CREATION. 1. *Accounts of Creation*. It may be regarded as an axiom of modern study that the descriptions of creation contained in the biblical records, and especially in Gen. 1:1-2:4, are primarily valuable only in so far as they express certain religious truths which are still recognised as such (see below, § 25). To seek for even a kernel of historical fact in such cosmogonies is inconsistent with a scientific point of view. We can no longer state the critical problem thus: 'How can the biblical cosmogony be reconciled with the results of natural science?' The question to be answered is rather this: 'From what source have the cosmogonic ideas expressed in the OT been derived? Are they ideas which belonged to the Hebrews from the first, or were they borrowed by the Hebrews from another people?' This question has passed into a new phase since the most complete form of the Creation-story of the Babylonians has become known to us in its cuneiform original. True, the story given in the tablets lies before us in a very fragmentary condition. The exact number of tablets is uncertain. Considerable *lacunae*, however, have been recently filled up by the discovery of missing passages, and there is good hope that further excavations will one day enable us to complete the entire record. At any rate we are now able to arrange all the extant fragments in their right order, which was not the case a few years ago—and so to recover at least the main features of the connection of the cuneiform narrative. Only a brief sketch of the contents can be given here.²

2. *Babylonian epic*. The 'Creation-epic' begins by telling us that in the beginning, before heaven and earth were made, there was only the primaval ocean-flood. This is personified as a male and a female being (Apsu and Tiamat).

Long since, when above the heaven had not been named,

when the earth beneath (still) bore no name,

when Apsu the primaval the generator of them,

the originator (Tiamat), who brought them both forth

their waters in one together mingled,

when fields were (still) unformed, reeds (still) nowhere

seen—

1 On conceptions of creation, see below, §§ 25-29; on words, see § 39.

2 It may be observed here that Gen. 2:4 was, originally, the superscription, not the subscription. Schr. in his reproduction of the two narratives of the primitive story, rightly restores it as the heading (*Ursprung der Kritik der Urgesch.*, 1863, p. 172). In that case the priestly narrator can hardly have continued with Gen. 1:1. Restore therefore with Dr. Gieseler, 17, 39, 'This is the birth-story of heaven and earth when Elohim created them' (עֲרֵךְ עֲרֵךְ). Then continue, 'Now the earth, etc. Gen. 2:4. Then God said, Let light be; and light was.' See Kautzsch's translation (*Kautzsch*, 1. c.).

3 Cp. Del. *Das Bab. Weltgeschöpfungs-epos* (1907); Jensen, *Kosmog.*, 268-300; Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpfungsgesch.*, 3-14; and Ball, *Light from the East*, 1-21 (1906). The metrical divisions are well marked. The epic is mainly composed in four-line stanzas, and in each line there is a caesura.

4 [Ass. *Mummu Tiamat*. In line 17 of this first tablet we meet (most probably) with a god called Mummu. The name corresponds to the *Mummu* of Damascus (see below, § 15, end), and is rendered by Del. in 1. 4, 'the pairing.' This is by no means certainly right; for the grounds see Del. 110. Pinches notices only *Tiamat* (1907, *Pinches*, 1907). But Jensen warns us that there is another *mummu*. At any rate, the supposed connection with *mu* must be abandoned.]

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long since, when of the gods: not one had arisen, when no name had been named, no lot (been determined), then were made: the gods, 1. . . 1.

Thus the world of gods came into being. Its harmony, however, was not long maintained. Tiamat, the mother of the gods, was discontented with things as they were, and from hatred (it would seem) to the newly produced Light, rebelled against the supreme gods, and drew some of the gods to her side. She also for her own behoof produced monstrous beings to help her in her fight. This falling away of Tiamat called for divine vengeance. To reply to the call, however, required a contrage which none of the upper gods possessed, till at last Marduk (Merodach) offered himself, on condition that, after he had conquered Tiamat, the regal sway over heaven and earth should be his. In a solemn divine assembly this was assented to him. He then equipped himself for the fight, and rode on the war-chariot to meet Tiamat and her crew. The victory fell to Marduk, who slew Tiamat, and threw her abettors into chains.

This is followed by the account of the creation of the world by Marduk. The process is imagined thus. Marduk cuts in two the carcass of Tiamat¹ (the personified ocean-flood), and out of the one part produces heaven, out of the other earth.²

He smote her as a . . . into two parts;
one half he took, & he made it heaven's arch,
pushed bars before it, stationed watchmen,
not to let out its waters: he gave them as a charge.

Thus the upper waters of Tiamat, held back by bars, form heaven, just as in Gen. 1 the first step to the creation of heaven and earth consists in the separation of the upper from the lower waters by the firmament. Then follows a detailed description of the making of the heavenly bodies ('stations for the great gods').

After this most unobtrusively comes a great *Incantation*. We can venture, however, to state so much as this—that the missing passage must have related the creation of the dry land, of plants, of animals, and of men. In support of this we can appeal (1) to separate small fragments, (2) to the account of Berossus, (3) to the recapitulation of the separate creative acts of Marduk in a hymn to that god at the close of the epic, and (4) to the description of the creative activity of Marduk in a second cuneiform recension of the Creation-story lately discovered (on the various Babylonian Creation-stories, see also below, § 13 ff.).

What then is the relation between this Babylonian and the chief biblical cosmogony? We have no right

3. Relation to Gen. 1-24a.

to assume without investigation that the Hebrew myth of Creation appears in its original form in Gen. 1-24a. The present writer is entirely at one with Hermann Gunkel, whose work entitled *Schöpfung u. Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*³ (1905) contains the fullest collection of the relevant evidence, that this myth has passed through a long development within the domain of Judaism prior to the composition of Gen. 1-24a. Only with a clear perception of this does critical method allow us to compare the latter document directly with the Babylonian Creation-epic. Then, however, our surprise is all the greater that in spite of the preceding development there is still in the main points, a far-reaching coincidence between the myths. For instance, both stories place water and darkness alone at the beginning of things, and personify the primeval flood by the same name (Tiamat = Têhem). In both the appearance of light forms the beginning of the new order. Whether the production of light in

¹ Jensen denies that Tiamat is anywhere in the Creation-epic represented as a dragon; she is always, he thinks, a woman. It is, however, not probable that the popular view of Tiamat as a serpent had no effect on the poet of the Creation-epic. See *Drachmann*, § 4 ff.

² [Possibly the head of Tiamat is referred to at a later point of the story by Berossus. See below, § 13.]

³ The substance of this work, which will be referred to again, is: *Die religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. xii.* Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern.

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the Babylonian account was specified as a separate creative act or not (a point on which complete certainty cannot as yet be obtained), Marduk is at any rate the god of light *an' elôgân*, and, consequently, his battle with Tiamat is essentially a battle between light and darkness. In both accounts the creation of heaven is effected through the divine creator's division of the waters of the primeval flood, so that the upper waters form the heaven. In the Babylonian epic this division of the waters of the flood is in the closest relation to the battle with Tiamat; nor can we doubt that a parallel description once existed in the Hebrew myth of creation, though it is but faintly echoed in Gen. 1:6 ff. The list of the several creative acts runs thus in the two accounts:

BABYLONIAN.	GEN. 1, IN PRESENT ORDER.
1. Heaven.	1. Heaven.
2. Heavenly bodies.	2. Earth.
3. Earth.	3. Plants.
4. Plants.	4. Heavenly bodies.
5. Animals.	5. Animals.
6. Men.	6. Men.

There is much, however, to be said for the view that the present position of the heavenly bodies after the plants is secondary,² and that originally the creation of the heavenly bodies was related directly after that of heaven; the order will then be the same in both accounts. Further coincidences can be traced in points of detail: e.g., the stress laid, in both accounts of the creation of the heavenly bodies, on their being destined to serve for the division of time (see also below, § 6). Can we doubt that, between accounts which have so many coincidences, there is a real historical connection?

We must now inquire how this connection is to be represented. There are two ways which are historically conceivable. Either the

4. Distinctively Babylonian background.

Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts are independent developments of a primitive Semitic myth, or the Hebrew is borrowed directly or indirectly from the Babylonian. Dillmann proposes the former view in connection with a remark that the Hebrew story cannot have been simply borrowed from the Babylonians on account of the patent differences between the two narratives. 'There is no doubt a common basis; but this basis comes from very early times, and its data have been developed and turned to account in different ways by the Israelites and the Babylonians.'³ In reply we may concede to Dillmann that the cosmogony in Gen. 1 cannot have been simply taken over from the Babylonians, and that there are strong *a priori* reasons for admitting the existence of a common stock of primitive Semitic myths. Still, that the Hebrew myth, which is still visible in Gen. 1, was borrowed at a later time from the Babylonians, is the only theory which accounts for the phenomena before us. There are features of the utmost importance to the story which cannot be satisfactorily explained except from the Babylonian point of view.

At the very outset, for instance, why, from a specifically Hebrew point of view, should the waters of the *têhem* be placed at the beginning of all things? Or we may put our objection to Dill's theory thus, the question to be answered by a cosmogony is this, 'How did the visible heaven and earth first come into existence?' The answer given in Gen. 1 is unintelligible in the mouth of an early Israelite, for it implies a mental picture which is characteristically Babylonian. As the world still at the very end of every day, so, thought the Babylonian, must it originally have been produced. During the long winter the Babylonian plain looks like the sea (which in Babylonian is *teintu, tiamat*), owing to the heavy rains. Then comes the spring, when the god of the vernal sun (Marduk) brings forth the land anew, and by his potent rays divides the waters of

¹ Most critics, however, reckon eight or seven creative acts. Cp. Wellh., *U. 118 ff.*; *Die Urgesch.* 438 ff.; *Die Gen. 1, 2, 3.*

² See Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 14; 'this unnatural arrangement may be explained by supposing that when the framework of the seven days was introduced, the plants, for which no special day remained, were combined with the earth, and so came to stand before the stars.'

³ *Die Gen. 1, 2, 3*, p. 10; cp. his *Ueber die Herkunft der Urgeschichte*, *Sagen* (Hertlin Acad. 1882), p. 427 ff., and Ryle, *Early Narratives of Gen.*, 127.

A separate complete ceremony at any rate apparently, has taken place between light and dark, between heaven and earth, between the upper waters and the lower waters; thus division of labor and differentiation to the point of parallelism of function.

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forman epic, and (b) the creation of man in the divine image, and the participation of interior divine life in the work.

Then mean mythology is an enthusiasm for a combination of Babylonian and Egyptian gods, and we should be able to

older works cited by him of *Yishu* and *Yin-yang* (I, 81), distorted and corrected the text he presented to us may be the main influence of them have a very particular importance. The source of all this is described in the text of the *Shi* (the most recent) and *Yin-yang* (I, 81), which was edited by the *Wu* (the most recent) (I, 81) below, and (I, 81) (I, 81) which is the source of the text.

then, in becoming enmeshed in its own element, it is "quar-
 tered." The two dykes are the two sides of a cube of the dyane
 being referred to: the "back" and front" points of the
 cube of which, in another of the Bible's common uses
 (Muller, op. cit. in 2004) is called *Bam*. We may
 perhaps compare this *Bam* with *B'ham* in the Hebrew
 phrase *ḥay ḥay ḥay ḥay ḥay* and wilderness of *ḥay* in
 Gen. 1. Some would also connect it with the *B'ay*,
l'ham in *ḥay*, the "great in her". For this goddess
 was held to be the consort of Nambu, the god of the rising
 sun, whereas *Bam* is the spouse of *decanu* *aknani*, the
 sun himself and *ham* in *ḥay ḥay ḥay ḥay*. The con-
 nection of *Bam* with Nambu, however, may perhaps be of
 later origin. The rest of the union of the two dyane
ḥay was the birth of *Mur*. The name, according to *Hanay* 5
ḥay Mur = *ḥay ḥay ḥay* Prov. 8 = *ḥay ḥay ḥay*. *Mur*, we are
 told, was egg-shaped. Here one may detect Egypt in
 influence, for Egyptian mythology knows of a world egg,
 which emerged out of the water mass (the god *Nam*;
 this is confirmed by a reference in the cosmogony of
 Mochnus in Damascus, 388) to *Nacnap* "the operator"
 whom it is tempting to connect with *Ḥay*, the dyane
 lemmure of Memphis; the name of *Ḥay* may have been
 explained in Ptolemaic as the "upper egg", viz. of the
 cosmic egg. To the same cosmogony, Ptolemy gives a
 different account. We owe the statement that this *Nacnap*
 split the egg in two,¹⁰ upon which one of the pieces became

¹ See the Berossian story referred to below (§ 1.9). In the *Apoc.* the creation of man was ascribed to Maruth (1:9; cf. *Apoc.*, 2:2 f.); but it is possible (see Del. *op. cit.*, 11-9) that Maruth meant some part of the triad in the other greater divinities. May we thus account for the exaltation of the image of some parts of Gen. 1:1-3? Is the earth being 'brought forth' could then mean 'Let the earth-god (a divine energy inherent in the earth) cause the earth to bring forth.'

ruppe, *Die griech. Cult u. Mythen*, I 351 ff.

⁵ The two later Targums explain רִיחַ אֲרָמִים in Gen. 12 by רִיחַ אֲרָמִים [the spirit of love] Gen. 12:11.

6 He Vagné, *Midianges*, 105.

Holmgren (note on Gen. 1.3) objects to the combination of *ayin* and *Behin*, that *Behin* appears as the mother of the two sons in it, which will not suit *Behin*; but the Babylonian method is incorrect, as WRS (Barrett, *Levi* 1.5) has pointed out. *Ayap* not properly a 'mortal man', and *ayapayotayot* is a late invention based upon a wrong the way; here as elsewhere the dualism artificial. *Ayap* is identical with the *Oyapayot* of Mishna, the *oyos* of Iudaeus—*ay*, 𐤀, 'the world' (see Eccl. 3.11). The mixture with *Beh*, *Beh* is more doubtful. Cp Jensen, *Königst.* 3.1, Harnack, *Levi* 1.5, 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.15, 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.24, 2.25, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.30, 2.31, 2.32, 2.33, 2.34, 2.35, 2.36, 2.37, 2.38, 2.39, 2.40, 2.41, 2.42, 2.43, 2.44, 2.45, 2.46, 2.47, 2.48, 2.49, 2.50, 2.51, 2.52, 2.53, 2.54, 2.55, 2.56, 2.57, 2.58, 2.59, 2.60, 2.61, 2.62, 2.63, 2.64, 2.65, 2.66, 2.67, 2.68, 2.69, 2.70, 2.71, 2.72, 2.73, 2.74, 2.75, 2.76, 2.77, 2.78, 2.79, 2.80, 2.81, 2.82, 2.83, 2.84, 2.85, 2.86, 2.87, 2.88, 2.89, 2.90, 2.91, 2.92, 2.93, 2.94, 2.95, 2.96, 2.97, 2.98, 2.99, 3.00, 3.01, 3.02, 3.03, 3.04, 3.05, 3.06, 3.07, 3.08, 3.09, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, 3.18, 3.19, 3.20, 3.21, 3.22, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.29, 3.30, 3.31, 3.32, 3.33, 3.34, 3.35, 3.36, 3.37, 3.38, 3.39, 3.40, 3.41, 3.42, 3.43, 3.44, 3.45, 3.46, 3.47, 3.48, 3.49, 3.50, 3.51, 3.52, 3.53, 3.54, 3.55, 3.56, 3.57, 3.58, 3.59, 3.60, 3.61, 3.62, 3.63, 3.64, 3.65, 3.66, 3.67, 3.68, 3.69, 3.70, 3.71, 3.72, 3.73, 3.74, 3.75, 3.76, 3.77, 3.78, 3.79, 3.80, 3.81, 3.82, 3.83, 3.84, 3.85, 3.86, 3.87, 3.88, 3.89, 3.90, 3.91, 3.92, 3.93, 3.94, 3.95, 3.96, 3.97, 3.98, 3.99, 4.00, 4.01, 4.02, 4.03, 4.04, 4.05, 4.06, 4.07, 4.08, 4.09, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, 4.19, 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, 4.24, 4.25, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, 4.30, 4.31, 4.32, 4.33, 4.34, 4.35, 4.36, 4.37, 4.38, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41, 4.42, 4.43, 4.44, 4.45, 4.46, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, 4.50, 4.51, 4.52, 4.53, 4.54, 4.55, 4.56, 4.57, 4.58, 4.59, 4.60, 4.61, 4.62, 4.63, 4.64, 4.65, 4.66, 4.67, 4.68, 4.69, 4.70, 4.71, 4.72, 4.73, 4.74, 4.75, 4.76, 4.77, 4.78, 4.79, 4.80, 4.81, 4.82, 4.83, 4.84, 4.85, 4.86, 4.87, 4.88, 4.89, 4.90, 4.91, 4.92, 4.93, 4.94, 4.95, 4.96, 4.97, 4.98, 4.99, 5.00, 5.01, 5.02, 5.03, 5.04, 5.05, 5.06, 5.07, 5.08, 5.09, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 5.21, 5.22, 5.23, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26, 5.27, 5.28, 5.29, 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, 5.33, 5.34, 5.35, 5.36, 5.37, 5.38, 5.39, 5.40, 5.41, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44, 5.45, 5.46, 5.47, 5.48, 5.49, 5.50, 5.51, 5.52, 5.53, 5.54, 5.55, 5.56, 5.57, 5.58, 5.59, 5.60, 5.61, 5.62, 5.63, 5.64, 5.65, 5.66, 5.67, 5.68, 5.69, 5.70, 5.71, 5.72, 5.73, 5.74, 5.75, 5.76, 5.77, 5.78, 5.79, 5.80, 5.81, 5.82, 5.83, 5.84, 5.85, 5.86, 5.87, 5.88, 5.89, 5.90, 5.91, 5.92, 5.93, 5.94, 5.95, 5.96, 5.97, 5.98, 5.99, 6.00, 6.01, 6.02, 6.03, 6.04, 6.05, 6.06, 6.07, 6.08, 6.09, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.22, 6.23, 6.24, 6.25, 6.26, 6.27, 6.28, 6.29, 6.30, 6.31, 6.32, 6.33, 6.34, 6.35, 6.36, 6.37, 6.38, 6.39, 6.40, 6.41, 6.42, 6.43, 6.44, 6.45, 6.46, 6.47, 6.48, 6.49, 6.50, 6.51, 6.52, 6.53, 6.54, 6.55, 6.56, 6.57, 6.58, 6.59, 6.60, 6.61, 6.62, 6.63, 6.64, 6.65, 6.66, 6.67, 6.68, 6.69, 6.70, 6.71, 6.72, 6.73, 6.74, 6.75, 6.76, 6.77, 6.78, 6.79, 6.80, 6.81, 6.82, 6.83, 6.84, 6.85, 6.86, 6.87, 6.88, 6.89, 6.90, 6.91, 6.92, 6.93, 6.94, 6.95, 6.96, 6.97, 6.98, 6.99, 7.00, 7.01, 7.02, 7.03, 7.04, 7.05, 7.06, 7.07, 7.08, 7.09, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21, 7.22, 7.23, 7.24, 7.25, 7.26, 7.27, 7.28, 7.29, 7.30, 7.31, 7.32, 7.33, 7.34, 7.35, 7.36, 7.37, 7.38, 7.39, 7.40, 7.41, 7.42, 7.43, 7.44, 7.45, 7.46, 7.47, 7.48, 7.49, 7.50, 7.51, 7.52, 7.53, 7.54, 7.55, 7.56, 7.57, 7.58, 7.59, 7.60, 7.61, 7.62, 7.63, 7.64, 7.65, 7.66, 7.67, 7.68, 7.69, 7.70, 7.71, 7.72, 7.73, 7.74, 7.75, 7.76, 7.77, 7.78, 7.79, 7.80, 7.81, 7.82, 7.83, 7.84, 7.85, 7.86, 7.87, 7.88, 7.89, 7.90, 7.91, 7.92, 7.93, 7.94, 7.95, 7.96, 7.97, 7.98, 7.99, 8.00, 8.01, 8.02, 8.03, 8.04, 8.05, 8.06, 8.07, 8.08, 8.09, 8.10, 8.11, 8.12, 8.13, 8.14, 8.15, 8.16, 8.17, 8.18, 8.19, 8.20, 8.21, 8.22, 8.23, 8.24, 8.25, 8.26, 8.27, 8.28, 8.29, 8.30, 8.31, 8.32, 8.33, 8.34, 8.35, 8

7: WKS in Barnett Lectures agrees.

the eviler brother and his brother are said to have discovered the use of iron, like the Hebrew *Tabit' ai*, himself probably a denigrator (see CASSIUS, § 100). WRS (Barnett Lectures) suggests that he may have invented it in order to cut open the cosmic egg (cp the arming of Marduk in the Creation-epic, *Tab. iv.*), is clearly correct. *Kosmos* in Philo's text, *the good makes good* is *ἡ ἀγαθὴ ποιεῖ ἀγαθόν* against *ὁ ἀγαθὸς*. Originally, however, the weapon of the denigrator was the lightning; see Jensen, *Kosm.*

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heaven, and the other earth. Here we have a point of contact with the Babylonian and also with the Hebrew cosmogony: for the body of Eumert is, in fact, as Robertson Smith in his *Literary Criticism* remarks, 'the matrix or envelope of the dark, unforming waters of primordial chaos, and the separation of the lower from the upper waters in Gen. 1 is only a less picturesque form of the same mythic statement. These are 'poor and beggarly elements, no doubt, but then Eumert lacked what Babylonian possessed, a poet who could select, and to some extent idealize, such parts of the tradition as were best worth preserving. We shall see later (§ 28) that Judaism had a writer who in some important respects excelled even the author of the epic.

Egyptian mythology, which had perhaps an original kinship to the Babylonian² cannot be passed over, when we consider the close relations which long existed between Egypt and Canaan. The common Egyptian belief was that for many ages the latent germs of things had slept in the bosom of the dark flood (personified as Nut or Nutt and Nun). How these germs were drawn forth and developed was a story told differently in the different nomes of districts.

At Heliopolis, for instance, the demiurge was called Hnum; he was the potter who moulded his creatures out of the mud of the Nile (which was the earthly image of Nut); or, it was also said, who moulded the world-egg. His counterpart at Memphis, the artisan god Ptah, gave to the light-god, and to his body, the artistically perfect form. At Hermopolis it was Hoth who made the world, speaking it into existence.³ That which flows from his mouth, it is said, 'becomes, and what he speaks, comes into being.' In the east of the Delta, a more complex story was given. Earth and sky were originally two loaves lost in the primordial waters; the god Thoth, under the goddess, and seizing Nut with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms. Thus, among other less striking parallels, we have in Egypt, as well as in Babylonia and in Palestine, the primordial flood, the forcible separation of heaven and earth, and creation by a word, as elements in the conceptions of creation.⁴

The subject of Iranian parallels has been treated at great length by Lagarde,⁵ who argues for the dependence of the Priestly Writer as regards the order of the works and days, on a Persian system, against which, however, in the very act of borrowing from it, this writer protests. It is not probable, however, that the unbelief of the Jews to Persia began so early; it is not before the latter part of the Persian rule that the direct influence of Persian beliefs (themselves largely influenced by Babylonian) begins to be clearly traceable in Judaism. If we could venture to identify the ARAXIAXES (272) of Ezra with Artaxerxes II, it would be easier to adopt Lagarde's view. In the present stage of critical inquiry, however, this course does not appear to be advisable. Nor is it at all certain that the Iranian belief in the creation of the world in six periods goes back so far—to the time of Artaxerxes II. It is referred to only in the late book called *Bundehesh*, and in one or two passages of the *Yasna* (19.43) and the *Vispend* (17.4), which, on philological grounds, are regarded as comparatively late. Caland, indeed, has endeavoured to show⁶ that in the *Yasht* of the Fravashis (or protective spirits) a poetical reference is made to the creative works of Ahura Mazda, in the order in which these are given in the *Bundehesh*.⁷ But what object can we have in tracing the Hebrew account to the Iranian, when we have, close at hand, the Babylonian story, from which the Iranian is plainly derived? The reference, or at least allusion, to chaos

¹ Second series (MS).

² Cp. Hommel, *Der bibl. Ursprung d. ägypt. Kultur*, i. 2. *Creation*, the Egyptian Nun is connected with Bala Amun, the god of the heavenly ocean.

³ See Brugsch, *Revue Myth. der alten Ägypten*, 22. 107, 111, and elsewhere; Mosper, *Revue d'Égypte*, 1. 14; Meyer, *Gl. 74*.

⁴ *Yasht*, viii. 10, *Yasht*, xii. 10, *Yasht*, xii. 10.

⁵ *ThP* 23. 170-1. 3 (26).

⁶ The order is—heaven, the waters, earth, plants, animals, mankind. Light, the light in which God dwells, is itself uncreated—an inconsistency due to Babylonian influence (see vol. 950 n. 1). In Job 38.7 there may be a tendency to this belief (see § 21. 12).

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in Gen. 1 is at any rate not Iranian, why should other features in the narrative be? It would not do to be possible to give the epithet 'Iranian' to the script of ideal perfection to the newly created world in Hebrew cosmogony. But it is by no means more tedious. Such a distinction would be naturally suggested by the thought that the evil now so prominent in the world cannot have lain within the purpose of the divine creator.⁸ Besides, Jewish thinkers would never have been repelled by Zoroastrian dogma. The existence of two primordial antagonistic spirits is not indeed alluded to in the rock-cut inscription of Darius and Xerxes, but the best scholars agree that it formed part of old Zoroastrian creed, it is indeed expressly recognized in the Gathas (*Yasht* xxx). Ahura Mazda, the 'true knowing God', assisted by the six Amshaspands, is creator of all the good things in the world. He is opposed, however, by Angra Mainyu, to whom the material and material possession of the world is ascribed. At that an venture to suppose is a possible indirect influence the high Zoroastrian conception of Ahura Mazda on the conception of Yahweh formed by the Babylonian Jew. The details of the Jewish creation story arose independently of Persia.

Points of contact with more primitive mythology are numerous. Abundant in form will be found

10. More primitive mythologies.

Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, and vol. vi. of Waitz and Meier's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. That dry land and animate life, but matter, had a beginning, and that, before the primordial things, water held all things in solution, opinions common among primitive races, and one of the most widely spread mythic symbols is the egg-expression in Gen. 1, 'and the breath of Lohim brooding' (2722) over the surface of the waters; the best illustration (in the absence of the mythic egg which probably represented the deity as a bird) in common Polynesian representation of Languan, the god of heaven, and of the atmosphere, as a bird which flew over the ocean waters, till, as it is sometimes said, laid an egg⁹ (the world egg). This egg is the world egg, and we may suppose that 'in the earliest form of the [Hebrew] narrative it may have been said "the of Lohim"; "wind" appears to be an interpretation. The forcible separation of heaven and earth (Gen. 1) is illustrated, not only by the interesting Egyptian story mentioned above (§ 8), but also by the delightful story told by Sir George Grey, and illustrated by him in a not less delightful essay *Creation and Myth*, 45. The anecdotal character of myths like these adds to their charm. It is only in the last stage of a religion that cosmogonies are systematised.—

Greek endings, each the little passing-dell That signifies some faith's about to die,

though the death-struggle may be prolonged, and issue in a higher life.

We have thus seen that the Creation story in Gen.

¹ I think less naturally thinks that in the Canaanite, 'Yahweh saw that it was good', there is an implied contrast to the state called *Abah-Abah* (Chaos).

² The word 2722 (*Chel*) occurs only twice, and both times Syriac of a bird's brooding. See 16. 3211, and Driver's *Psalm*, 357, foot; also We. *Psalm*, 393. (2727 Jer. 23. 6, be 2727 (2042)). Hence the Talmudists compared the spirit to a dove (cp. Mt. 3. 16 Mk. 1. 10 Lk. 3. 22). The notion myth, in the very late form known to us, has lost trace of the bird-symbol; it speaks only of a wind (2727).

³ Waitz-Gelander, *Anthropologie*, 6. 311. In Egypt, too, the creative act begins with the formation of an egg; but it is the egg of the sun, and nothing is said of a bird which laid it (see Brugsch, *Revue Myth. der alten Ägypten*, 107 ff.).

⁴ *ThP* art. 'Cosmogony', 1. 27. It is of course not a bird that is meant; storm-birds are not uncommon; see the Babylonian myth of Adapa, in which the south wind is represented as having wings, and cp. Ps. 18. 10 (11). Waitz.

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24) is not as Wellhausen represents it, e.g. as the product of notation. It has considerably more substratum. That substratum is mainly Babylonian, but Egyptian and even Persian influences are not excluded. Indeed, for that singular passage Gen. 1:5 Egyptian influence, either direct or more probably through Phoenician or Canaanish mythology, indeed seems to be suggested. We are thus brought to face with a new problem. How is it that the Jewish Writer, with his purified theology, and his comparatively slight interest in popular tradition, should have adopted so much mythology as the basis of his statement that 'God created the heaven, the earth, and all that is in the earth, and hallowed the seventh day'?

If the Yahwist had given a creation story corresponding to his Flood-story, the phenomenon of Gen 1 would not be so surprising. The Priority of **12. Lost J original.** What might thus be taken to have acted consistently by giving an improved version of both traditional stories? But we have no Yahwist creation-story, except indeed in a fragmentary form, and though the last portion of the cosmogonic preface to 1 S. Paradise story (based probably on a C. account) which must have differed greatly from the one we say in Gen 1, yet it is most improbable that P would spontaneously have thought of competing with J by producing a new semi-Babylonian cosmogony. In the next place it should be noticed that the Flood-story which J has borrowed, directly or indirectly, from Babylon, stands in Babylonian mythology in close connection with the creation-story; the two events are in fact only separated by the ten antediluvian Chaldean kings and an uncertain interval between creation and the foundation of a dynasty. The list of the ten kings is certainly represented, however imperfectly, by 1 S. cosmogony (see CASSELL § 471), it is probable therefore that J was represented by the storm-¹ of 1 S. originally had a creation-story with strong Babylonian attributes, and that P used this story as the basis of his own cosmogony.

Accepting this hypothesis, we are no longer surprised at the echoes of mythology in *Gen. 1: 2-4*. 'Underneath I' we recognise the debris of the cosmogony of *J₂*. The Priestly Writer did not go out of his way to collect Babylonian mythic data; he simply adopted and adapted the work of a much earlier writer.

The hypothesis is due to the sagacity of Hinkle,² and the more clearly we discern the mythic elements in P's cosmogony, the more probable, and indeed inevitable does the hypothesis become. That the old cosmogony has been lost, is much to be deplored; but we can easily believe that it would have been too trying to detain members of the "congregation" to have had before them in the same book the early and almost half-heathenish recension of a Canaanite-Babylonian cosmogony produced by J₂ and the much more sober but in all essentials thoroughly orthodox recast of this recension due to the Priestly Writer. Whether the latter found any reference to the Sabbath in the older story which might seem to justify his insertion of the divine appointment of the Sabbath, we do not know. Jensen finds a reference to the 7th, 12, and 14th days of the month in the fifth tablet of the epic (6: 1; 7: 3; and Zimmerer even inserts conjecturally "on the Sabbath" (line 17); but whether any part of this obscure passage lay in any form before J₂ must remain uncertain.

The explanation given by Zimmern (above, § 4) does justice, as no other explanation can do, to the circum-

13. Develop- ment of the Epic.

sembles the explanation of the Babylonian flood-story, this is no objection. The post-diluvian earth may in a qualified sense be called a new earth, and some mythologies expressly recognise that the present creation is rather a re-creation.³ Still, it

¹ This is in fact given his own Flood-story in which the tradition of J is harmonised with I's theory of the last day of enosis. See *THE GOSPEL*, § 17.

⁴ See, e.g., the legend of the (non-Aryan) Santals of Bengal in Hunter's *Rural Bengal*, 150 f.

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[illegible][illegible]

Other local deities or creation stories are known to a few specimens of the very varied traditions which had

14. Parallel
forms.

But some others have only lately been revealed to me by G. Pinches, editor, predecessor to Lancelotti Smith, and A. J. W. Gifford; they have regarded as worthy to have been one of the *dipartiti*, or scribes, of his library, for it was he who was the discoverer and the first translator of Ascham's great "Oratio pro."

The Greek reading world owed its chief acquaintance with Babylonian mythology to a Greek writing priest.

15. Bero-
slan, etc.

But, considering his competence and his unique opportunities of consulting ancient documents, we cannot afford to neglect these extracts. One of the most important of them is a fragment of a cosmogony. Its resemblances to statements in both the creation-stories of Genesis, especially the first, are obvious. Among them we may mention (1) the description of the primaeval darkness and water, (2) the name *Qazre* (𐎧𐎠𐎼𐎫, translated *Qaxar*, which is given to the woman who ruled over the monsters of chaos² and (3) the origin ascribed to heaven and earth, which arose out of the two halves of the body of *Qazre*, cut asunder by Bel, who the creation of man by one of the gods (cf. Bel's command, who mixed with clay the blood which flowed from the severed head) not of Bel, but of the dragon Tiamat,⁴ may be compared, or contrasted, with Gen. 22.

¹ See Muller, *Engl. Hist. Geog.*, 2: 197; Baudie, *Uge*, 6: 474-475; also p. 146, *B. Geog.*; Schö, *Geogr.*, 1: 1.

According to Robertson-Smith's happy restoration, $\angle$ is a function. The text has $\Theta \angle \Theta$.

¹ Cp. those members with the 'helpers of Rahab' (1.14.913 RV), and with the 'four beasts' which came up from the 'great sea' (1.14.917, 4). The latter passage is substantially identical. The powers of evil will again have to lose and rule upon earth, but will at last be overcome (cp. A. THOMAS, § 4).

⁴ The correction of *carpon* (*car*) in the text of Boissius (re Syneclos, 227) is due to Thibaut; but its importance was noticed first by Stacken (Observation 3-1). The text is translated by Lenormant, *Le voyage de Darius*, and in Michel, *Schöps*, 17. The first Latin translation has been in French (Lemaître) but was

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The theogony of Damascius¹ (6th cent. A.D.) is at first sight of less importance. It shows, however, more clearly than the Berossian fragment that the essential features of the story of the epic were well known; for the two chief mythic names mentioned by Damascius – viz. *Tamē* and *Apasur* – are plainly derived from Tiamat and Apsin, whilst the only begotten son of this couple is *Maeuar*, which corresponds to the obscure name Mammū in the epic (Epic. 1, II. 4, 13; see above, § 2, second note).

We now turn to the cuneiform records, among which the so-called Chaldean cosmogony (*RT²* 1.10.7 p. 1) is not to be included. (a) The chief of these is the great Creation-epic, of which the reader has already heard. Its place of origin was, of course, Babylon, as appears

from the fact that its hero is the god Marduk, who was the patron of Babylon. Obviously this is only one of several local versions of the primitive myth. In the original story B. I. of Nippur was, no doubt, the great god who overcame Tiamat, and prepared the way for creation. The legends of the other sacred cities, however, had to protect the interests of their patron deities, and local Creation-myths were the result.

(b) In another version of the myth, the fight between the divine champion and Tiamat occurs after the creation, and is waged for the deliverance of gods and mankind. 'Who will set forth to slay the dragon, to rescue the wide earth and seize the royal power? Set forth, O God Šu-IL, slay the dragon, rescue the wide earth, and seize the royal power.' (An extravagant account is given in the manner of the Jewish Talmud) of the dragon's size, and it is said that when the dragon was slain its blood flowed night and day for three years and three days and months. This may suggest the alternate mythic origin of a time, three and a half, in Dan. 12.7 Rev. 12.14.

(c) A much fuller and, if we assume its antiquity, more important narrative is the 'non-Semitic' one translated by Pinches in 1892 from a bilingual text discovered by G. Smith.² It is a mixture of creation- and culture-myth, and as a culture-myth we have already had occasion to refer to it (see CAINESS, § 3). The creation-story is given only in allusions. It is stated that once upon a time there was no vegetation, and 'all the lands' (of Babylonia) were sea. Then there arose a movement in the sea, and the most ancient cities and temples of Babylonia were created. Next the subordinate divine beings called Ammaki were created, after which Marduk set a reed on the water, formed dust, and panned it out beside the reed. Then, 'to cause the god to dwell in a delightful place, he made mankind (cp. Gen. 1.27) with the co-operation of

and heaven out of the two parts of *Qudmukkur* (with whom the reporter of Berossus identifies Tiamat). It stands to reason that the severed head spoken of in connection with the creation of man must be Tiamat, not that of the Creator, though Pinches already had before him the reading *qurru* (see *Biblical Archaeology*, 4.79). The passage is therefore not a statement of the kinship of God and man (WKS. *Rel. Sem.* 43), though it is of course to be assumed that the god spoken of made man in his own physical likeness (cp. Maspero, *History of Civil. 1* 3). Strange to say, the name *Qudmukkur* seems to have come into the text of Berossus by mistake. The most likely it is a corruption of Marduk (Maspero, *ibid.*, of *Black and Assy.* 53; cp. J. H. Wright, *J. H. Wright*, 1.197 p. 1). The story, however, is only intelligible on the theory adopted in this note.

¹ See Schr. *CP* 1.12; Jensen, *Kosmog.* 27 p. 1.
² See Zimmern, *Z. A.* 1897, 117 ff. The story relates to the mythological history of a king of the primitive age, and is not cosmogonic.

³ See Zimmern's transl. in Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 417-418. The colophon assigns this tablet also to the library of Assur-bani-pal.

⁴ Pinches, *RT²* 1.10.9 ff.; cp. H. Smith, *Princeton Smith's List*, Cat. pp. 103-114. A. Jeremias represents this and similar myths as artificial products, composed in a Babylonian interest (*Notes on Assyriology*, 1.102); but the priests certainly did not invent all together.

⁵ Cf. the name 'land of reeds and canals,' given to S. Babylonia on the vessels of Esagarna, king of Eridu, before 400 B.C.; and the identification of gigantic Chaldean reeds, Maspero, *Prison of Civil.* 3.

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the goddess Annu (whom we shall have to refer again, col. 6 p. 1, n. 4). We are allowed to infer that this waste of water had been converted into a fruitful plain by the industry of the newly created men (cp. under the direction of the gods); and to these gods ascribed the greatest of all human works, the creation of the sacred cities of Babylonia with their temples. Thus the most characteristic part of the Babylonian myth – viz. the fight of the sun-god with Tiamat – conspicuous by its absence. The reader should not miss this, as it illustrates one of the two chief Hebrew cosmogonies (see below, § 20 p. 1).

The statement that the myth which underlies Genesis of Babylonian origin may now be supplemented.

1. The epic of Assur-bani-pal's library stands at the height of a great mythic development. We cannot therefore presume that we have

17. Provisional result. covered the exact form of the Babylonian myth on which the narrative in Genesis is based, or the earlier narrative out of which that in Genesis has grown.

2. Since there were several creation-stories in Babylonia, it is a *probatum* probable that other stories besides that referred to may, either as wholes or in parts, have influenced the creation-stories in Palestine.

These reasonable inferences suggest two fresh inquiries. We have to ask, 1. What is the earliest date at which the adoption of Babylonian myths

19. Date of naturalisation. the Israelites is historically conceivable and 2. What evidence have we of the existence of any Hebrew creation-myth than that in Gen. 1.2-2.2, some of which may enable us to fill up incomplete parts of that narrative.

In reply to the first question it is enough to refer to recent studies on the Amarna tablets. The letters of Babylonian cuneiform sent by kings and governors of Western Asia to Amen-hotep III. and Amen-hotep IV. prove that, even before the Egyptian conquests and the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. 'Religious myths must have formed part of this culture'. It is therefore in the highest degree probable that Babylonian creation- and deluge-myths penetrated into Canaan before the fifteenth century B.C., and as soon as the Israelites became settled in Palestine they would have opportunities enough of absorbing these myths.

At the same time it should be noticed that there are also several other periods in Israelish history where either an introduction of new or a revival of old myth is historically conceivable.² The *first* is the time of David and Solomon. The former appears to have had a Babylonian secretary (see SHAVSHAN); the latter admitted into his temple a brazen 'sea' (representing, as shown already, the primeval *abim* or *tiamat*) and a brazen serpent (representing the dragon; see NATHANIEL). The *second* is the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Aramean, Assyrian, and neo-Babylonian influences became exceedingly strong, and were felt even in the sphere of religion. The *third* and *fourth* are the exile and post-exile periods, when (see e.g. Job and Is. 40-55) there was a revival of mythology, which the religious organisation of Judaism could not neutralise but not put down.

In replying to the second question (as to the evidence for other cosmogonic stories in the O.T.), we must

20. OT. ref. to other cosmogonies: pre-exilic. be satisfied with very incomplete references. Such we can find both in pre-exilic and in post-exilic writings. Pre-exilic references occur in (a) Gen. 1.1-2.4, in (b) Judg. 5.2, and especially in (c) the introduction to the Eden story; post-exilic

¹ Che, *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1891, p. 974.
² This has been repeatedly shown by Cheyne (see e.g. *Is. and Solomon*, 26-28; *OT* 2. 202, 268-270, 270, 321); cp. Gunkel, *S. Books*, which, in spite of some critical delinquencies (see *Notes on Crit. Rev.*, July 1905), is so ingenious and instructive that it is recommended to advanced students.

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(d) Job 15:7 f.; (e) 38:4-11; (f) Prov. 8:22-31 (besides the passages on the DRAGON).

(g) The phrase in the Blessing of Joseph, 'the flood (*phol*) coming¹ beneath' (cp. Gen. 7:10), is certainly the echo of a Tiamat-myth, and (h) 'the stars from their roads' (a Babylonian phrase²) in Judg. 5:20 of a myth like that in the fifth tablet of the epic.

(i) Gen. 2:4-7 needs more special, even if brief, treatment. It runs thus, the original introduction of the Eden-story having been abridged by the editor of J¹ J²:

1:1, when Yahweh [Elohim] made earth and heaven, 'Now there were no bushes on the earth, and no herbs, yet sprouted forth, for Yahweh [Elohim] had not caused rain upon the earth, and there were no man to till the soil'; but a flood³ used to come up from the earth and desolate the whole face of the ground; then Yahweh [Elohim] formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils breath of life, and man became a living being.⁴

Evidently this belongs to the second section of a mythological creation-story, and its details are all of Babylonian origin. Like Finches' non-Semitic creation-story (above, § 16 [2]), it describes, though with mythic exaggeration, the phenomena witnessed by the first colonists of Babylonia. The extremely small rainfall in Lower Mesopotamia was remarked upon by Herodotus (I.104); consequently, without the careful direction and control of the yearly inundation of the Euphrates and the Tigris the land would be rather marsh or desert. Water-plants there must have been for a season even in the most desolate tracts; but the myth-writers imagine a time when even reeds had not yet appeared, and when 'all the lands were sea' (myth, Z. 101), since 'a flood used to come up (it seemed) from the earth' (Gen. 2:6). Next, the Hebrew writer tells us that Yahwe formed man out of dust (2:7), just as, in the myth (II. 20 f.), Marduk, with the help of the potter-godless Aruru, makes man out of clay, and somewhat as, in the story of Prometheus (see above, § 15), one of the gods forms men out of earth moistened with Tiamat's (not Prometheus') blood. The sequel in the Hebrew story has obviously been abridged. There must have been some reference to the peaceful subjugation of the yearly flood, otherwise how could Yahwe have 'planted a garden (or park) in Eden' (2:8)? 'So in the old myth we hear next that Marduk made the Tigris and the Euphrates 'in their places', the reeds and the woods, and the green of the fields (II. 23-26). Besides this affinity of its contents to the non-Semitic Creation-myth the Yahwistic passage has a striking resemblance in form to the first tablet of the Creation-epic, which, as it now stands, is of course a Semitic work.

On (d) Job 15:7 f.; (e) 38:4-11; (f) Prov. 8:22-31 we must be brief.

In (g) we have apparently a reference to a more heroic *παρωδῶνος* than the Adam of the Yahwist (like the Yim of the Avesta and the Maui of New Zealand mythology), and somewhat like the Adapa of a Babylonian myth,⁵ who shared the privileges of the divine or semi-divine members of the council of Eloah. This first man was an embodiment of absolute Wisdom, and it is noteworthy that the

¹ The name suggests a wild beast (Gen. 4:9). The same epithet (*phol*) is given to Nergal, the god of the nether world in the Gilgamesh-epic (Tablet IV, Jeremias, *Vorstudien*, 63).

² *לִבְנֵי שָׁמַיִם*, *Lib. al-kānā*, plur. of *al-kānā* (לִבְנֵי שָׁמַיִם). Cp. *לִבְנֵי שָׁמַיִם* *lib. al-kānā* 'the way of the stars of heaven' (Gen. 1:1, II. 21-2).

³ *אֵלֶּיךָ*, *elēk* (*elēk*), 'flood, waves, high tide' (so Frd. Del., *Exod. Homm.*). The Chaldee inscription of Sargon states that he 'planned great irrigation works for desert lands, opened rivers, and caused the waters to flow everywhere *li-gei* (*li-gei*) like the overflowing of a flood'.

⁴ *Aruru* probably means 'potter' (Jensen). In the Gilgamesh-epic (2:1) this goddess 'looked toward' (cp. Gen. 4:10) the 'Yahwist puts 'dust' (*אֲדָמָה*) for 'clay' (*אֲדָמָה*), but we find the latter word in Job 37:6, *אֲדָמָה* (the same root *אָדָם* is used in the epic).

⁵ Cp. Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 659 ff.

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same word *אֲדָמָה* 'to be brought forth' is used of this wondrous personage, and of the Wisdom which is described in Prov. 8:22-31, especially of the Wisdom of Proverbs, the first of which was created by Iphigaz came into existence before the world. The *elēk* has a very Babylonian appearance, and is clearly belonging to the same cycle of thought as the *elēk*. Next, the 'first man' of the Hebrew Bible, who was said to have descended from heaven to intercourse with angels.

1:1, when Yahweh [Elohim] made the earth and heaven (2:1) that the stars were 'brought forth' (cp. Gen. 1:5). In the creation-epic the creation of the stars is 'stations' for the great god, see Sargon, § 3.7. It follows on the subjugation of the dragon of chaos and the creation of heaven and earth of the chaos of Tiamat. The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider this story, or even its parallel one in Gen. 1, to be a worthy representation. Heaven and its stars must always have existed for Yahweh and the 'first man' to dwell on earth, the 'first man' of the Hebrew Bible, who was said to have descended from heaven to intercourse with angels. The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider this story, or even its parallel one in Gen. 1, to be a worthy representation. Heaven and its stars must always have existed for Yahweh and the 'first man' to dwell on earth, the 'first man' of the Hebrew Bible, who was said to have descended from heaven to intercourse with angels. The Hebrew poet, however, does not perhaps consider this story, or even its parallel one in Gen. 1, to be a worthy representation. Heaven and its stars must always have existed for Yahweh and the 'first man' to dwell on earth, the 'first man' of the Hebrew Bible, who was said to have descended from heaven to intercourse with angels.

In (f) Prov. 8:22-31 we find the same great restriction of the mythological element. The matter is expressed in the form of a poem, a poem of wisdom on its part against Yahweh, but this is described in the simplest manner. Of a time when chaos reigned supreme we hear nothing. Yahweh and Wisdom were together before the earth was². In fact the new quasi-mythic representation of Wisdom was incompatible with the antique Babylonian cosmogony.

These passages seem to show that there was a great variety of view in the post-exilic period respecting the best way of imagining creation. Some writers seem to have refused the dragon-myth (except in the palest form); others seem to have found it symbolically useful. To this we shall return presently (§ 23). There is a remarkable phenomenon respecting the pre-exilic time which has a prior claim on our attention. Though both J¹ and J² have a cosmogony (§ 12), there is an almost complete silence respecting such myths in the pre-exilic prophetic literature. There is, in fact, only one passage (Am. 9:1) that remotely suggests the existence of a creation-myth. This obscure passage has been considered elsewhere (see SIEFFERT, § 3.7), and it may suffice here to point out that mythology did not come naturally to the early Israelites, and that one great aim of the prophets was to recall their countrymen to old Israelitish ways; Solomon who adopted foreign fashions was no true Israelite. We need not be surprised, therefore, at the scanty references in the greater prophets to such figures of the Babylonian and Canaanitish myths as the Dragon, the Cherubim, the seraphim. It is to a historical writer that we are indebted for the information that there was a brazen serpent, symbolising probably the Dragon (see NIEBUHR, § 21, in Solomon's temple. At a later period (post-exilic) references to the Chaos-dragon, to the subjugation of the primordial sea by Yahweh, and to some other features of mythic tradition, abound. Nor was the spring of mythic imagery dried up even in still later times, as the apocalyptic writings show. See DRAGON, RAHAB, SERPENT, ANTIHIBIT, ANIMINATION OF DESOLATION, ABYSS, ARMAGEDDON, APOCALYPTIC.

If the above presentation of facts be correct, it is a

¹ So, in Babylonian mythology, the sky-god An dwells in the highest region of the universe, in the firmament towards the pole, where he is surrounded by the perpetual brilliance (see Jensen, *König* 2, 611). It is the 'heaven of An', in which the inferior gods take refuge at the Deluge (Deluge-story, Z. 102).

² The text of this line passage is not free from corruption. See *The Jewish Rel. Life*, Lect. iv, and cp. Gunkel, *Schrift* 93 f.

CREATION

mistake to assert that the Israelites had, from their

23. General result.

entrance into Canaan onwards, a fairly complete creation-myth, in which Yahwe took the place of Marduk, and *lilith*, *lilithan*, *lilithim*, *lilith*, etc., that of the dragon Tiamat. This theory has indeed been vigorously defended by Gunkel; but it is liable to grave critical objections. It is a significant fact that Amos (see last §) has little if any comprehension of the mythical serpent (25:2), and that the Israelites who worshipped in Solomon's temple completely misunderstood the true meaning of 'Nehushtan,' while from the time of the Babylonian 'exile' unmistakable references to the dragon-myth abound. This implies, not of course that there was not previously a Hebrew dragon-myth, but that a revival of mythology had brought the old myth into fresh prominence. It is probable that before the 'exile' the cosmogonic myths of the Israelites at large were in a very fragmentary state, and that if the myth on which the creation-story of Gen. 1 is based then existed (as it most probably did), it was uncomprehended by the people, and had no influence upon their thoughts. It appears, however, that, from the last pre-exilic century onwards, increased contact with Syria and (especially) Babylonia brought about a reawakening of the mythological interest, and that the myths which at a very early date had been derived by the Israelites from the Canaanites, were revived by religious writers (not prophets, at any rate in the proper sense of the word) and adapted to general use. This was done, sometimes with a rougher, sometimes with a gentler hand, but always without any dangerous concession to antiquated, naturalistic religion—a grand result, which the Babylonian priests, noble as their own higher religion was, never accomplished. To inquire into the cause of this success belongs to the history of Jewish religion.

The question has been raised whether Gen. 1:2-4 is, or is not, a poem. The theory was first propounded

24. Gen. 1:2-4 a poem?

by d. Eichthal, *Texte primitif de la Bible* (1875), who found a true poem, composed of perfectly regular strophes, which had been distorted by the editor (32 ff.). Briggs (*Old Test. Student*, April '84) added to this the discovery of a metre (five tones in each line with caesura). The possibility of this is established by the undoubted existence of metre in the Babylonian creation-epic (see Del. *Willschögl*); but unless we had before us *lilith*'s form of the creation-story, how could we expect to restore without arbitrariness the true Hebrew metre?

11. *Concepts of Creation*.—It has been shown above that there circulated in Judah in the regal period at

25. Doctrine of creation late.

least two mythic stories of creation (cp § 22), both of which were directly or indirectly of Babylonian origin. It is still with the former that we are specially concerned for the present. That there is no clear reference to this myth in the fragmentary remains (cp below, § 20) of the pre-exilic prophets, is, no doubt, a fact which has to be accounted for; but when we consider the Canaanitish-Babylonian origin of the myth we cease to be surprised at it. Certainly Isaiah and the other great prophets believed in the creatorship of Yahwe; but they could not have given their sanction to even a simplified edition of any of the grotesque and heathenish myths of the Canaanites and the Babylonians. Why, then, it may be asked, did they not, like the Second Isaiah (Is. 40:18), preach the creatorship of Yahwe without any mythic ornamentation? The answer is, that their object was not to teach an improved theology, but to dispel those illusions which threatened, they believed, to involve good and bad Israelites alike in one common ruin. The pre-exilic prophets were preachers of judgment: the truth they had to announce was that Yahwe was not merely the god of Israel, but also the moral governor of the world,

CREATION

who would punish all guilty nations, and more especially the most favoured nation the Israelites. It was for the late exilic and the post-exilic prophets and other religious writers, whose function was, not so much threatening as edification and consolation, to draw out the manifold applications of that other great truth that Yahwe is the creator of the world.

On the pre-exilic conception of creation, therefore, not much can be said. There were, no doubt, hymns to

26. Pre-exilic traces.

Yahwe as the creator; but the divine creatorship was not a central truth in that early age, and could not have been expressed in a form congenial to the later worshippers. We have, however, a fragment of a song in the Book of Jasher (1 K. 8:12 ff.), which the narrator who quotes it ascribes to Solomon. With the help of the LXX we may restore it thus:—

The sun did Yahwe settle in heaven,
But he said he would (himself) dwell in dark clouds.
I have built a lofty house for thee,
A settled place for thy perpetual habitation.

Here Yahwe is described as the creator of the sun. He is therefore greater than the solar deity Marduk, the creator in the Babylonian cosmogony. None of the heavenly bodies serves Yahwe as a mansion; dark clouds are round about him (cp Ps. 97:2 18:11, 22:29 again). It is of his condescension that he dwells in Solomon's temple, which will therefore be as enduring as the sun in the firmament (cp Ps. 78:69). Considering that Solomon (it would seem) put up in the temple a trophy of Yahwe's victory over the Dragon of chaos (see NATHAN-TAN), it is conceivable, though scarcely probable, that a hymn to the creator which contained these four lines was actually written for use at the dedication of the first temple. At any rate, even if not of the Solomonic age, the fragment is presumably pre-exilic, and confirms the idea that the creation of the world (*i.e.*, the world known to the Israelites) was early spoken of as a proof of Yahwe's greatness. Nor can we be surprised that some scanty reference to Yahwe as the Maker *κατ' ἐξοχήν* is traceable in pre-exilic proper names (see NATHAN, § 30, and cp the Bab. and Ass. names Sin-bani, Bel-bani, Bel-dani).

It was the Second Isaiah, however, so far as we know, who made the creatorship of Yahwe a fundamental

27. II Isaiah.

Jewish belief. Is. 40 gives the key to the later doctrine of creation. Living after the collapse of the ancient state, and amidst new scenery and other men, gifted moreover with a tenderly devout spirit and a rich poetic imagination, the Second Isaiah felt what was needed to regenerate Jewish religion—a wider view of the divine nature. To him Yahwe was far too high for the common sacrificial cultus, far too great to be merely a local deity; both nature and mankind owed their existence to Yahwe. He had indeed chosen Israel for a special possession; but it was for purely moral ends. Therefore Israel's fall could not be for ever; Israel's and the world's creator would certainly, for his own great ends, restore his people. Let Israel then look up to him as the creator of all things, and therefore also as the Redeemer (54:1) of Israel. However the Second Isaiah does not stop here. He rectifies some of the notions which were presumably current among the Israelites—old notions, now awaiting to a fresh life under Babylonian influence. Israel was, no doubt, one of the youngest of the nations; but Yahwe was not like Marduk, according to the old myth, one of the youngest of the gods; 'before me (Yahwe) no god was made' (Is. 43:1, 2, 3).

1 The passage is given in a fuller form in *QERV* after 7 (than in *M1*), with an introductory and a closing formula. The former runs, 'Then sp. Solomon concerning the house which he had finished building it'; the latter, 'Surely it is written καὶ βιβλίου τῆς πόλεως'. In line 1 read ἐσθλαίειν 122, with *Q* rather than ἐγνώσκει which Klo. prefers, and in line 2 ἐν γένει 123 for ἐν τῇ γένει. Cp Jasher 8:1, 10:1, 11:1, 12:1.

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AMI 8, § 30.
Bel-bani.

as we know, fundamental the key to man. Living amidst new and tenderly the Second Late Jewish culture, he sacrificed his personal duty; assistance to a special cause. Therefore, the great ends, to him as also as the end I said in the notions of the old Babylonian, amongst other according to the gods.

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§ 3.

1 The Avesta, however, connects creation with the recital of a certain potent formula called Ahuna-vairya (Honover). Gen. 1 knows nothing of spells.

³ Barup Smend, *APKZ. gesch.*, II, 437.

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activity of the Creator, who requires no self-enthralment, for he cannot be fettered.³ Nothing is said here, or in the Book of Job, of chaos or pre-existent matter. The first of the late dialectic writers who distinctly asserts the creation of the world out of matter is the author of the Book of Wisdom (11:17 *κτίσας τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀσπερον ἄβυσσος*). He may no doubt be said to Platonize;⁴ but Philo before him, not indeed without some hesitation, held the belief of the eternity of matter,⁵ and he appears to have been influenced by contemporary Jewish interpretations of Gen. 1:1. In 2 Macc., however (a Pharisaic record), we find the statement that the world and its contents were made *ἐκ ἄβυσσος* (7:1), a guarded phrase,⁶ which reminds one of Heb. 11:3 and is at any rate incompatible with a belief in *ἀσπερον* (7:1), and, in two late passages in *1 Peter*, *ἔκ* (1 Cor. 2:9) is addressed thus, 'O Thou . . . that hast called from the beginning that which did not yet exist, and they obey thee' (2:14), and 'with a word thou quickenest that which was not' (4:1). Parallel passages in NT are Rom. 4:17 Heb. 11:3 (where, however, *ἐκ φανερῶν* is not to be confused with *ἐκ μη φανερωμένων*).⁷ We must not, however, overlook the fact that in one of the latest books a distinct reference to chaos occurs. In 2 Pet. 3:5 the earth is described as 'compacted out of water . . . by the word of God.' Here 'water' obviously means that portion of the chaotic waters which was under the firmament; out of this, according to Gen. 1:6, the dry land emerged at the bid of Yahweh. The importance given to the Logos in Ju. 1:1, and to the Son of God in Heb. 1:1, as the organ of the divine creative activity, is best treated in another connection (see Logos). On the doctrine of the re-creation of heaven and earth, see DILLMANN, § 149.

30. Words for 'create'.

⁷²² "to fabricate, make, create," Gen. 14:9-22 ("creator of heaven and earth"); cf. *accreare* [AEI] 9, D. 82: "the father that made them"; but *excreare* [EAI] 17, Prov. 8:30 (God's creation of Wisdom, *excreare* [H&A], Ps. 139:6 ("thou hast created my reins"); but *excreare* [K&RT]. All these passages are late; but *creo* is probably a divine title (see CAIS, § 5), and Iae. in Gen. 17, says (probably) "I have produced, created (that *excreare*, [ADEI]), a man like (the Creator) Yahweh" (⁷²³ *creatus* ⁷²⁴ *meus*, "to make," Gen. 2:12f [D, Lc. 48:7, ⁷²⁵ "to form," Gen. 2:7-9] [⁷²⁶ Lc. 48:17, Jer. 10:10, Am. 4:13, Zech. 12:1,

CREDITOR (נִצְרֵה), 2 K. 4 v. See LAW AND
[USUAL, § 16.

CRESCENS (ΚΡΗΣΚΗΣ [Ti. Will.], a companion of Paul who had come to Galatia (2 Tim 1:1-4). In the *A. C. Const.* (74b) he is named, as 'bishop of the churches of Galatia,' among those bishops who had been ordained in the lifetime of the apostles. There is some authority (S. C. etc. 'Ti.) for reading Γαλατα

¹ Cp. Jn. 5:17, and contrast Gen. 2:2.

² I kept in the faint allusion (Job 38: 9). The same writer would almost seem to have believed in pre-existent light (cf. 1). See above, § 21 (c).

3. See Drummond, *Philo Judaeus* 1:28, who also refers to *Stoicorum* (190) as implying the same doctrine.

⁵ Vg. boldly renders here οὐκ ἔσθ' ὄντως by *ex nihilo*. So in *Peter's Homilies* 21, the old translator gives *ex nihilo* for οὐκ τὰν ἀπὸ οὐρανόθεν

⁶ V.g. boddly, *er invisibilibus* (p. Gen. 12, 8).

^s Cp. Frankel, *Palästina. Faegese*, 36; Geiger, *Urschrift*, 11.

CRESCENTS

instead of Παλάρια in 2 Tim. 1:10. Gallia is a natural emendation, possibly a right interpretation, of Galatia—in accordance with the later usage as regards Gaul, both Galatia and Gaul having in St. Paul's time usually, if not always, alike been called Παλάρια by the Greeks' (WH). Cp GALATIA.

In the list of the seventy apostles compiled by the Pseudo-Barnabas (see *Chrest. Pseudo-Barn.*, Bonn Ed., 21 ff) Cresconius is enumerated as 'bishop of Thapsodon in Gaul' (Ναυαφόντος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Γαλατίας); in the list drawn up by Eusebio-Hippolytus he appears as 'Cresces, bishop of Carthage in Gaul'. According to the Pseudo-apostles, who enumerate 81 finally, Thues, Cresconius, and the Ephesian church immediately after the twelve apostles, he was founder of the church of Vienne in Gaul. The Latin church commemorates him on June 27; the Greek on July 13 (along with Silas, Andronicus, and Epimenus). See Lipsius, *Epist. Pseudo-Barn.*

CRESCENTS (כִּרְסִיִּים), Judg. 8:26 RV (AV 'ornaments'), 1 S. 31: RV (AV 'round tires like the moon'). See NE. KLAKE.

CRETE (κρήνη; mod. *Candia*), the largest island in the Aegean sea, of which it is also the S. limit.

Crete extends 400 m. from W. to E., consisting of an irregular ridge of mountains which fall in three distinct groups, the central and loftiest (mod. *P. nira*) being the Mount Ida of the ancients. The S. coast is broken into a series of large bays and peninsulas; on the S. there are few harbours, and only one considerable bay, that of Messara, under Mt. Ida. The physical character of Crete is succinctly described by Strabo (475, *ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ ἐρηρὴ καὶ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ἀειβάτουρος ἐσκαρπύουσα*).

Lying at almost equal distance from Europe, Asia, and Africa, Crete was one of the earliest stages in the passage of Oriental civilisation to the W. In historical times it was of little importance—chiefly as a recruiting ground for mercenary troops (Pol. 31:26, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 41, cp 1 Macc. 11:31).¹ Quintus Metellus reduced the island in 67 B.C., and it was combined with the Cyrenaica to form one province—senatorial under the emperors.

The Jews were early connected with Crete (cp the story told in *Luc. Hist.* 52 that the Jews were originally fugitives from Crete). In *Ex. 25* of *Luck*, 2:19 and *Zeph.* 2:5 [B&V] *Κρήτες* is read for the 'Cherethites' or 'Cherethims' (קְרִיתִים) of RV, and *Κρηται* [B&V] in *Zeph.* 2:6 for קְרִיתִים, which, however, is certainly not Crete, but denotes 'land of the Cherethites'—i.e., Philistia. *Κρήτες* also occurs in *Ex. 30* apparently for קְרִיתִים. See *CHERETHITES*; and, on the hypothesis connecting the Philistines with Crete, *CAPHOR*, *PHILISTINES*. Gortyn (near modern *Il. Itea* in the Messara, the only considerable plain in the island) is mentioned as containing many Jews (1 Macc. 15:21 cp 10:67, and *Philo* *Leg. ad Car.* 30) says that Crete, like all the Mediterranean islands, was full of them (cp *Acts* 21: Tit. 1:12, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 121, *Vita*, § 76).

The account of Paul's voyage to Rome furnishes several geographical details. From Catthys his ship ran under the lee of Crete (*Acts* 27: *ὑπερνεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σάλαγγρον*), and some time appears to have been spent in the shelter of the Fair Havens. Whether the apostle was able to accomplish there any missionary work cannot even be guessed; and we are thus left without any information as to the process of the evangelisation of the island. When we next hear of it the gospel has apparently been widely established (see *PASTORAL EPISTLES*).

The character of the Cretans as gathered from the epistle to Titus is entirely in accord with what is known from other sources. The epistle (Tit. 1:12) quotes 'a prophet of their own' (i.e., Epimenides, called *θεὸς ἀνθρώπων* by Plato, *Lysis*, 1642; *θεοφιλής* *Plat. Sol.* 121), who stigmatised them as liars and beasts. It was a popular saying that it was impossible to out-Cretan a Cretan (Pol. 8:2, cp Pol. 6:46 f. 813-346). Polybius (6:40) writes that 'greed and avarice are so native to the soil in Crete, that they are the only people

¹ They were mostly archers: *Paus.* i. 23, 'Παρασκευαζομένη μὲν ἡ Κρήτη οὐκ ἐνισχυμένη δὲ τοξότοις'. Their internal dissensions kept the Cretans in military training: cp Pol. 4:214.

CROCODILE

Among whom no stigma attaches to any sort of gain whatever' (cp Tit. 1:16, 'teaching things which they ought not for an ignominious gain'). A similar phrase occurs in Tit. 1:11. The reputation of the thought of Tit. 1:7 αὐτὴν παρασκευαζομένην, 2: *ἐκπαλαίοντες*, 2: *καὶ ὁρῶντες* *οὐκ ἐκ πολεμικοῦ* *δεδουλωμένους* is equally common (Cretan wine was famous in antiquity; cp *Juv. Sat.* 14:20). Tit. 3:1 bears a curious reference to the turbulence of the Cretans, a characteristic which runs through their history.

For Crete as the 'stepping stone of continents,' see A. J. Evans on 'Primitive Photograpies from Crete' in *J. H. Eon. Stud.* 11 (1914).

W. J. W.

CRIB (כִּרְסִי), 1 S. 31, etc. See *CATTLE*, § 5.

CRICKET (קְרִיתִים), Lev. 11:22, RV. AV *BETTER*

7:1. **CRIME** (רִשָּׁעִים), Job 31:1; see *LAW AND JUSTICE*, § 197.

CRIMSON (קִרְמִיזִים, *qirmiz*), a word common in the form *תְּרִמָּה*, *tirmah*, or *תְּרִמָּת*, *tirmath*, is used in *Ex.* 16:22 in the general sense of 'worm' [RV], in 1 S. 14:25 (EV 'crimson'), Lam. 4:5 (EV 'scarlet') for the crimson dye prepared from the body of the female *Coccus ciliatus*, a Homopterous insect belonging to the family Coccidae.

The female, which grows to the size of a grain of corn, is in the adult or imago stage attached by its inscribed proboscis to the leaves and twigs of the Syrian Holm-oak, whose juices it lives on. The male is winged and flies about. The bodies of the females are collected and dried, and from them are prepared the colouring matters known as Carmine, Lake, and Crimson. Since the discovery of America a Mexican species of *Coccus*, *C. cacti*, which lives on the India fig, has largely supplanted the first-named species as the source of the pigment, and at the present day both have lost their commercial value owing to the invention of aniline dyes. In old literature the name *Kermes* (see below) is frequently used for *Coccus*.

Other names for this colour are קִרְמִיזִים (*qirmiz*) (*Jer.* 4:30, RV 'scarlet'; elsewhere EV 'scarlet'; see *COLORS*, § 14) and the late equivalent קִרְמִיזִים, *qirmiz* (2 Ch. 2:26, [61] 3:14²). The origin of the termination *-iz* in קִרְמִיזִים is obscure; it can scarcely be explained (as in Ges.⁶) by the Pers. affix *-an*, for there is no word *qirmiz* in Pers., nor would it signify the colour if there were.

For 1 S. 6:31 (קִרְמִיזִים, RV⁹⁸ 'crimsoned,' EV 'dyed'), see *COLORS*, § 137.

S. M. A. F. S.

CRISPUS PINS (קִרְסִיִּים, 1 S. 3:22. See *BAV* (2)). **CRISPUS** (κρίσπος [Ti. WH]; a Roman name, ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, and one of Paul's converts there (*Acts* 18:1 Cor. 1:14).

In *1p. Const.* 7:40 he is said to have been ordained bishop of Aegina. In *West. Rom. Vet.* he is commemorated on Oct. 1.

CROCODILE (קְרִיתִים) 'Beasts of the reeds' is an alternative rendering (in AV⁹⁴) of קְרִיתִים, 1 S. 6:8 (1 S. 6:8) *קְרִיתִים* *τῶν καλάμων*, AV 'company of spearman,' RV rightly 'wild beast of the reeds.' This means the crocodile (hardly Behemoth—i.e., the hippopotamus), used to symbolise the Egyptian power. Cp *Hupfeld* and *Del.* *ad loc.*

According to *Ex.* 23 of Lev. 11:30 (AV 'tortoise'), was a 'land-crocodile'; see *LIZARD*, 1. For 'land-crocodile,' RV's rendering of קְרִיתִים, a kind of lizard (Lev. 11:30), see *CHAMELEON*, 1. For Job 41:1 RV⁹⁸ (228), AV 'dragons,' RV 'jackals', see *DRAGONS*, § 4. For Job 41:1 RV⁹⁸ [1025] (EV 'Leviathan,' AV 'whale,' 'whirlpool'), see *BIHEMOTH* and *LEVIATHAN*.

The animal described poetically in Job has generally been identified with the crocodile (see especially *Bochart* 3:717 ff.). Until recent times, when the propriety of

¹ Probably from Pers. *qirmiz*, 'a worm,' and perhaps akin to our 'crimson' and 'carmine' (see Skeat, *s.v.* 'crimson'). Cf. Sans. *qirmiz*, which is probably identical with our word 'worm' (*qirmiz*, 'worm'). On the other hand, *Del.* (*ZLLT* 3:523) may be right in connecting Ar. and Pers. *qirmiz*, from which *carmine* and *crimson* are most naturally derived, with an independent Turkish root beginning with *q* instead of *z*.

² The word קִרְמִיזִים seems to have been read for קְרִיתִים by *Ex.* in *Cont.* 7:514. See *PLATE*.

CROCODILE, LAND

making any zoological identification has been questioned, the chief dissentient has been Schultens. His great eighteenth-century scholar thinks that the arguments for the crocodile and the whale are about equal; the poet does not seem to him to have been consistent in his description. Tustin, however (VIII 258), is of opinion as a naturalist that the crocodile is described under the name Leviathan, and if Biddle's translation and explanation be adopted, the characteristics of the crocodile — the difficulty of capturing or taming it, its voracity, its formidable row of teeth, its impervious scales, its gleaming eyes, its violent snorting, and its immense strength, all come out with marvellous exactness. Richin (III B, 122) 'Leviathan' leaves it an open question whether the poet may not even have seen crocodiles in Palestine. Certainly the Nile or Zarka near Caesarea is believed to have had crocodiles quite lately, and, as the climate of this marshy region resembles that of the Delta, there is in this nothing surprising. Still, though Pliny (II 26) speaks of this river as the Crocodile river, and mentions a town called Crocodilon, we have no evidence that there were crocodiles there in biblical times. A thirteenth-century tract tells a strange story of fierce beasts called crocodiles having been brought there (see COCKERILL). Sir John Maundeville designates them crocodiles. See further Biddle's elaborate commentary on Job 41, and for another view connecting the description in Job with mythology see BETH MOH and LEVIATHAN, § 3.

Crocodilus niloticus, formerly common throughout the Nile, has been almost exterminated in the lower part of the river, though it still flourishes above the southern delta. It is found from the Nile and the Senegal to the Cape of Good Hope, and in Malagasy and Syria. Large specimens attain a length of 15 ft. It was worshipped by the ancient Egyptians at Ombi, and in the Fayum (by E. de Moiré) under the name of Sokki (transcribed in GK. as Sockki); for a possible explanation of this, see Maspero, *Revue d'Égypte*, 1897, p. 18. — N. M. — V. L. S.

CROCODILE, LAND (צִדְדֵי הַלֵּוִיָּתָן, Lev. 11:10, RV; AV CHAMMELION (2:2)). See also above.

CROCUS (צִדְדֵי הַלֵּוִיָּתָן, Cant. 2:1, RV; EV ROST. (2:1)).

CROSS. We shall not attempt to introduce the reader to the archaeological study of the symbolism of the cross. Interesting as the task would be, it is really superfluous. If there was a time when it could be supposed that between Christianity and the non-Christian religions there was, in respect of the symbol of the cross, an affinity that was divinely appointed, that time is passed. We are no longer tempted to imagine that between the sign of the cross in baptism, and the heathen custom of bearing a mark indicating the special religious communion of the individual, there is a kind of pre-ordained relation. On the other hand, the fact that heathen notions did affect popular Christian beliefs in very early times cannot be denied; the magic value ascribed to the cross has doubtless a non-Christian origin. For these matters it is enough to refer to Zöckler (*Das Kreuz Christi*), who fully recognises the original purity and simplicity of the earliest Christian view of the cross. His sobriety contrasts with the fantastic subjectivity of E. von Bunsen (*Das Symbol des Kreuzes*, 1870).

First as to the meaning of the Greek word *σταυρός*, which has a wider range than the word 'cross' by which it is rendered in English. We find it frequently used for the most primitive instrument of execution, the upright stake (*crux simplex*) to which the delinquent was bound when no tree was at hand (*crux infirma arbor* and *infirma lignum*; Liv. 20 Cic. *Pro Rubeo*, 4), or on which he was impaled (*crux hanging*), as well as for the fabricated cross (*crux companda*) of various shapes.

Schumacher says that he has seen a crocodile there, but that there are very few crocodiles left (PEAQ, Jan. 1887, p. 1). For a sifting of the evidence down to 1872, see Toller, *Wandering nach Palästina* (59), 375 ff. Cp Rob. Ph. Geogr. (2), 175 ff.; Raed. *Fal.* (2) 272.

CROSS

The origin of crucifixion is traced back to the Phoenicians. The cross was also used at quite an early date in some form or other by Egyptians (Thuc. I 10, Persians (Herod. 9: 1), Carthians (A. Valerius Maximus; Polyb. I 1, c. 4), Indians (Diod. 2: 1), Scythians (Justin, 2: 1), and others, besides the Greeks (Pl. Critias, 1) and the Romans. Among the latter named, however, this cruel form of punishment (cp Gal. 3: 10; 1 Cor. 1: 17) is called *crucis supplicium* (supplicium); J. S. B. V. 13: 1 was originally reserved for slaves (*crucis supplicium*), compare the application of the term *crucis* to slaves and criminals of the worst kind. It was at first considered too shameful a punishment to be inflicted upon Roman citizens (cp Tac. 1: 5, 20 c. 1).

On the cross proper there were three shapes: the *crux immissa*, or four-armed cross, the *crux commissa*, or three-armed cross, and the *crux decussata*, which is more commonly known as St. Andrew's cross. Following the tradition of the Church, Iren. *Haer.* 2: 1, *Eccl.* 1: 1, Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 1: 1, etc., and has some support in the assertion of the Gospels that before the face of Jesus was placed a title (Mk. 15: 26; *ἐπιγράφοντες αὐτῷ*; Lk. 23: 38; *ἐπιγράφοντες*; Mt. 27: 32; *αὐτῷ*; Jn. 19: 20; *ἐπιγράφοντες*), the cross of the NT has commonly been taken to be the *crux immissa*.

The counts of the *passio* of the crucifixion being so meagre, any degree of certainty on this point is impossible. But the evidence seems to preponderate in favour of the traditional view.

The four-armed cross in use at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus was most probably of the following description. It consisted of two poles.

3. N^o 1 cross. An upright stake (*crux simplex*), which was firmly fixed in the ground with pegs or it seemed to the stump of a tree, and across began *transversum* (*crux commissa*), which was carried by the condemned to the place of execution. The height of the upright stake in antiquity was probably made in which to fasten with cord and perhaps also to bend the cross-beam (cp Lucian's *ἡ δὲ σταυρὸς*; also Hor. *Carm.* 1: 35; C. *Lev.* 5: 1). At a suitable height from the ground was fixed a peg (*ἡ δὲ σταυρὸς*; cp Iren. *Haer.* 2: 1, 24) on which to set the body astride (cp Justin, *Phil.* 1: 1; Iren. *Haer.* 2: 1, c. 10; *Adv. Marc.* 1: 1, c. 10; so that the whole weight might not rest upon the hands and arms). Thus, together with the lashings, made a rest for the feet *ἐπιποδίων, ὑποποδίων, ὑποποδίων* (cp Greg. of Tours, *De Glor. Mart.*, chap. 6 unnecessary).

It is probable that on such a cross as this Jesus was crucified, and that the execution was carried out in the regular manner.

4. Crucifixion. In the regular manner. Soon after the sentence (A. Val. Max. 1: 1; Dion Hal. 9: 1), or on the way to execution (1 M. 33: 6; cp Gal. 3: 10; 1 Cor. 1: 17) the condemned was scourged. He was led, bearing his own cross, or rather part of it (Pl. 1. *De sera nummis vindicta*, chap. 9; Artemid. 2: 5).

In some of these cases (e.g., Persians), no doubt, only the *crux simplex* is intended. The cross in the strict sense of the word was not used by the early Jews. In Est. 7: 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

This too is the shape of the cross in the old (3rd cent.) engraving of the crucifixion which was found on the Palatine hill at Rome.

Some scholars (Klein, etc.) have contended for the *crux commissa* (cp Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.*, vol. Jos. *Ant.* 1: 1).

Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*) supposes the body to have rested upon nothing but four great wounds.

The offence alleged (Lk. 23: 2) was a political one. Stoning was the Jewish punishment for blasphemy. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

The scourging of Lk. 23: 22, Jn. 19: 1 was probably a preliminary and therefore an irregular one.

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and cp the symbolical phrase in Mt. 10:33 (16:24) to which he was bound, along the public roads to an eminence (see Göttingen) outside the city gates (Cic. *Pro. 59*; Plant. *Hel. glor.* n. 16). In front of him went a herald bearing a tablet (*titulus*, Suet. *Cat.* 32) of condemnation, or he himself carried the *aria* (cp *trapis*, Suet. *Hel.* 117; *trapez*, Euseb. *HE* v. 141; *Arxadia*, Sot. *HE* 117) suspended by a cord from his neck (Suet. *Calig.* 32; *Domit.* 10; Dio Cass. 51.4; Euseb. *HE* v. 141). On arrival at the place of execution the *cruciatarius* was stripped of his clothing and laid on the ground upon his back. The cross-beam was then thrust under his head, and his arms were stretched out across it to the right and left and perhaps bound to the wood (cp Lucan, *Phars.* 6.44 f. Plin. *HN* xxviii. 111, the hand being fastened by means of a long nail (cp *cruci. figere, argere*).¹ Hereby, before or after the arrival of the condemned (see Cic. *Pro.* v. 62, and cp Polyb. 1.869; Diod. xxv. 5.2; Jos. *BJ* vii. 43), the upright stake had been firmly fastened in the ground. The cross-beam was then, with the help of ropes (cp perhaps Plin. *HN* xxviii. 157) and perhaps of some other simple contrivance, raised to its place on the stake. Here it was hung provisionally, by a rope attached to its ends, on a firm nail or notch,² whilst the body was placed³ astride the lower peg in the stake, and the legs bound. The beams were then probably bound and nailed⁴ together at the point of intersection. Nails like those already used for the hands would be employed to fix the feet (Lk. 24.39; cp Plautus, *Mochl.* ii. 113; Just. *Dial.* chap. 97; Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 3.10, etc.), which were only slightly elevated above the ground. The nails were driven through each foot either in front, through the instep and sole, or at the side, through the *hudo* (*clavus*).⁵ The body remained on the cross until it decayed (Hos. *Ep.* 16.4; Lucan, *Phars.* 6.543), or (from the time of Augustus) until it was given up to the friends of the condemned for burial (cp Just. *Dial.* 6.2; cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 5.2). Soldiers were set to watch the crucified (Cic. *Pro. Rabir.* 4.11; Petron. *Sat.* 3; Quint. *Dial.* 6.2; Mt. 27.66; Jn. 19.23). Death resulted from hunger (Euseb. *HE* 8.5) or pain (Seneca, *Ep.* 101). To alleviate the latter the Jews offered the victim a stupefying draught (Mk. 15.23; Mt. 27.4; Rab. Saül. *f.* 131). Breaking of the legs (*παλαιομα*; see § 6) was a distinct form of punishment among the Romans (Seneca, *De Ira* 3.2; Suet. *Aug.* 67; cp, however, Ongen on Mt. 27.54). M. V. C.

5. Evangelists' point of view.

From an archaeological point of view this may be justified; but it is necessary to point out that the evangelists are entirely indifferent to the archaeology of the circumstances of the Passion. All indeed that they seem to care for is (1) the opportunity which the Cross gave for Christ to make fresh disclosures (i.e. speech) of his wonderful character, and (2) the proofs which the Passion gave, as it appeared to them, of a pre-established harmony between prophecy and the life of Jesus. When the *ἐκταρακισμένος οἶνος* (wine mingled with myrror) and *δεσμός* (vinegar) is mentioned, it is chiefly, we may presume, to suggest a connection with Ps. 69.21.⁶ So the 'casting lots' doubtless fixed

¹ Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*) and Farrar (*Life of Christ*), assume that the body was nailed to a primitive cross which was afterwards raised and fixed in its socket. Cp, however, the expressions *crucem in caelum, in crucem exaltare, ἀναβιβασε ἐπὶ τὴν σταυρὸν*, etc.

² See Brauch, *Die Evangelische Geschichte*, from which this part of the description is borrowed. For the two nails (cp Plautus, *Mochl.* ii. 113 and see Meyer). Others (Keim, Farrar, etc.) think that only one nail was used.

³ This seems to be plain from the expression in Mt. 27.44 (WH and RV) 'wine mingled with gall'. The allusion is to Ps. 69.1 (*γάλη*, 'gall', would never have come in otherwise, and an *ἐκταρακισμένος* is a fellow psalm to Ps. 69.1).

⁴ Mt. 27.4 (taken) is a fellow psalm to Ps. 69. See also Lk.

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itself in tradition because of the parallelism of Ps. 22.14. The only NT passages in which a clear trace of sympathy with the physical pains of Jesus is discernible are 22.44 and Heb. 5.7, especially the former. There is great reserve in this. Though Weismann (1873) quotes several ancient writers who state that, in some circumstances, is really 'under' blood,² yet the early writer of Lk. 22.44³ comforted himself with saying that the sweat of Jesus in agony was 'as it were' drops of blood' (*ὡς ἄνθος*).

6. Death of Jesus.

There is no evidence that an NT writer had formed the idea that Jesus died of a broken heart, as W. St. M. D., supposed (*Notice on the Physical Death of Christ*, 1847). Certainly an idea for many modern readers of the Gospel would be a good and sufficient evidence. The hypothesis is based on Jn. 19.34, where we read that 'one of the soldiers with a spear pierced (εἰσέεισε) his side, and forthwith there came out blood and water.' From a critical point of view we can hardly say that the fact that Jesus died this would after he had breathed his last is established; theorising upon it therefore, with a view to determine the cause of Jesus' death, is excluded. We have reason to believe (see Orig. on Mt. 27.54) a lance wound was sometimes given to those who were crucified to accelerate death. The probability is (the kernel of Jn. 19.34-7) to be accepted as historical, that the two malefactors first had their legs broken (*καταρτίσας*) and then received their *coup de grâce* by being pierced with a lance. This is not opposed to the interpretation of 19.34 for all that the evangelist states that the legs of Jesus were broken. That the mention of the 'eye-witness' (*ὁ ὁμολογῶν*) has come to us in its original form, cannot, however, be asserted, because of the impossibility of explaining the issuing of 'blood and water' from an internal physiological point of view. Perhaps one may suppose that the writer of Jn. 19.34-7 in its present form has accommodated the facts of tradition (the tradition attested by the witness) to his theological needs. There is a theological commentary on the 'blood and water' in 1 Jn. 5.6, where the 'water' and the 'blood' have become, were technical expressions for permanent supernatural channels of divine grace, though the comment is to us (not to its first readers) as obscure as the text.

With regard to the hypothesis of Dr. Stourd (viz., that the sudden rupture of the heart, and that the blood water were the separated clot and serum of the escaped pericardial sac, which the spear had pierced), it is sufficient to mention the invariable fact, of which this physician is to have been ignorant, that the blood escaping into a cavity from rupture of a great organ, such as the coronary artery or pericardial sac, does not show the smallest tendency to separate into clot and serum ('blood water,' as he takes it), but remains thick, dark red blood. The notion that the wound was on the left side is comparatively late. It is embodied in some of the newer commentaries, but in most modern crucifixes, and probably the more ancient, the wound is placed somewhat lower, on the right side. That it was deep and wide, is inferred from language of Jn. 19.27, where Thomas is bidden to 'reach forth his hand and thrust it into my side'—namely the side of the spiritual body.

The ordinary view of the motive of the soldier (Jn. 19.34), that he wished to make sure of the death of Jesus, is a mere conjecture. If, therefore, the expression *εἰσέεισε* (19.34), 'he thrust through,' in Jn. 19.34 will permit some may prefer to accept a new hypothesis that the laceration by the lance was only a slight one. The author of this hypothesis thus explains it. 1. 6.1 'May it not have been, rather than a brutal act, the point of the lance directed at something on the surface of the body, perhaps the eye, and especially Jn. 19.34, which allude to the same? The *εἰσέεισε* of Jn. corresponds to the *εἰσέεισε* of Jn. 19.34. *εἰσέεισε* is most naturally rendered *εἰσέεισε* (19.34) in Weismann. This too suits Ps. 101.

2. This is not inconsistent with the fact that the second Mt. 27.35 is wanting in the best MSS, and omitted by others. See Jn. 19.34.

3. Numerous more or less inauthentic modern instances have been needlessly brought together.

4. An early addition to the original text (WH).

⁴ The $\frac{77}{77}$ which David captured (2 S. 12.30) belonged to the *idol* of the Ammonites (see ANTON, §). For the Talmudic view on this and other passages connected with royal and priestly crowns, see Leopold Löw's excellent essay 'Kranz und Krone' in his *Ges. Schr.* 34-7 f.

CRUCIFIXION

priestly **כִּתְיָו** (cp **Ezech. 45:12**), see **MITRE**; and for other Heb. words to designate distinguished head gear, see **DIADEM**, **TURBAN**.

Crowns or garlands were worn by brides (**Lev. 19:18** **קִרְבָּנָה** **קִרְבָּנָה**) and by bridegrooms (**Is. 61:10** **כִּתְיָו**, RV **garland**).¹ The 'oil of joy' (**ib.**, v. 3) recalls the royal anointing (see **CORONATION**), and it may be that the bridegroom wore a chaplet as king of the festival. Delitzsch thinks that

the bridegroom's **כִּתְיָו** was a turban. Solomon (**Cant. 3:11**) is represented as wearing a diadem or **diadēma** on the day of his espousals (cp **CANTICLES**, § 4). In the time of Vespasian the bridegroom's chaplet was abandoned (**Mish. Soḥah 9:14**). In the Middle Ages the Jews resumed the use of wreaths for brides.

Josephus asserts that after the return from the exile Aristobolus, eldest son of Hyrcanus I., was the first to put

4. **Post-exilic and NT usages.** 'a diadem on his head' (**διαδήμα**, **Ant. xii. 113**). From **Zech. 6:9-13**, however, it would appear that Zechariah was directed to select from the exiles' gifts enough gold and silver to make crowns (**כִּתְיָו**) or a crown (**כִּתְיָו**, **W. Now**) for Zerubbabel.² Josephus was perhaps thinking solely of the Hasmonean kings; those priest-kings wore 'buckles of gold' on their shoulders, not crowns on their heads (**1 Mace. 10:50** **11:44**, **πορφυρῶν χρυσῶν**; see **Brückner**, 3). The Ishmael thinks that Hyrcanus, the 'second David,' wore two separate crowns, one royal and one priestly (**Ant. xii. 66** **at**); and Josephus reports a present to this king of a golden crown from Alcibiades (**στρέφανος**, **Ant. xii. 83**).

The Gr. **στρέφανος**, which properly denotes the badge of merit as distinct from **διαδήμα** the badge of royalty (see **DIADEM**), is frequently used by **Σ** to represent **כִּתְיָו**; but the distinction between **διαδήμα** and **στρέφανος** was not consistently observed in Hellenistic Greek.

In the NT **στρέφανος** is used of the garlands given to the victors in games (**1 Cor. 9:25**; cp **2 Tim. 2:5**), of the ornaments worn by the 'elders,' etc., in the visions of the Apocalypse (**Rev. 14:13** **17:14** here, the Son of Man), and of Jesus' crown of thorns. The last perhaps affects the Roman rather than the Jewish idea as to the symbolism of the crown; but Jewish ideas on such matters must by that date have been assimilated to the Roman.

In RV **1 Mace. 1:29** **11:35** **13:37** **2 Mace. 11** (**στρέφανος**) 'crown' (AV 'crown tax') refers to a 'fixed money payment like the Roman *aurum coronarium*' (**Cic. in Proin. ch. 37**), in room of the wreath or crown of gold which at one time it was customary, and even obligatory, for subject peoples to present as a gift of honour (cp **2 Mace. 14** and § 2 above) to the reigning king on certain occasions' (**Comb. Bib. ad 1 Mace. 10:29**); see **TAXATION**.

On the **כִּתְיָו** of the altar (**Ex. 30:3** **37:26** f. EV 'crown,' RV 'rim' or 'moulding'), see **ALTAR**, § 11; on that of the ark (**ib. 25:11** **37:2**), see **ARK**, § 13; and on that of the table of shewbread (**ib. 25:24** f. **37:11** f.), see **ALTAR**, § 10. **Σ** renders by **κνυάριον στρεπνῶν** and **στρεφῶν**.

See **CHAPELET**, **MITRE**, **TURBAN**; and cp **GOLD**.

L. A. — S. A. C.

CRUCIFIXION. See **CROSS**.

CRUSE. 1. The cruse of water (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **qaydasheth**) which stood by Saul's bed when he was surprised by David (**1 S. 26:11** **12:10**; cp **1 K. 19:6**) was probably a small water-jar of porous clay like the *drick* (water pronunciation, *drick*) of the modern Syrians and Egyptians. The porosity of the clay enables the water to be kept cool if the *drick* is placed in a draught.

¹ The reading is difficult. Many follow Hitzig and read **כִּתְיָו** (**Ant. xii. 113**): 'like a bridegroom who wears his coronal.' Crowns, it may be added, are still used in the marriage rites of the Greek Church.

² The MT assigns Zechariah's crown to Joshua the high priest; but this can hardly be maintained (see **ZERUBBABEL**, and cp **Brückner ad loc.**).

CUCKOW

The same vessel was used by the poor to hold oil (**1 K. 17:11** **12**), where it is distinguished from **תֵּבַח** or water jar [**EV** 'pitcher'] in which a household supply was fetched from the well (**Gen. 21:14** **Σ** **τὴν ὕδα**).

¹ **1 K. 17** **ib.**, in 196 and in **Judith 10:6**, **Σ** uses the **κεύρα**, a written **κεύρα**, which, if from **κεύρα**, suggests the shape of the Roman *ampulla*.

² The cruse of honey which Jeroboam's wife took out of her present to Abijah (**1 K. 14:3**) was the *bol* or earthenware bottle (see **BOTTLE**). The Greek translators (**Σ** **Ap.**) render by **στραυρος**, a wine jar, which it is interesting to note, is also used by **Σ** for **ἀμύρα** (**EV** 'pot of manna') laid up in the sanctuary (**Ex. 16:13**). This cruse or jar of manna was of earthenware according to the Targum, but of gold according to **Σ** (**ib.**, *etc.*).

³ The cruse (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **τὸν κεύρα**) of **2 K. 2:20** f. used **Πισθα** to hold salt, was probably a flat dish or plate rather than a bottle or jar (cp **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **2 Ch. 35:13** [**Σ** **ἐλδοδῶν**]; **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** in **2 K. 21:13** **δὲ ἀδὰς τστρον** **Β'**, **ἀδὰς τστρον** **A**, **τὸ πείδιον** **1**), **PAN**.

⁴ On the cruse (**τὴν ἀδὰς τστρον**; **AV** **Box**, 2) of **2 S. 20:7**, etc., strictly a jar or phial of alabaster, usually pear-shaped or pyramidal (**Pliny, HN 9:60**), **ALABASTER**.

A. R. S. K.

CRYSTAL. There can be little doubt that **κρυστάλλος** is intended by the **κρυστάλλος** of **Rev. 21:11**; **gl** is represented by **τῶνος** (see **GLASS**). Theophrastus (**14**) reckons crystal among the pellucid stones used in engraved seals. In modern speech we apply the term *crystal* (as the ancients apparently did) to a glass-transparent stone (commonly of a hexagonal form, the flint family, the most refined kind of quartz).

In **Σ** **κρυστάλλος** represents —

a. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** 'frost' or 'ice,' perhaps even in **Ezek. 1:22**.

b. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (**1 S. 5:12**, **EV** 'carbuncles'), — that 'stones of fire' (cp **Ass. abun rāhi**, 'stone of fire' (*lipidū*), on an assumed derivation from **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** 'to kindle,' by rubbing; hence the rendering of **Ap. Ad. τρυφῶν**, **Sym. Theod. [Ad.] γαυρῶν**, **Vg. Trides scilicet** [*scilicet*]). **LXX** and **Pesh.** have **κρυστάλλος** (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**).

c. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **EV** 'bellium' **Nu. 11:7** (cp **Field, Herod.**).

d. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **EV** 'vapour' (**Ps. 148:8**).

For **Job 28:17**, **AV** (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**), **RV** 'glass'; see **GLASS**.

e. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **gabit** (**Job 28:18**; **RV** 'crystal'; **AV** 'pearl' is of obscure origin; cp perhaps **Ass. gabaia**, 'be the massive').

The **RV** 'crystal' finds support in the Heb. **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (**1 S. 5:12**) in the relation of meanings see **BDB**, **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**), and pass in the **LXX**, **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**), **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**) (**1 S. 5:12** **13** **14**), cp **Ortomb**, which, like **Ass. Pers. billar**, word is slightly transposed, but is 'crystal' or even 'glass' as well as 'beryl.' **Blau** understands 'glass pearls.'

Σ **κρυστάλλος** transliterates **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** and so **Theod. γαυρῶν**; the **EV** is too paraphrastic to be of any use; and **ἐπεφωτισμένη** (**1 S. 5:12**) [**Syr. Hex., mg. [תְּבַשְׁתִּין]**] are appellations derived from **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** 'to heap up,' **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, 'heap,' (**1 S. 5:12**).

CUB (**כֹּבֶא**), **Ezek. 30:3** **RV**; **AV** **CUB** (**כֹּבֶא**).

CUBIT. See **WEIGHTS AND MEASURES**.

The common term is **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, *ammah* (prop. length of forearm; see **BDB**; **Ass. ammah**, **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** in the **Siloam inscription**; cp **Gen. 6:15**; cp **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, 'an ordinary cubit' (**1 S. 4:13**); **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** one handbreadth longer than the usual cubit (**1 S. 4:13**), etc.).

¹ **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **gomed**, **Judg. 3:10** seems to be a short cubit; so **Jew. tradition**; see **More**, **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** **1:1**.

The **NT** term is **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**, **Mat. 27:1** **Lk. 12:25**.

CUCKOW. **RV** 'seamew' (**תְּבַשְׁתִּין**; **ἀλπος** [**1 S. 17:44**]).

¹ **Hitzig** and **On.** delete 'terrible,' **תְּבַשְׁתִּין** (so **Q¹**), but not **Vg. Pesh.**. It is of course possible that we should read **תְּבַשְׁתִּין**.

CURTAIN

PHIMV, HAN, COVENANT; and cp URIM AND THUMIM

On ⁷⁷צָרָה, *zharah* (Mal. 1: 3 [24], etc.), see especially HAN. On ⁷⁷צָרָה, *zharah*, Is. 65: 13 (RVmg prefers OVRN [27: D]; ⁷⁷צָרָה in Nu. 1: 21 (RVmg 'adoration'); ⁷⁷צָרָה [צָרָה] Lam. 3: 48, ⁷⁷צָרָה, Dh. 28: 20 (RV 'cursing'), ⁷⁷צָרָה, *zharah*, Rev. 22: 3 (RVmg 'anything is cursed'), and ⁷⁷צָרָה, Gal. 3: 10; see HAN 1505 A. 10 C. CURSING.

CURTAIN. For Ex. 26: 1 ff., etc. (⁷⁷צָרָה), and Nu. 3: 26 (1), etc. (⁷⁷צָרָה); more usually 'hanging' in AV, generally 'screen' in RV; see LAM 1505 A. 10 C. (⁷⁷צָרָה [צָרָה] Is. 40: 22), RVmg 'curtain' is properly from ⁷⁷צָרָה, 'to be fine or thin'. The Hebrews are likened to a fine gauze or screen. The rendering 'curtain' is loose, and is due, no doubt, to the use of ⁷⁷צָרָה in the parallel Ps. 104: 2.

CUSH. 1. A (non-Semitic) people called Kisse is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions as dwelling in the border country between S. Euphrates and Media. Sennacherib (Eyl. Cyl. 16: 1 ff.; *KR* 1: 7) describes this region as difficult to traverse, and is not subjugated by any of his predecessors. In fact, it was a conquering race that dwelt there. To it belonged the dynasty which ruled over Babylonia for nearly six centuries—a lengthened rule, the consequence of which was the infusion of a large Kassite element into the population of Babylonia, especially S. Babylonia, which might fitly be called the land of Kās. It is this Kās or Kūs (whence MT's Kūš) that is intended in Gen. 10: 2, where NIMROD [7: 7] is called the son of Cush. That the Babylonian Kās is meant in Gen. 2: 13 as the passage now stands is much less easy to make out (see PARADISE), while to hold with Winckler (*U. F. Unteruch.* 1: 10 ff.) that Isuah refers to the S. Babylonian Kās in the difficult prophecy, Is. 18, can be rendered possible only by somewhat improbable textual criticism and exegesis.

W.'s result (232) is that the embassy mentioned by Isuah is that of Merodach-baladan to Hezekiah in 720 B.C., and his strongest argument is that 'the streams of Cush' in Is. 18 is not applicable to the kingdom of Ethiopia, which had but one stream, the Nile. The answer is that the geographical knowledge of the writer was naturally but small, and that the island of Merodach-baladan's residence of the Ethiopian kings was removed after Isuah's time, is formed by the union of the Nile, the Atbara, and the Blue Nile. On grounds independent of W.'s hypothesis, the words ⁷⁷צָרָה ⁷⁷צָרָה ⁷⁷צָרָה are certainly held to be a late interpolation. (See further Che. and Haug in *Isuah*, Heb. *SBOT*.)

2. The question of the existence of an Arabian Cush has passed into a new phase since the discovery by Arabian land of Kūš contiguous to the N. Arabian Musri or Musri, and together with it forming the region called Mchibha (see MIZRAIM, § 2b). The land being known as Kūš (7: 7) to the Assyrians, we cannot avoid a re-examination of the more difficult OT passages in which ⁷⁷צָרָה (Cushi) or ⁷⁷צָרָה (Cushi) occurs. Referring first to the Pentateuch and reserving the complicated question arising out of Gen. 2: 13 for subsequent consideration, we see at once (a) how probable it is that in the list of names in Gen. 10: 6 Cushi is an Arabian and not an African country; for none of the eleven names in Gen. 10: 6-7 can be supposed to be African except Cushi, Mizraim, Put, and Seba, and of these Mizraim (read rather Mizrim) has been claimed elsewhere for Arabia, while Put [7: 7] is at any rate not Libya, and Seba (822), which resists all attempts to localise it in Africa, may well be suspected to be only another form of Sheba (822) [7: 7], the well-known Arabian Sabaeans. It is true Sheba appears in 7: 7 as a son of Kaamah; but no objection can be based upon that. The same name probably fixed itself in slightly different forms in different localities, and in Ps. 72: 1 we even find 822 (which has intruded into the

1 Unless we suppose the vocalisation Kūš (822) to be produced by the confusion of the Babylonian and the African 822.

CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM

text) as a variant to 822. (Possibly Sheba, 822 sh everywhere rather than 822, 822.) This conflation greatly reduces the error committed by the redactor of Gen. in inserting 77, 822 (which belong to 1) between 77, 822 and 77, 822 (which belong to 1); for the location of the Babylonian land of Kās, to which N. belonged, was largely formed by the immigration of 'Chaldean' tribes (822) whose home was probably in E. Arabia. If Kās be taken, not ethnically, but geographically, as a designation of the Arabian land of the ancestors of a large part of the people of Babylonia, it was not incorrect to regard Nimrod related to the Cushi mentioned in 7: 6 f. (For J. see NIMROD, MIZRAIM.)

(b) In Nu. 11: 1 (E) we hear of 'the Cushite woman whom Moses had married'. In Ex. 2: 21 (1) his Zipporah is represented as a Midianite. A north locality for Midianites is probable even without the doubtful passage 1 K. 11: 13 (cp HAN 1505 A. 10 C.). It is not necessary to follow Wellhausen in his exegesis of the whole of Nu. 12: 1, at any rate 'the Cushite woman' comes from an early source. See Moses.

(c) On 2 S. 18: 21 see CUSH, 3.

(d) 1 S. 20: 13 (14-15) see MIZRAIM.

(e) Am. 9: 7. Who are the 822? Hardly 'children of the Ethiopians' (E.V.). What evidence have we that the Ethiopians were regarded as tempt in Amos's time? Probably the prophet had never been, and saw the misery inflicted on the Arabian Cush by some great mischance in war (cp W. 1: 2).

(f) Hab. 3: 7, 'the tents of Cushan' 822 sh perhaps become 822, 'Cush'; at any rate, N. Arabian peoples are meant in both parts of the verse. See CUSH.

(g) Job 1: 7. It is quite possible to read 822, 'Cushyom' (Che. *JQR* 4: 575) for 822, 'Chaldeans' [7: 7], which is not without difficulty, to explain this of the N. Arabian Cushites, who at any rate be referred to.

(h) In 2 Ch. 21: 6 we hear of 'Cushites' beside Arabians (cp ARABIA), a reminiscence of whose literary lands probably underlies the distorted tradition of 'Zerah the Cushite' (see ZERAH) in 2 Ch. 11: 9 ff.

(i) Ps. 83: 7 [7: 7] 'with the inhabitants of Tyre' should be 822, 822, 'Musri and Cush'. A similar emendation is required in Ps. 87: 4. The combination of Piddis and Tyrians, Tyrians and Libyans, presented in MT, is extremely improbable.

(Besides W. *Musri* 2 [MDTG, 1898], cp Gl. *Skizze*, 2: 6 ff.)

3. Egyptian. See EGYPT.

CUSH (צָרָה, 809 [C] [BNAR], *chusi* [Vg.], [Fig.] a Benjamite (Ps. 7, heading). The text, however, is corrupt.

Cushi (822) is a very poor conjecture (see CUSH, 3), doubt 'Cushi' should be 'Kishi' (see Tg.), and the text run צָרָה צָרָה צָרָה צָרָה. The missing name is either Mordchai (Esh. 2: 5; cp Che. *OTs* 229 f.) or, perhaps, probably, SHUMI (2: 5, 1-2), a member of the clan of Kish (Kay, Che. *Ps.* 3). In the former case, David was supposed to be speaking in the name of Mordchai; in the latter, the clan of Shumi are the supposed occasion of the psalm.

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CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM RV; AV *Chushan-rishathaim* (צָרָה רִשְׁתַּיִם, i.e., 'Cushan of wickedness').

1 Ps. 7 was a Purim psalm.

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1. The story. I suppressed the Israélites and their king, and I asked of Canaan for eight years, and I asked Ben Kenaz to overthrow him (Judg. 4:1-14). This story of this oppressor and deliverance is introduced as a typical illustration of the edifying theory of Israel's history put forward in Judg. 2:1-6, and I was writing on the pre-Dionetomonic book of heroic stories which forms the basis of our [Judg. 3:1-7, §§ 3-5]. Hence we may

It is more probable, however, that the whole trouble is caused by an error in the text.

There is some reason to think that the true reading of Θ in Judg. 3:10 is . . . *Novaparratha* *Buadras* (that is) *Son*

the origin of the name. **עֲדֹמִי**, Edomites in 2 K. 16:1, and **עֲדֹמִי** as a glass (with **גִּזְרֵי**, **קֶלֶסֶת** 1) that Ethelred the Kenizeite should be the deliverer of Judah from the Edomite tyranny is only natural. Observe that the next expression, **עַל מִדְּבַר הַיָּם**, 'Whether we may go on to correct **קֶלֶסֶת** **עֲדֹמִי** into **קֶלֶסֶת-הַיָּם**, 'the chief of the Temanite,' with **קֶלֶסֶת**, (Gen. 4:12), and to work into this paragraph the isolated phrase 1 Jo 5 by prefixing **וְהָיָה** 'and he smote' is problematical. It seems to the present writer enough to read, for **עֲדֹמִי** **עֲדֹמִי** **עֲדֹמִי**, 'from the land of the Temanites,' which is the description attached to the name of the Edomite king; Husham in Gen. 36:34. The letters become partly detached, and an editor wittily read **עֲדֹמִי**. It is very possible, too, that

the name חִשְׁמִי (‘ushan) is a corruption of חִשְׁמִי (חִשְׁמִי) Hisham (cp. Klost. 119). The writer was at a loss for a name, and took one from the list of Ishodite knies. Hisham, son of Hisham, was a great warrior (cp. 35); it was natural to make the fact known to him in this respect. Whether we may suppose that the editors when we are indebted for ‘Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim,’ had in his mind Kossite (Cushite) incursions such, which might have been connected with Nimrod and Zerkim (cp. 77), which might have been referred to have proceeded from ‘Aram-naharaim,’ may be doubted. The different view of the origin of the story as given in MT see Moore’s *Apocrypha*, 58 f.), who thinks that we have here a distortion of the tradition of a raid of Midianitish ‘Cushites’ into Judah.

3. Other theories. stands, without applying critical methods, have two recent hypotheses respecting Cushman-rishathaim to choose from.

Prof. McCurdy (*Hist. Proph. Mon.* I 291; cp. 231) thinks that the 'wh'de land' (*hōt* Aramaean) may have been subdued by the Aramaeans, who, during the enfeeblement of Assyria, had re-conquered the land of Mitanni, the Egyptian Nubariah, which includes W Mesopotamia (see *RFP* 3 57), some time before the accession of Tiglath-pileser I. (1020 B.C.). In the ease with which the asserted conquest of the strong cities of Canaan was effected by the Aramaeans, in the name of *ushan*-rishathaim, led in the championship of a Keozizite or Judahite hero, he finds no difficulty. Prof. Sayce, too, in his ingenious defence of a

[illegible]

name *Mayori* (man of Mu-mu) in the lists of I-ar-
hahou and Asur-hahou, K. 11 - name 1. 𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶
[BAI, *chah* Ag. 1].

1. Auntsister of Huang [?] [?], (Zeph. 14).
2. Father of Zhou Xian [?] [?], (Zeph. 11).
3. ... RY' [?] [?].

§ 2 S 1, RV, 'the Cushite', the messenger whom David dispatched, in preference to Ahimaaz, to inform David of the death of Absalom. Ahimaaz was told to convey 'later on by the way of the plain'² and reached David first (2 S 18:32). 'Two questions arise. Who was 'the Cushite'? and why did he defer his report to Ahimaaz as the messenger?' The account, which has been taken from a fuller narrative, does not say. Evidently 'the Cushite' was a foreigner, and that was the reason why, like the Amalekite in 2 S 1, he could without offence be the bearer of evil tidings. That David had foreign soldiers to guard the Hittite Goliath is well known. 'The Cushite' was not as H. P. Sm. supposes a negro. We can hardly doubt that he belonged to the N. Arabian Cush³ (see CV, § 26).

κεφαλῶν Mk. 1:6 RV. See B 16, § 3.7., and
cp Rom 1:11.

(21) $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau$ 'Ezer' H_2A^4 AV + RV 'toll'; (23) $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\tau\iota\omega\tau$,
Mt. 9₉ etc. AV 'receipt of custom,' RV 'place of toll,'
See TAXATION.

Cuthah, [כּוּתָא] (*kyōta* [D; A omits], *kuṭāa* [L]; *Chutah*, [חֻטָּה] and *Cuthah* [כּוּתָּה], *kyōtāha* [L]; *xyōa* [A], *xyūā* [L]; *Cuthal*, a place in Babylonia from which colonists were brought to N. Israel (cf K, 1724), identified with Tell-Farahon, NE of Babylon, where remains of Nergal's temple have been found. It is the Kutā or Kuta of the cuneiform inscriptions. Before the rise of Babylon, Kutā and Sippar, it appears, were the chief cities of N. Babylonia. As late as the time of Assur-lum-pal it was obligatory on the kings of Assyria to sacrifice to Šamaš and Nergāl [*y.z.*] at Sippar and Kutā respectively, a custom apparently due to the primitive importance of these cities in the Kingdom of the Four Quarters of the World; (Winckler, *GfA* 1.3.251).

We have a record of the building of the temple of Nergal in Kish by Iungi, king of Ur (604-11), and Sargon, king of

- ¹ This is apparently the *Caŋ* who figures as the father of *ʿIṣā* in a Spanish MS. of 41 Ad.; see Bensusan, *Fourth Letter*, xlv, f. 11A.
- ² 𐤒𐤕𐤍 (MI), but perhaps rather 𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤍 'the gorge' (Klo.). See FURUKAWA, *W*, loc. cit.
- ³ The alternative would be to suppose *kak-kūli* (*ak-kūli*) to be an old corruption of *ʿIṣābi* (see the readings). This reminds us too much of Theodore of Mopsuestia's confusion of the *Caŋ* [ʿIṣā] in the title of Is. 7 with the *Arāmī*, *Ḥabīlī*.
- ⁴ The third term in these passages, 𐤒𐤕𐤍𐤍, is rendered 'toll' (W) or 'tribute' (RV).

CUTTING OFF

mentions among his punishments that he restored the temple of the great gods at Kura (5, 10, 11). It was in the temple of the great gods at Kura that the Babylonians brought from Assyria the golden image of the god Marduk (2 Kings 17:18). The golden image of the god Marduk was brought from Assyria to Babylon in the year 606 B.C. (2 Kings 17:18). The golden image of the god Marduk was brought from Assyria to Babylon in the year 606 B.C. (2 Kings 17:18).

CUTTING OFF. This penalty ('I' [א] diwa) was cut him off from among his people; 'he shall be cut off from his people, from Israel, from the assembly' and the like, 'אין ארץ ישראל' is first met with in II (see Lev. 17:10-12), where it is attached to a variety of offences, many of them of a ceremonial or technical character (Lev. 17:10, failure to bring slain ox, lamb, or goat to the tabernacle; 17:14, eating blood; 18:20, various 'abominations'; 20:15, Moloch-worship; 20:17, incest, etc.); 22:1, unlawful speech to holy things; It occurs frequently in P (Lev. 17:11, neglect of circumcision; Ex. 12:10, eating leaven in paschal season; Ex. 30:16, putting oil on putting to secular use the holy oil of anointment; Ex. 31:17, Sabbath profanation; Lev. 7:27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 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The view of the older interpreters was that the expression meant the death penalty. It is worth noting, however, that in Ex. 31:17 separate emphasis is laid on 'he shall be put to death' (אין ארץ ישראל) as distinguished from 'that soul shall be cut off' (אין ארץ ישראל); cp. Lev. 20:27 (death penalty on witchcraft), the Deutero-nomic expression 'אין ארץ ישראל' 'put away the evil'; De. 13:5 [6] in connection with the death penalty on the false prophet or dreamer of dreams; and perhaps also Lev. 24:17, 24:22, followed by 'אין ארץ ישראל' 'graduation of penalties. It is not to be taken of the actual circumstances and which in II and P (see above), it seems more probable that the writers had in their mind either some such idea as that which was carried into practice under Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 10:3) separated from the congregation of the captivity (Isa. 52:11, 'cast out from the multitude of them that are of the captivity'), and ultimately developed into the minor and major excommunications of the synagogue (see SYNAGOGUE), or that they thought only of death through divine agency, not of punishment inflicted at the hands of the community (Driver on Lev. 24:17). See, further, BAN.

CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH (Ceremonial Mutilations). The former heading is derived from the EV of Lev. 19:28-30. It is, however, too narrow in its range. Circumcision cannot altogether be left out in dealing with the 'cuttings' referred to in these passages; nor can we forget how intimately the laceration of the flesh in mourning is associated with the practice of shaving the head or cutting off part of the hair. The origin and significance of CIRCUMCISION (q.v.) is treated elsewhere. The present article will deal with (1) incisions (§ 1 f.), (2) the cutting off of the hair (§§ 3-5), and (3) tattooing (§ 6 f.), regarded as ceremonial mutilations (see further SACRIFICE).

The technical Hebrew terms for ceremonial incisions are **אין ארץ ישראל** (verb **אין ארץ ישראל**); the verb **אין ארץ ישראל** also is used.

1. References. In Lev. 21:5 [11] we read (with reference to mourning for the dead), 'They shall not make . . . any cuttings in their flesh' (point **אין ארץ ישראל**, as plur. of **אין ארץ ישראל**). The practice

¹ It may be noted that the 'I' is peculiar to H, as also the phrase 'I will set my face' (Lev. 17 to 20:36 20:17) or 'put my face' (20:5) against the offender.

² Aram. **אין ארץ ישראל**, Ass. **Yarafa**, Ar. **Yarafa**, strictly 'to cut into,' 'nick,' or 'notch.'

CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH

was forbidden especially to the priests, who were thereby profaning themselves. The substantive occurs in Lev. 19:28. 'Ye shall not make any cutting in your flesh for a departed soul' (in the only passage [Zech. 12] in which **אין ארץ ישראל** occurs, not since the LXX). There is no exact parallel for this passage in Assyrian, but we do find **אין ארץ ישראל** rendering a garment in token of grief in passage Sirgou's **Aras**. 224 gives a striking parallel to Lev. 19:28 and probably enough this reading was an attestation of the Mesopotamian custom of rending the dress. Ass. **Aras** (Smith, 125) also speaks of his warriors those who 'at the behest of the gods let them be hatched to . . . in the fray' (*Aras*). On it may be remarked that the case of mourners who shed their blood to feed the fumes of departed fire is analogous to that of soldiers who do this on battlefield in obedience to the gods. A supposed secret term for ceremonial incisions (**אין ארץ ישראל**) is simply due to misunderstanding. In Jer. 18:5 we should read **אין ארץ ישראל** 'all hands are cut into'; the phrase **אין ארץ ישראל** is an error; **אין ארץ ישראל** is, in fact, participial. The reflexive form **אין ארץ ישראל** occurs in De. 14:1 (parallel the already cited passage of Lev.), and at least passes elsewhere. The primary meaning of the stem is obviously 'to cut off', cp. Ar. **qadha**, **qadha**.

The ceremonial cutting referred to was an ordinary custom of mourners in the time of Jeremiah, to dispense with which would have been something very strange and unusual (Jer. 16:15 17:1); evidently contemporaries of the prophet did not recognise the law in De. 14:1. The incisions referred to in Mic. [4:1], 'I will lack myself [so Nowack], O daughter of Ashdod' (it also be signs of mourning; and the law would be to cease, as in Jer. 57, where **אין ארץ ישראל** 'they would cut themselves', implies that the apostate Jer. who resorted to the Whore's House (*i.e.*, the temple) wished to hang over the Deity to their self-mutilation. This description of the prophet is illustrated by 1 K. 18:28, where the 'cutting' practised by the priests of Baal is said to have been after the custom of ritual, and to have followed the ritual daily or round the altar (see DAVENPORT, § 5). Hosea, too (7:14), speaks of Israelites who 'because of corn and new wine cut themselves,' to propitiate their god (reading **אין ארץ ישראל** with G¹, We., Che., RV¹⁸⁸⁷).

The practice of shedding the blood in one way or another as an honour due to the dead is world-wide. **2. Significance.** It is found not only among the Hebrews and the Arabs (We. *Heid.* 181), but also among the ancient Greeks and the modern African and Polynesian peoples. 'The blood is the life'; and it is probable that when in primitive times the mourning kin 'cut themselves for the dead,' they did it in the belief that the departed drank in new life with the blood thus poured out by the willing sacrifice of sorrowing friends, and at the same time renewed their bond of union with the living (cf. ESCHATOLOGY § 3, 4).

Such acts doubtless had a sacrificial or sacramental aspect and in view of the fact that the disembodied spirit was conceived as possessing a quasi-divine or demonic character, with undivided potencies for good and evil, it may be assumed that the blood-offering was, or became, as much a conciliatory present to the manes of the dead as that of slain victims was intended to be to the higher gods. It may even have been thought that, as the deceased man had passed into another world on leaving the circle of his kin, he had in some sense become a stranger to them and that therefore it was necessary to make a blood-covenant with him, and so secure his goodwill for the tribe or family. The radical change of death might suggest that as the corporate unity of the departed with his clan had been broken, it must be

¹ If the text is correct the meaning must be 'to strain oneself to pieces,' 'to break down under a load.' Nowack, however, holds that a gloss has been taken into the text.

² There was no longer any consciousness of this when the post-exilic prophet Joel wrote, 'Rend your heart, and not your garments' (Joel 2:13). Else he would have said, 'Rend your heart, and not your flesh' (cp. Jer. 4:4).

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restored by giving the dead code of the blood of Christ.

The living animal that ritual practice requires is symbolized in the lion given you, and that is the reason the dead lion has often symbolized itself even at the height of culture, by smother over the cross, and by coming to us as the Hindu Sati woman who is burned to save her husband from the dead, as practiced in the people of the great prophets. It symbolized respect for the womanhood of the mourner to die out and be with the lion and not one.

3. Cutting
off hair.

Cutting off the hair was also the most characteristic expression of an Arab woman's mourning. When I did the 1-W did find all the women of his tribe pulled their hair at his grave (Agh 156; W. *Heat* 32). It was a sacrifice to the dead, and the underlying idea of the offering is suggested by the story of Simon: 'If I be shaven,' said that hero, 'my strength will go from me' (Judg 16:7). In other words, the hair, the growth of which was continually renewed, appeared to the ancients a centre of vitality, like the blood;¹ and thus to offer it, whether to duty (Nu. 6:1) or to the spirits of the dead, had essentially the same import and purpose as to offer one's blood, the offering to originate or to renew a bond of vital union between the worshipper and the unseen power. The

acts of worship,' performed by the individual for his own good as distinct from that of the community; and both are common elements in ceremonies of initiation by which youths are admitted to the rights of manhood, especially to marriage and participation in the tribal worship. This *CIRCUMCISION* [Lev. xiv. § 4] was originally a rite preliminary to marriage (Ex. xiv. 20); and *LAVAND* (*Lev. xiv. § 6*) informs us that the long locks of young people were shorn and dedicated at the old Syrian sanctuaries on the same occasion. In the course of time the barbarous character of the blood-offering caused it to lapse from general use, except among certain priesthoods and volatiles; whilst the hair-offering, which in origin and principle was identical, survived to the close of Paganism, and may be recognised in the tonsure of early Christian Monachism.

1 See WRS *Rel. Sem.* 324, and note the Chinese phrase, *miao hsi h*, 'hair and blood', and the saying, 'Am I not of the same hair (seed, as my father)?'

1 See WRS *Rel. Sem.* 324, and note the Chinese phrase, *mao hsi h*, 'hair and blood,' and the saying, 'Am I not of the same hair (scil. as my father)?'

What you do not know is predicted (rev. 1996). The experiment is presented on a computer screen.

By printing, for example, the word "Buxton", it is looked off as a word that does not ground.

The act of praying or leaving marks on the threshold would appear to be dedication of the person to his god. Herodotus' description of a group of Thracians at Erebos, by the entrance of the Nile, "where a funeral was being performed, if he was found to have left his belongings on sacred Struthion, he was to be killed" (1.141) would have a good measure of religious overtones attached to him taken out of society, "the world of the dead" (Nemes), and another world name used by the name of Iudith, and another world mark and shield (1.142), and receive the same name (1.143) (S&L, 1992, p. 116). As far as the burial and the ownership of property of the god, such names are analogous to the *ba* or cattle marks of the Bedawi tribes, and may have had their origin in that or a very practice of prayer or pastoral life (epithet 741, 742). In Book 246 we find of marking a lion or cross, the symbol of life (epithet Egyptian ♀,

lyke, i.e., with **†**, the Phoenician form of the letter T(u) on the forehead of the faithful in Jerusalem, who are to be spared from slaughter; which recalls the sealing of the 144,000 servants of God on their foreheads (Rev. 7: 1 f.), and further, the mark of the Beast (*σημαμα*, something given, Acts 17: 29) on the right hand or the forehead of his worshippers (Rev. 13: 16 f., 20: 4). The strongly metaphorical words of Paul, too, *I bear in my body the marks* (or *brands*) *of Jesus*, τὰ σημάδια τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. 6: 17) clearly presuppose a custom of tattooing or branding the flesh with sacred names and symbols, which would be familiar as a heathen practice to Paul's Asiatic converts.²

7. **Substitutes** of tattooing and branding. The Israel-

—i.e., on his forehead (cp Dt. 6:8 Rev. 7:3). The sign on the hand recalls the sign which Yahweh set on Cain (Gen. 4:3; see CUSP, § 4), whilst these strips of inscribed yellow, the phylacteries (= *frontlets*, *LV* of OT) of Mt. 23, were looked upon as having magical qualities,

¹ Thus Ptolemy Philopator branded the Alexandrian Jews with the sign of the ivy to identify them with the cult of Dionysus; see EUSEBIUS, *Op. Fragr.*, *Zeteticism*, 26 ff. For the branding of serfs see EASEY, § 30.

² Cf. Deissmann, *Abkürzungen* (1951) 262-76 (a new and ingenious theory).

CYAMON

not less than the old tattooings and brandings; they were a protection against harm¹ and probably also seemed health and good fortune (cp. *Larg. Cant.* 8.1).

For the literature of the subjects here treated of, see the works referred to under CIRCUMCISION, MOURNING, CUSTOMS, FROTHIES, SACRIFICE, etc. See also WRS *h* *Son*² ch. 9, and the authorities there cited; f. R. Taylor, *Prim. Cant.* 20. 1. 16.

CYAMON (קְיָמוֹן [B&V], *qammon* [Vg.]; מִיָּמֹן [Syr.], 'which is over against Eshaddon' (Judith 7.1), looks like a corruption of JOKIAM or (Moses) JOKIAM. Rahmou, however, noting that קְיָמוֹן means 'beehive', identifies it with the modern *El Endh*, 'the beehive', on the plain itself but 'over against' the city 'of Jericho.' Cp. *Bar. Ps.* 210. The name Cyamon should probably be retained in Judith 4.4 for Kura [B]. See K&N VI.

CYLINDER (מִלְכָּה, *milka*, RV 10.6. See RING.

CYMBALS. For 1 Ch 13.1, etc. (מִצְלִיחִים, 2 S. 6.5 Ps. 150. (2) (3), and for 1 Cor. 13.1 (κρουσάλοι) see MUSIC, § 1.61.

CYPRESS, RV Holm TREE (קִרְסָה, Is. 41.19), a tree which in the single passage where it occurs is coupled with the oak. The Hebrew *qirsa* does not appear in any cognate language, but may be connected with Ar. *qirsa*, 'to be hard'. LXX and Pesh. omit the word; Aq. and Th. render ἀγριοκάρπος ('wild-iron?'). Vg. has *ilva*, which is defended by Celsus (2.40.16), and has been widely adopted by our revisers. It is difficult, however, to be certain; for the evergreen oak (*Quercus ilex*), 1. 11. at the present day is in Palestine (*LEP* 412). The heavy, hard nature of its wood would harmonise well with the probable etymology of *qirsa*. 'Cypress' (perhaps a mere guess) comes from the Geneva Bible. David Kiuchi and others thought that what was meant was the fir tree; Luther preferred the beech. Cheyne (Is. 41.19, Heb.) thinks קִרְסָה corrupt, and with Gr., reads קִרְסָה (see PRIN).

For Cant. 1.11 Vg. see CYPRINE (so AV); and for Is. 41.19 RV 10.6, see Box Text [so LXX].

CYPRUS (ΚΥΠΡΟΣ, Is. 24.15), the third largest island of the Mediterranean, placed in the angle between the coast of Syria and that of Asia Minor (Strabo, 681), called ALASH in the Amarna letters, where its copper is specially referred to (so E. Meyer, Petrie, etc.), 'Ash' by the Egyptians, Yavnam by the Assyrians, and KITTIM (גִּי־צִי־וֹן) by the Hebrews. Its physical structure is simple.

1. Description. It consists of a central plain running across the island from E. to W., bounded by a long mountain ridge to the N., and by a broader mountain district to the S.

The central plain was likened in antiquity to the valley of the Nile, being flooded annually by the P. rivers, who held rich deposits of mud. Strabo sketches the productivity of Cyprus (*Is.* 4. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

By situation, climate, and productions, Cyprus belongs to all the three surrounding continents, and historically it has constantly shared in their vicissitudes. It is most accessible from the E. and the S., and, lying right over against Syria, was early visited by the Phoenicians, who founded Amathus, Paphos, and Citium, the

¹ The Tg. on 1 S. 13. 14. takes Saul's bracelet for a *qirshah* - i.e., an amulet. The Hexag. on Ezek. 13. 1. gives *qirshah* as a 'Hebrew' or 'Jewish' interpretation of קִרְסָה (V. 'pillows,' see *Is.* 22. 1), which is connected with Ass. *qirsa*, 'to be hard.' The R. P. (Falm. 89. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

² We should perhaps associate with this Syr. *qirsa*, 'to be straight.'

CYPRUS

last, the Phoenician capital, giving its name to the whole island.

The Phoenicians are not, however, the earliest inhabitants of Cyprus. They found in possession a people closely connected, as their art and

2. History. alphabet show, with the primitive race of Asia Minor (for WMM's theory see KITTIM, and cp. *Is. 46. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 1*

Cyprus
the island;
the Roman
be an im-
age, its
not rather
before the
Σεβαστεία
I always
δοκῆτας
Acts 13:
καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν
ἡ Κορνήλιον
(ITIM).

See P. Gardner, *Archæology in Co. Hist.* 153 &c. For excavations in the island *HIS* pass. For Burial and Church, *See* *in* *Thru. and Cyprus*. For the archaeology Max Oschelski in *Richer, Kyrie, die R&H in Homer* is especially valuable. For Christian times the most recent work is Hackett's *History of the Church in Cyprus*, 1899.

W. J. W.

the island province of *Byzantion*, on the E. of the gulf of *Byzantion*, marks the ancient Cyrene, and in this province *Cyrenaché* marks the exact site of Cyrene, which was placed on the edge of a plateau 1200 feet above the level of the sea, overlooking the Mediterranean at a distance of ten miles (Str. 8. 37; *παλιναί γῆραις ἐν τραπεζοειδί μεθρ κεραιῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἰσχυρὸν αἰὶός ἐστι*). The port was called Apollonia. The surrounding district was, and is, of remarkable fertility (Str. 4. 2; *ἡ γὰρ ἡμετέρα γῆ, καλλικάρπια*; Herod. 4. 187). The province of Cyrene was used upon its export of the drug *silphium*, derived from an umbelliferous plant, not yet certainly identified,

beyond question. Jason of Cyrene is mentioned as an

at 1600 cm⁻¹ and 1700 cm⁻¹ are characteristic of the carbonyl groups in the polyimide. The IR spectra of the polyimide film and the polyimide powder are shown in Figure 1. The IR spectra of the polyimide film and the polyimide powder are very similar, indicating that the polyimide film is well formed.

CYRUS (כִּיּוּס; κύριος [B.M.], the founder of the

He was the second¹ of his name, his grandfather being named *Don* *Antonio* *de* *Albuquerque*.

In Herod. 7.11, from which Nöldeke (*Indifer zur pers.*, 4, 17) seeks to show that Cyrus was the grandfather of Darius, Herodotus simply places the genealogy of Cambyses and Cyrus in the past.

3 See C. P. F. Piehl, 'Het I and Aischan-Aznan' in *Westbündel* (1900) *P. I. I. et c.*, 195 ff. (Leyden, 1904).

CYRUS

have attended the Median court, and that either he himself or his father was son-in-law of Astyages.¹

Astyages (*Uštairēgu* on the inscriptions of Nabū-nā'id) is called at one time king of Media, at another king of the *Ummān-manda*,² by which it has been conjectured, are meant the Scythians. On

2. Career. this assumption, Astyages might with some reason be regarded as a Scythian usurper. In the third year of Nabū-nā'id (553 B.C.) there seems to have arisen within the Median kingdom a revolt against the foreign domination. At least, at that date the *Ummān-manda* who were in occupation of Harrān were recalled (5 Rawl. 64, 1. 28 ff.). Some time had still to elapse, however, before Cyrus contrived, by treachery in the Median camp, to become master of Astyages and at the same time of the throne of Media. This happened probably in the sixth, or at all events before the seventh, year of Nabū-nā'id (before 550 B.C.). (*Ann.* col. 2, 1. 1 ff.). The two texts cited can hardly otherwise be brought into agreement with each other. In the following years Cyrus extended his dominion over the whole Median empire, and after subjugating Lydia he directed his energies against Babylon. By the fall of Crœsus the alliance between that monarch, Nabū-nā'id, and Amasis of Egypt (Herod. 1.77 ff.) was broken up, and each one had to look out for himself. In 538 the end came. For several years the king of Babylon had withdrawn himself from Babylon, and alienated priests and people alike by neglect of the sacred feasts and of the worship of Marduk, as well as by other arbitrary proceedings. When, in his seventeenth year, he returned to his capital, it was already too late. Cyrus with his victorious bands had been steadily advancing upon the northern frontier of Accad, which the king's son, probably the Bi-Sar-usur who (in 1 R 69, col. 2, 20; 59 and 68, n. 1, col. 2, 24 ff.) is called his first-born, was guarding with the army. The brave prince did what he could; but after his army had been defeated—first near the city of Opis (Upa), and again as often as he rallied it—and after the Accadians or North Babylonians had revolted against the Chaldean king, Sippar opened its gates to the enemy, and Babylon also fell into his hands without further resistance. After Gobryas (Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, had taken possession with the vanguard, Cyrus himself made his entry into the city with the main body of his troops on the third day of the eighth month, 539-38, being received (so at least his inscriptions tell us) by all classes, and especially by the priesthood and nobles, as a liberator, with every manifestation of joy. Some days afterwards Gobryas seems to have pursued Bel-sur-usur and put him to death; but the place where decipherers think this ought to be read (*Ann.* col. 3, 22 ff.) is very much injured. Nabū-nā'id had already been captured. Cyrus reigned about nine years from this time. In his last year he handed over the sovereignty of Babylon to his son Cambyses (see Strassmaier, *Inscriptionen von Cambyses*, Leipzig, 1890, Pref.). Cp BABYLONIA, § 69.

Under the name of Kōrēš (see above, § 1), this Cyrus is repeatedly referred to in the OT, usually as 'king of the Persians' (2 Ch. 36.22 ff., Ezra 1.1 ff., 8.37 43 Dan. 10.1), once as 'the Persian' (Dan. 6.29), once as 'king of Babylon' (Ezra 5.13). Great expectations were cherished of him by the Jews. When, after his defeat of Crœsus, he advanced to the conquest of the whole of Asia Minor, there arose one of the exiles in Babylon, who pointed him out as the king raised up by Yahwē to be Israel's redeemer. From his pen comes Is. 40-48 (so much will be admitted by all critics, where Cyrus is represented as expressly called to accomplish the divine judgment upon Babylon,

¹ See S. hubert, *Le. 62 ff.*, and the works of Evers and Bauer there referred to.

² Del. *Is. HTR*, writes: '*Ummān-manda*, horde of peoples, a general designation of the northern peoples, hostile to Assyria, subject at any one time to Media—e.g., the Gimirrai, the Mannai, the Scythians.' Cp Sayce, *PSBA*, Oct. 1896.

CYRUS

to set the captives free, and to restore Jerusalem at the temple (Is. 44.28 45.13). It was for this end we are told, that Yahwē had given Cyrus victory upon victory, and would still lead him on to fresh triumph (44.25 45.1-3). Whether he received recompense for his services or not is left uncertain (cp 43.1 ff. with 45.1-3), but at any rate he was no mere passive tool in Yahwē's hand. He did not, indeed, know Yahwē before he was called (45.1 ff.); but, once called, he fulfilled his mission, invoking Yahwē's name (44.25) and received the honorable titles of 'Yahwē's friend' and 'Yahwē's anointed' (44.28 45.1).

Bitter must have been the disappointment of the Jews; for, whatever else Cyrus may have done

for them, he did not realise the high-pitched expectations of the Exile prophet. Nevertheless, a younger prophet, living in Palestine (Isaiah, ii. § 21), announces that, for the deliverance of Israel, Yahwē alone will judge the nations, without allies from among 'the peoples' (Is. 63.1-6, cp 59.16 ff.), thus reversing the old expectation respecting Cyrus. The later Jews, however, found it difficult to believe that the deliverance which Yahwē was to have wrought through the instrumentality of the great Persian king had never been accomplished. The prophecy must somehow or other have come to pass. Cyrus was regarded, it is true, as the man who had finally delivered Israel—the deliverance was still one of the hopes of the future—but the Jews desired to recognise in him, at least, the initiator of the restoration of Israel. Such a reflection inevitably suggested by a strictly critical reading of the work of the Chronicler (see EZRA, § 7).

The restoration of Israel might be considered to have begun with the rebuilding of the temple, and

5. Building of the Temple: three versions. a problem now arose, how to bring the event into connection with Cyrus, who, at this time, difficulty instantly presented itself.

(a) According to the evidence of Haggai, of Zech. 1-8 and of Ezra 5.1-16, the building was first begun under Darius, in whose reign it was completed. This made it necessary to give another account of the origin and course of the building, if any work was to be attributed to Cyrus. More than one way of effecting this was found. (b) According to the author of Ezra 5.13-17 6.3-5, Cyrus committed the task of rebuilding the temple to his governor Sheshbazzar, and the work thus begun by him was carried on without interruption till the reign of Darius. (c) The Chronicler, however, from whose hand we have Ezra 1.31-4.524, gives another version. He too has it that Cyrus ordered the restoration. The work was not taken in hand by the king himself; but permission was given by him to the exiles to return to Jerusalem for the purpose. Immediately on their arrival in the holy city they set up an altar and laid the foundations of the temple; but when Cyrus was still on the throne they were compelled to stop the work by order of the king himself, who had been stirred up by the adversaries of the Jews. Not till the second year of Darius could the building be resumed.

However widely these accounts may differ from one another in detail, they agree in stating that the restoration of the temple was originated by Cyrus, and in representing him as a worshipper of Yahwē, whom he recognised as the one true God. Yahwē is the God of heaven, who has bestowed universal empire upon Cyrus in order that he may restore the true worship in Jerusalem; the temple there is for Cyrus no more ordinary temple, of which there were so many, but the veritable House of God.

At the same time, the discrepancies which we find in the narratives b and c are by no means unimportant. According to the older (b), the building of the temple was entirely the work of Cyrus, which he caused to be carried on uninterruptedly, defraying the entire cost of

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of the royal treasury. According to the other (c), it was carried out at the instance of Cyrus; not by himself, however, but only by returned exiles, who, along with their comrades left behind in Babylon, contributed the expenses of the undertaking (140 268 f. 37). So far, indeed, is the restoration of the temple from being, according to this account, the work of Cyrus, that it is actually represented as broken off during his reign at his command. Probably the Jews in the long run found the idea unbearable, that the sanctuary should have been built by a foreigner, even though the foreigner was Cyrus, and therefore his share in the work was reduced by the Chronicler to more modest dimensions.

The importance of Cyrus for Israel lies less in anything he actually did for them than in the great expectations that he excited, expectations which in their turn exercised a great influence on the ideas ultimately formed by the Jews as to the earlier stages of their restoration after the misfortunes of the 'exile.' Cp ISRAEL, § 50; DISPERSION, § 5.

In the OT Cyrus is mentioned also in Dan. 6:28 [29] 10; in the first-cited passage as the successor of Darius, that is, of 'Darius the Mede' (Dan. 5:31 [61]). See DARIUS, I.

The preceding sketch of the result of a critical examination of the passages of the OT relating to Cyrus is not contradicted by anything contained in the inscriptions of Cyrus himself discovered some years ago.

It is certainly worthy of note how closely, even down to details, the representation of the Persian conqueror in these inscriptions agrees with that which is found in Is. 44:28 and 45:1. Evidently the second Isaiah had a correct idea of what a Persian king, as opposed to a Babylonian, would be likely to do. In the cylinder inscription (S R 35; cp Hagen, 'Cyrus-texte' in *Beitr. z. Assyriol.* 2, 205 ff., and *KB* 3:6 120 ff.) Cyrus is the deliverer of oppressed peoples, chosen by Marduk himself, and hailed by all Sumer and Accad as a saviour, exactly as with the Israelite prophet he is the called, the anointed, of Yahwé. A difference there is between the joyous hope which the Jewish exiles cherished and the official statements which Babylonian scribes at royal command had to chronicle on their cylinders; but the coincidences referred to are too close to be entirely accidental. Moreover, priests and people alike had reason enough to be dissatisfied with the arbitrariness and misgovernment of their former sovereign, and Cyrus, with fine political tact, knew how to utilise this temper and win hearts by deference towards the national religion, restraint of robbery and violence, and redress of grievances. No wonder that the Jewish exiles also hoped for enlargement at his hands. That he fulfilled this expectation does not appear at least from his inscriptions.

The passage in which some scholars have thought that this may be read demands another interpretation. In Cyl. I 11 the words *irtaki taaira kullat matata* were taken together and translated, 'he (Marduk) decreed return from all lands'; but it is certain that, with Hagen and Del., we must connect the words *irtaki taaira* with those which precede, and *kullat matata* with those

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which follow, so that the meaning is: 'After that Marduk, in his wrath, had brought all sorts of miseries upon the land [he changed this disposition] and had compassion. Round all lands he looked; he sought [and so found] as the right prince, the fulfiller of his gracious decrees, Cyrus, etc.' In this passage nothing is said of any restoration of exiles to their native land.

More interest attaches to the passage *L. 10 ff.*, where, however, the names on which the question chiefly turns are, unfortunately, obliterated. Here Cyrus says that he returned to their places the goals of a great many towns, brought together the inhabitants, and restored both temples and dwelling houses. The towns referred to were all named, and it was added that they lay on the banks of the Tigris,² and that their territory extended from [Acma in the text] to Assur and Susa (according to the correct interpretation of Delitzsch and Hagen), by which expressions are intended not the cities of the name but the countries of Assyria and West Flann (the city of Assur lay on the right bank of the river). The obliterated names (or names) can have denoted only the western and southern boundaries of the district referred to—probably Sumer and Accad, which are separately mentioned immediately afterwards. Accordingly, there can be no doubt that reference is here made to Cyrus's care for the restoration of neglected worship and for the return of the inhabitants of certain cities to their former habitations; this, however, only in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon. At the same time, although in these inscriptions, which doubtless belong to the earlier period of Cyrus's rule over Babylon, no mention is made of any general measure extending also to exiles from the West, there remains the possibility that the Persian conqueror may have taken up this work of restoration at a later time.³ At all events the conciliatory policy of which he had already given positive evidence can very well have aroused among the Jews the hope and expectation that they also would one day benefit by it.

The tomb of Cyrus 'the king, the Achæmênid,' at *Marzhab* (Pasargadae?) is now assigned by Weissbach (*DMG* 4863 f.) to the younger Cyrus. At any rate the Egyptian head-dress of the king on the monument shows that it can have been erected only after the conquest of Egypt by Cambyzes.

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¹ Probably the words *naahhir ka . . .* should be completed so as to read either *ka/bittaku* or *ka/ba-ba-ussu*. (So Fick.)

² The words *ka/ba-ba-ussu* are not clear. Schr. translates: 'whose place from of old lay in ruins'; Hagen, Del., 'founded in the most ancient time.' But does *nata* ever mean this? In our present inquiry the question is of subordinate importance.

³ (Cp the very interesting inscription in the last section of Briggs's *Hist. of Egypt* (the Persians in Egypt), which describes the religious patronism of an Egyptian Nephthys. The deceased is represented on his statue (now in the Vatican) as telling the events of the Persian period of his life. Being in high favour as a physician with Cambyzes, he was able to induce that monarch to give orders for the restoration of the temple of Neith at Saïs, and of the religious services. He was physician also to Darius, who, when he was in Elam, sent him to Egypt to restore the arrangements for the scribes of the temples. This last mission appears to synchronise with the erection of the (second) temple at Jerusalem. Cp. Meyer, *Entst. 71*; Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*.

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Kphrayēns, is not certain. Marnas is the Aramaic *marnā*, our Lord, and it is not impossible that the god worshipped under this appellation was, by his proper name, the old Dagon.

In the fragments of Berossus, one of the mythical monsters, part fish, part man, who at long intervals

2. Relation to other deities.

came up from the Persian Gulf to repeat to the Chaldeans the original revelation of Ormuz, is named Odacon (Ωδάκων);¹ and as, since Kuthi, a like form was generally attributed to Dagon, it was natural to combine the two names (Selden and many others). Layard published a figure of a merman from Khorsabad, and in a note suggested that it might represent Odacon-Dagon (*Newch.*, 18 p. 246 f.). Some later Assyriologists reproduce Layard's cut with the legend 'the fish-god Dagon.'²

There was a Babylonian god Dagan, whose name appears in conjunction with Anu and often with 'Namb'; he was, therefore, probably a god of heaven (Sayer, Jensen).³ As Sir Henry Rawlinson perceived, there is no connection whatever between the 1. Land Berossus' sea-monster, Odacon. Whether the 2. statue Dagon is originally the same as the Babylonian Dagan cannot, with our present knowledge, be determined. The long and profound influence of Babylonian-Palestine in early times, which is attested by the Assyrian tablets, makes it quite possible that Dagon, like Anath, came thence.⁴ Dagon, however, does not seem to have occupied a place of much importance in the Babylonian religion, and is much less often mentioned than the other great gods. The Assyrians did not recognise the name of the god Dagan in the town Beth-dagon, Bit-daganna (Sennacherib, *Prism Inscr.* 265), and possibly the similarity of the names may be accidental.

Of the worship of Dagon we know nothing. According to Is. 55 the priests and others entering his temple

3. Worship of Dagon.

at Ashdod were careful not to set foot on the sill (*Isaiah* 17); cp *Manc. Dial.* 76. What we learn from the best-named author about the worship of Marnas at Gaza, for example, that the god was invoked to send rain; that he gave oracles; that there were certain *marmas* in the temple which were peculiarly sacred, and guarded from the approach (especially of women); that there were wells in the temple precincts, is not distinctive. Whether human sacrifices were offered there in the writer's day may be doubted; the indictment in 66 68 may refer to an earlier time.

See Selden, *De diis Syris*, 73 with Beyer's *Addimenta*; Th. Koser, *Die Dämonen Philistinas* (Jahrb. in *Ugdon, Theophrastus*, 23055-60); Stark, *Gaza in der Philistische Kiste* (52), 235-250, cp 375-380; Schulz, *Götternamen* (77), 235-244; Bandmann, *art.* 'Dagon' in *RE* 6; Menant, 'Le mythe de Dagon', *Revue de l'Histoire des Relig.* 11 (1893) 305 ff.; Jensen, *Die Kosmogonie der Babylonier* (1900), 146, 447-450. G. A. S.

DAISAN (ΔΑΙΣΑΝ [B]). 1 *ESL* 5.17 = *Exra* 24. RIZIN, 2.

DALAIH (דַּלַּיָהּ), 1 *Ch.* 32.4 AV; RV *DELAIH*, 3.

DALAN (דַּלָּאן [A]). 1 *ESL* 5.17 RV = *Exra* 260, *DELAMH*, 4.

DALMANUTHA (ΤΑ ΜΕΡΗ ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΘΑ [Ti. WH]) takes the place in Mk. 8.1 of the MAGADAN (277) of Mt. 15.10. It was 'into the parts of Dalmanutha,' we are told (Mk. 8.1), that Jesus came in 'the boat' with his disciples after he had 'sent away about four thousand' whom he had fed. Since in 7.13

¹ Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 200.
² Schneider in Riehm, *Hilf R²* (cp *K'UT²* 1821; *Fr. Del. in Caldees Bib. Rev.* 25. See esp. Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon', *Revue de l'Histoire des Relig.* 11 (1893) 305 ff., where a great variety of Assyrian fish-men may be found.
³ According to the Heb. version of Tobit, Sennacherib was killed in the temple of his god Dagon (ed. Neubauer, p. 29, l. 4); but this is a mere blunder.
⁴ Cp the name *D-gantak-ki* in the Am. Tab., and see A. N. 1900 (col. 32, n. 2).

DALMATIA

he 'departed to the other side' (αὐτὸς τὸ πέραν), it has seemed natural to look for Dalmanutha on the W. coast of the lake. No such place, however, is known. The name does not appear in *Ens.* or *Ier.*; nor is there any trace of an analogy to it in any of the ancient itineraries or medieval travels.

Lightfoot's *Ducas Chorag.* in *Chorag.* 2 (p. 173, cp 178, *Posth.* 70) suggested that it might be an Aramaic form of Saladin, several times mentioned in Talmudic writings (Mishna, *Talmud*, 166, *Keth'ub.* 49; *Orlah.* 12; *Talm. Baba Bathra.* 82b) as it is in the neighbourhood of Tiberias; and similarly Iwadd (*Chet.* 11, 6, 4, n. 4) interprets it as the Galilean pronunciation of Saladin. Keim (*Chet.* 11, 12) takes it for Saladin, i.e., 'Shady Place.' Schwarz (*Das Hebr. Land*, 126) suggests that Dalmanutha, as another name for Magdala, may be derived from the cave of Talmud (*Chet.* 11, 12, *Jerns. Pema.* 2.), for which he proposes the caves on the cliff behind Magdala. Neubauer, however (*Chet.* 11, 12), says that this cave should be in the neighbourhood of Herod's Caesarea. Recently two other derivations from Aramaic have been proposed. Herz (*Chet.* 11, 12) (Sept. 1895) suggests that Dalmanutha is a translation of *דלמנא*, the emphatic form of *דלמ*, the Talmudic name for *harbun* (i.e., the bay or harb. in which Magdala stood), a designation 'one might expect of the evangelist whose gospel is founded on the preaching of Peter the fisherman.' Then Nestle (*Chet.* 11, 12), after pronouncing Herz's *דלמנא* an impossible form for the emphatic of *דלמ*, suggests *דלמנא* (i.e., *דלמ* + *נא*, 'into the parts' = *harb.* of Magdala). Herz replies (*Chet.* 11, 12) that *דלמנא* is possible in the locality of Talmud, translation and points out that in Nestle's suggestion the *נ* remains unaccounted for, as well as the intrusion of a needless Syriac equivalent of the Greek. Those who place Magdala on the S.W. shore of the lake have sought there for traces of the name, and Thomas (*Chet.* 11, 12) suggests a ruined site half a mile up the Armonik from the Jordan, called Dalmatia or Dalmania (*Reh.* 18, 324, *Dalmeniyeh*). For this is some distance from the lake. None of these derivations and identifications seems perfectly satisfactory. G. A. S.

DALMATIA (ΔΑΛΜΑΤΙΑ [Ti. WH]). *Lac.*, *Duc Cass.*, *Dalmatia*, *Inscr. Dalmat.* and *Dalmatia*. The name does not occur in early Greek writers. The Dalmatians are an Illyrian tribe, or perhaps rather a conglomeration of tribes, round the town Delmon or Delmum, from which their name was derived (Strabo, 315). They had fifty settlements (*κατοικίας δαλιμαίων*; but cp *Cic. ad Fam.* 5.12), of which some ranked as cities, e.g., Salona or Solona (mod. *Salona* near *Syracusa*). These titles had in earlier times been loosely accorded upon the rulers of Scodra (mod. *Skutari*), and therefore suffered from the Roman expeditions directed against Queen Teuta (229 B.C.) and Demetrius of Pharos (219 B.C.). On the accession of Octavius they revolted, and thus escaped the fate of southern Illyricum, which, on the subjugation of Macedonia, became permanently dependent upon Rome (see *ILLYRICUM*). Piracy and plunder were the only native trades (Str., 317). In 155 B.C. Publius Scipio Nasica took the capital, and the Dalmatians professed subjection. A series of almost endless wars had to be waged before this central part of Illyricum was finally reduced by Octavius (13 B.C.). In the partition of provinces in 27 B.C. so powerful was Illyricum τὸ δαλιμαίων, *Duc Cass.* 53.12) that it was made senatorial; but sixteen years later the Emperor was compelled to take charge of its two main sections, Dalmatia and Pannonia (ed. 54.34). A final struggle for freedom (69 A.D.); cp *Suet.* *Tib.* 16, who compares the crisis with that of the Punic Wars) was crushed by Tiberius. The coastland from Tassus to the Arsia was thereafter organised as an independent province (for its importance, see *Lac. Ann.* 43). The title of the province was 'Superior Provincia Illyricum' (*ICIL* 3, 1741), or 'maior pars Illyrici' (Aell. ii, 125c). After Augustus' Dalmatia is apparently the more usual title (cp *Jos. R/* n. 164). Its northern boundary towards Pannonia is not clearly marked; in the S. it extended to the province of Macedonia. The mention of Dalmatia in the NT is confined to a single instance ('Titus is gone to Dalmatia,' perhaps from Nicopolis; 2 Tim. 4.10).

The connection may be illustrated from Tac. *Ann.* 2.11: *honorum (consulatus) Germanicus init apud urbem Achaiae*

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DAMASCUS

inevitable an emporium, Damascus was only less favourable a seat of empire. She has always been the natural capital of Lebanon and Eastern Palestine. As long as an Eastern power ruled, she remained the capital also of Syria; but during the Greek and Roman dominion (330 B.C. - 634 A.D.) she yielded her supremacy to Antioch.

The Arabs first made for Damascus, and then used her as the base of their Syrian conquests. Under the Umayyad Khalids she was the capital of the Moslem empire from Spain to India.

With so many communications Damascus has always been the home of a motley crowd: Syrians, Arabs, Greeks, and Kurds, with Turks and Jews.

5. Arts. Yet it has preserved, apparently through all ages, a very distinctive character for skill in handicrafts. Damascus, though it has never been a great school of letters, has always been a school of arts; even more a manufactory than a market or a garden. The English terms, *Damask* (originally any figured or patterned textile) and *Damascene blade*; the German *Damast* and *Damascieren* and *Damascener*; the French *Damassquiere* and *Damassquiere* (embossing on steel) are proofs of the inventiveness and technical skill of the people, which seem to reach back to a very remote time. In the middle ages Damascus was famous for its patterned and brocaded cloths, especially silks and wools (an inimitable perfection of work according to Idrisi); its glass, sword-blades, and embossed and enamelled metal-work. In the beginning of the Christian era, to 'carry wool to Damascus' was, according to the Talmud, a proverb, equivalent to our 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' Ezekiel (27:15) speaks of the city's exportation of wine and wool for the manufactures of Phoenicia (cp. Toy, *SBOT*, but see Cornill, *ad loc.*); 2 K. 8:9 mentions the 'goods of Damascus.' Abaz made a copy of its richly decorated altar (2 K. 16:10 ff.).

The extreme antiquity of Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* 1. 6:47-2) was a not unnatural inference from its perennial vigour throughout historical times.

6. Early History. Down to the eleventh century B.C., however, the references to it are few and uncertain.

A local tradition (found also in Nicolaus Dam. *Fr.* 30, *ab. Jos. Ant.* 1. 7:2) connects Damascus with Abraham; and there is some mention of it in the JE narrative of the patriarch's life (Gen. 14:15-21; see HORRIL, *ELIEZER*, 1). In the sixteenth century 'Damas' occurs as the thirteenth in the list of the Syrian conquests of Thothmes III. (*KT* 2:544); Timas-gi, Dimaš-ka-are read in the Amarna tablets (15th cent.) (13963, 11223). These tablets describe the invasion of N. Syria by the Hittites, before whom the Egyptian outposts had to give way, and for the next three centuries Damascus lay upon the vacillating frontier between the two powers. In the fourteenth century, Ramesses II. extended his conquests to Beirut and probably included Damascus. At the close of the thirteenth century, in lists of the conquests of Ramesses III., Sa-ra-ma-ski for 'Damas' (WMM *At. u. Eur.* 227) is mentioned. The addition of *r* to the name is taken (*ib.* 234) as proof that the regions of Damascus had meanwhile come under Aramean influence (but see ARAM), and so when at last they appear in the OT historical books, in the campaigns of David toward the end of the eleventh century, we find them possessed by a number of Aramean states, for the rise of which room had been made by the overthrow of the Hittites nearly a hundred years previously by Tiglath-pileser I. (*circa* 1106). The chief of these Aramean states was Sôlah (see DAVID, § 8 b) under King Hadadzer, to whose help against David came Aram of Dammešek (2 S. 8:5; cp. 1 Ch. 18:3). David,

It is not at all probable that Damascus had acquired a reputation for the manufacture of damask as early as the time of Amos, though RV of Am. 3:12 assumes this; 'Damask' and 'Damascus' may have no common time. In Ar. the forms are different—*dinaks* for the stuff, and *Dimaš* for the city. Probably (as Frankel, *Vordr.* 40, referred to by Driver, *ad loc.*) is of opinion) *dinaks* comes by metathesis from *mīdaks*. On Am. 3:12, see ARAM, § 5 n.; *ib.* § 5.

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after his victory, is said to have pointed garrisons in the territory of Damascus, but that these had no permanence is plain from what we hear of Resai ben Elhadad the freebooter, who came to Damascus, and dwelt there, and reigned in Damascus, and was a foe to Israel all the days of Solomon' (1 K. 11:35).

We have now reached the point at which Damascus becomes chief of the Aramean confederacy, and enters upon her first great period of political supremacy (*circa* 1000-733 B.C.). Her

history is articulate, and we have a pretty full, though not complete, list of her kings. Who Resai ben Elhadad (1 K. 11:35) was is disputed; probably (see, however, HIZION) he was the same as Hezion, father of Tabrimmon, father of the Ben-hadad (the adit, known as Ben-hadad I. who about 925 B.C. helped ASA 12:1) against Baasha (1 K. 15:16 ff.). It was perhaps the same Ben-hadad who, some twenty years later, defeated Omri and won the right of 'establishing quarters' (see TRAD. AND COMM. *KT*) in Samaria (1 K. 20:34; Nic. *Dam.* *Fr.* 31). The son of Ben-hadad I. (or Ben-hadad himself? See BEN-HADAD, § 2), whom also the OT calls Ben-hadad, but a contemporary inscription of Shalmaneser II. of Assyria (854 B.C.) calls Hadadzer (see, however, BEN-HADAD, § 2), besieged AMM (7:23) in Samaria, but was repulsed there and again at Aphek, on which Abab received the right to 'establish quarters for himself' in Damascus. In 854 the combined forces of N. Israel, Damascus, and other states were defeated at Karkar (see AMM) by Shalmaneser II., who again, in 850 and in 847, overthrew Ben-hadad. The Assyrian empire was thus steadily advancing on Damascus; but the latter was still the terror of Israel (2 K. 5:7, the story of Naaman), made regular raids over Jordan, and even besieged Samaria (2 K. 6:7; see JEROME, vii, 1) till Ben-hadad was drawn off by rumours of northern war. Disgraced by defeats

8. Hazael. so numerous, he was slain by HAZAEL (*circa*), at least if the text of 2 K. 8:13 is correct. Hazael then became king, and waged with Jehoram (*ib.* 28 ff.), also with Shalmaneser II., by whom he was defeated in 843 and in 840, the second time with the loss of four cities and much spoil out of Damascus. Still, he succeeded in depriving Jehu of all Israel's territory E. of Jordan, and in extending the dominion of Damascus southwards to the Arnon (2 K. 10:32; cp. Am. 1:3). He also took Gath, and was bought off from an invasion of Judah only by large tribute from Jehoshaphat (12:7 [1] ff.). Hazael and his son Ben-hadad III. (or II?) were able to oppress Israel through the reigns of Jehu's successors Jehuaz and Joash (2 K. 13:25), for under Sami-rimman the Assyrian armies did not cross the Euphrates (ASSYRIA, § 32), and Damascus was free for the time from the Northern terror. By 805 Assyria was again pressing towards Palestine, and in 803 King Mari

9. Mari. (Ben-hadad II.) of Damascus (see BEN-HADAD, § 3) was successfully besieged by Rimmanman III. This disaster to Damascus permitted JEROME II. (7:1) to recover the territory that Hazael had taken from Israel, and for a time Israel held part of the territory of Damascus (2 K. 11:25; not necessarily the city). In 773 Damascus again suffered from the Assyrians, who invaded the country also in 772, 767, 755, and 754 (ASSYRIA, § 32).

10. Rezin. It was the beginning of the end. In 743-740 Tiglath-pileser III. made his first Syrian campaign, and his annals (*KT* 2:1) contain the name Ra-sin-in (*mat*) Gar-imiri-su (*i.e.*, of Damascus) as paying tribute. This Ra-sin-in is the Rezin of the Syro-Israelitish war (see AMAZ, TAB. 11), whose invasion of Judah brought about an Assyrian intervention (2 K. 16:7 ff.). Perhaps the danger which now threatened Damascus was the occasion of the allusions to the city in Is. 17:1. In 743 Tiglath-pileser—whether before or after his subjection of N. Israel and the

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Philistine cities is not quite clear—defeated Rezin, shut him up in Damascus, cut down the plantations (see above, § 2) round the city (the numbers the trees at 13,520), took the city, executed Rezin, and carried the people into captivity (Sch. *OT* 12v. 7; cp 2 K. 16v). It was after this, in 732, that Abaz visited Damascus, and obtained the pattern of the altar which he saw there (*ib.* 10).

Up to this time Damascus had possessed great political influence; her confidence in herself, her power

11. Decline. of recuperation, and her military skill are amply proved by her restless energy in Syrian politics, even while she was bleeding from the reiterated attacks of Assyria. The blow which Tiglath-pileser inflicted, however, absolutely destroyed her political power. She seems to have been reduced to the same position as Samaria.

Shalmaneser IV., Sargon, and Sennacherib mention no king of Damascus in all their Syrian lists; and the only notice of the town for a century is in the Khorsabad inscription of Sargon, where (about the year 719) Damascus is said to have joined Arpad, Simirra (S. Zimwera), and Samaria in a league formed by Hamath against Assyria. The allied forces were crushed by Assyria at Karkar (*ib.* 257). Next century Damascus is omitted from the list of twenty-two kingdoms given by Esarhaddon.

She is not mentioned by the prophets, except in a doubtful passage of the Book of Jeremiah (19:22-27) where she is given over to fear and flight, and by Ezekiel who names her, only in passing, as a customer of Tyre (27:15) and a point of measurement for the Holy Land (40:48 ff.). If then important, she would be certainly occupied by Pharaoh Necho in 610 and Nebuchadnezzar in 604 ff.

Under the Persians Damascus was a seat of authority, and very prosperous (Strabo vi. 23).

Cambyses died there (Jos. *Ant.* vi. 22), and there Darius deposited his family and treasures before the battle of Issus, after which they were surrendered to Alexander's general Parmenio (Quint. Curt. 3:13). After an unsuccessful revolt the Greek supremacy was established (*ib.* 41), and there are extant coins of Alexander issued from the city.

At the death of Alexander, Syria with Phoenicia fell to Laomedon, the capital being Damascus (*ib.* 101).

12. Supplanted by Antioch. The western people, however, to whom Syria was now subject, required a centre near the Levant, and Damascus became second in Syria to Antioch, the upstart capital of the Seleucids.

The diminished importance of Damascus is well illustrated by the small part it plays, as contrasted with Antioch, in those books of the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xii. 1) which deal with the third and second centuries B.C. Its more natural connection with N. Syria than with S. kept Damascus in the hands of the Seleucids, even when Palestine and Phoenicia were held by the Ptolemies; but several times it fell to the latter; e.g., in 320 under Ptolemy I. (regained by Antigonus in 314); in 280 when Ptolemy II. probably occupied it (regained by Antiochus I. 263-262); in 215 when, however, it was only besieged by Ptolemy III. and relieved by Seleucus II. in 242 (cp Schürer, *Hist.* 3:45).

In the Books of the Maccabees Damascus is mentioned only as being twice visited by Jonathan (*viv.* 141 B.C.; 1 Macc. 11:62 12:32; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 531).

The kingdom of the Seleucids was divided in 111 B.C., and Damascus must have fallen with the southern part to Antiochus IX. or Kyzikenus (cp Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene, in Schür. *op. cit.* 67, and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 134). It was retained by Antiochus' son, and then fell to Demetrius Eucerus, and after his overthrow (*viv.* 85 B.C.) to Antiochus XII. or Dionysius, from whom it was transferred (though only for a short time) by Milesius, the governor of the citadel, and the populace, to his brother Philip (Jos. *ib.* 131).

Antiochus XII. was defeated by ARETAS (7:7), the Nabatean, and with Coele-syria Damascus continued

13. Roman times. in Arabian hands (though pressed hard by Alex. Jannæus *ib.* 153), and Ptolemy Memnus, against whom Queen Alexandra of Judaea [78-69 B.C.] sent her son Aristobolus (*ib.* 163; *BJ* i. 53) till the occupation in 65 by the Roman legions under Lollius and Metellus (*Ant.* xiv. 23; *BJ* i. 62), who were followed in 64 by Pompey.

After this the exact political position of Damascus is difficult to define.

DAN

Though Josephus does not know Damascus as a member of the Decapolis (he calls Scythopolis the greatest town of Galilee), the name is in Ptolemy's list (*Geog.* Under Coele-syria). Under Coele-syria (11:12 B.C.) there was a Roman commandant, Fabius, Damascus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 117 12:1; *BJ* i. 121 13:1), and Nabateans appear to have been driven to the E. and to S. of Hamath. Somewhere about 18 B.C. Mark Antony Cleopatra 'Coele-syria' and parts of the Judean and Arab territories (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 344 13:1; *BJ* i. 85); she visited Damascus, and we have coins of 37, 36, and 35 that were struck in her honour, though other coins of about the same date do not bear any mark of her (De Saulcy, *Numism. de la Terre Sainte* 30 ff.).

In 31 B.C. occurred the battle of Actium, and Damascus coins bear till 33 A.D. the names of Augustus and Tiberius, under the latter of whom the Damascus had a dispute with the Sidonians about their boundaries (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 61), a fact which shows how extensive their territory must have been (Schürer, 68). The name, however, no coins of Caligula nor of Claudius, nor any of Nero till his ninth year in 63. It was during this time that the apostle Paul tells us (see *Ant.* 13:1) that not the Romans but 'an ethnarch under Aretas' king held the city of the Damascenes' (a form of expression which betrays the fact that it was usual to think of Damascus as an independent city); see EUSEBIUS.

We do not know to what degree power in Damascus passed from the Romans to the Nabatean king. Nor, indeed, whether Rome actually held it then (cp Schürer, *III* 2 356 ff. 360). M'Guffert, *1890*, 125, 126 n. 2). At any rate, the city was under Rome in Nero's reign (84-68 A.D.); but the Nabateans continued to hold the neighbourhood to the east till 106, when Trajan brought their whole kingdom into the Empire. Under Hadrian and his successors Damascus bore the title *metropolis* (De Saulcy, 37 ff.), under Alexander Severus *colonia* (*ib.* 43).

Under both Romans and Byzantines the city continued to flourish; yet so long as these Westerners ruled Syria she was only second to Antioch; and it was not

14. Under Islam. the Moslem invasion—they took Damascus in 634, Antioch in 635—that the city in the desert resumed the first rank, and the city on the Levant began to decline. For a century, 650-750, Damascus had the Khilafate under the Omayyads; she was never taken by the Crusaders, whose pivot was Antioch; she was the capital of Saladin, and being found to Mecca by the Hajj, who starts from her gates, she has kept her place in the regard of Islam, while her fertility and her unique position have enabled her to survive the depopulations to which she has been subjected by conquerors like Timur, and the awful pestilences with which she has again and again been infected by her annual connection with Mecca.

Besides the works mentioned above and general treatises on the history and geography of Syria, see NOÏS, *Annuaire* 1890, *Topographie Syrienne*, etc., Leipzig, 1890.

15. Literature. Maundrell's *Journey to Damascus*; Arnold's art. in *Proc.* 1890, and Nöldeke's art. Schenkel's *BLZ*; Rawlinson's *JR*, 3442-468; Porter, *Geogr. Journal* 269, 'Five Years in Damascus'; Kingslake's *Eastern*; Thomson's *Land and People*; G.A.S.M. *Rev.* chap. 30. G. A. S.

DAN (7:7 see below, § 1; *DAN* [BAI]; gentilic *Danite*, 7:7; *DANAI* [B], *DAN* [BAI], *DANAI* [B]

1. Name. [BNAI ch. 12:35], eponymous head of the tribe of the same name. The name, like many other tribal names, is obscure. It appears, however, to bear the same relation to the personal name Daniel and Abdim as the clan name Ram does to Jehoram and Abdim, or on the other hand Jacob and Joseph to two ancient town names ending in -el (see JACOB, *Joseph*, § 1). It is therefore no doubt a divine title, 'judge' (i.e., 'deliverer'?). Cp. the Assyrian repeatedly recurring royal name Asur-dan, 'Asur is judge' (cp Nabudan) and the name of Shalmaneser II., a general Dayan-Asur, as also the epithet *dānu* (*deliverer*) applied to the sun-god (cp SAMSON, § 1) and the moon-god.

Dan is apparently etymologically related to the name of another Israelitish tribe of whose history still less is known (see DINAN); but it would be less safe to assume any etymological connection with Midian. The meaning of the name was not quite forgotten appears, e.g., from the popular derivation in Gen. 30:6 (E) and the paronomasia in Gen. 49:16 (J), although the latter passage applies the epithet to the tribe itself, not to its god.

DAN

The verb *dan* is used quite freely, not only in the earlier literature (1.1.1, 1.1.4, 1.3.1) but also (especially) in the 'style manuals' (cf. 1.1.3, 1.3.1); so also the derivatives; but, as in the case of other old Semitic names, the root does not seem to have been used in the formation of proper names in later times (see A. V. A. S. 1.3.26, etc.). Its place among apparently taken by the synonymous *ḥaphat* (see 1.2.10) is not clear, which on the whole prevailed in Hebrew and Phoenician, while less used in Assyrian and not certainly used at all in the southern Semitic dialects where *dan* continued to prevail.

Dan evidently belonged to the N-Joseph group of Israelitish claus. Not, however, in the same sense

2. Relations to other tribes.

than Joseph, as the patriarch stories represent (see BILHAM). If so, the onward pressure of Joseph, though probably not hostile, may have co-operated with the other influences that prevented it from settling permanently in central Palestine, though the apparent southward movement of the Danites from Zorah-Eshlath to Kaphath-jearim (Judg. 1812) could not well be quoted in support of such a possibility (see MAHANEH DANA). Whilst Dan, if it was a prehistoric clan of the same or a kindred stock (it is called indeed clanger of Leah), but Dan took as its priest a Levite of Judah, suffered the fate of absorption (see DANAH, Dan, though it may have allied itself with Joseph for a time, was eventually compelled by its own energy and the force of circumstances to emigrate, just as perhaps the other Leah tribes emigrated in the opposite direction). If Dan was not older than Joseph, it must be regarded as an unsuccessful precursor of ISRAELIN (q.v., § 1 f.; so Stedeh).

The earliest mention of the tribe is in the 'Song of Deborah.' The poet upbraids Dan for seeking

3. Contempo- rary references to Dan.

field' (see NATURAL). This reference to ships is obscure. It has been interpreted of the southern seat of the tribe,¹ but its proximity and resemblance to the phrase about Asher seems to suggest that the tribe is thought of as in its northern seat (so Moore and Bin, *ad loc.*)

The expression used of Dan is quite unique. One shrinks from drawing any definite conclusion from the passage. If the text is sound, it may mean that Dan was, like Asher, though not so much, a less extant (1879), under the sway of Thracian influence. It is much more likely, however, to have been involved with the Arameans than with the Phoenicians; for although Tell el-Kadi is fully 40 m. distant from Damascus, energetic in extending its influence in the Palestine hinterland (see DANAMASCUS, § 4). Although we do not reason to suppose that the Aramean element represented by such Song of Deborah. However that may be, in time at least the Arameans made their influence felt very decidedly. We relations with Israel; but it may well be doubted whether there ever was a stable or even a definite line between their respective domains. The population of the border region seems to have been largely Aramean. Benhadad I. had no difficulty in seizing Dan and other places in its neighbourhood, and it does not appear whether Israel was ever able politically to assert serious, or at least a lasting, claim to them. The fact that the operations of Tiglath-pileser III. (c. 735 years later), in suppression of the plot of Rezin and his accomplice Pekah, were confined to this same district, would be accounted for if it were more unequivocally connected with Damascus than the rest of Israel was (so Winkler).

¹ Noldeke suggests (in a private communication) that it is not inconceivable that members of the tribe may have taken to fishing.

2. ² מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה might easily arise by transposition from מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה (the suggestion was made also by Bu. *Ki Sa.* 16, n. 2, followed by Marq. *Fund.* 7; cf. Ki. *Gesch.* i. 24, n. 1. Bu. has since abandoned it; *KHC*, and *loc.*). מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה , however, occurs oftener in the phrase מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה and N. מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה argues that neither of the districts in which Dan was settled contained such pastures. ³ מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה need not be quite so definite in meaning; but if we accept מִן־הַבְּרִיָּה , this would presuppose the Son's having been committed to, or living some time before the blessing of Jacob was brought into its present form (cf. Gen. 49 13).

DAN

When I wrote Dan was still indeed honoured (2 S 20:1 &), but possibly somewhat as a survival of a time gone by, it was not had to be a living force in Israel. Balfanz was but a concubine (Gen. 35:22). It must not, however, be inferred, from the fact that the Blessing of Jacob, says Dan judges as people *like* an Israelite tribe (Gen. 49:17), that, when the Blessing took shape, Dan was felt to be hardly more truly a part of genuine Israel at all. It is clear, from the early authority referred to above (2 S. 20:1 &), that the city of Dan was proverbial as a well known home of genuine old Israelite ideas and practices, which is the more credible that we are told that its priest trained their origin to Moses himself (Judg. 18:30). We need not wonder, then, if the importance of this sanctuary was formally acknowledged in some way or otherwise (Gen. 49:18, & 1 K. 15: Jerusalem 1 [2]). The N settlement of Dan, however, perhaps did not amount to much more than the town of that name. Nor need the repeated mention of the town in the standing phrase "from Dan to Beersheba," which not unaturally suggests that it had some importance, have really had any political significance. Both places may have owed their celebrity to their ancient sanctuaries.

This may perhaps help us to understand the preservation of such an unexplained echo in the popular legend as we find in the latter part of Judges, unless connected with the stories of the Samson cycle are quite as much connected with the geographical distribution of Zaidi, etc. (p. the mention of a geographical distribution in that neighbourhood at least as early as Kautsky's *Die Vögel Afrikas*, 1891, p. 117 ff. in the same way, S. SAYMONS) as with any particular Israelitish tribe; they may indeed, Hebrew *שִׁמְשֹׁן* in Judges 16,3 is correct, and may be thought to have some relation to the stories of SHAMSHAN and SHAMGAR (27,7).

In Amos's time the northern Dan still ranked with Bethel (2 So IV, *ad loc.*) and Beersheba as a representative sanctuary (Am. 8.14; on the trading cp AMOS, § 201; but, whatever it was then, the treacherous time which ended with the fall of the N. kingdom (2 K. 15.29) and the changed conditions which resulted must have profoundly modified the position even of an ancient sanctuary town. This would perhaps account for the absence of all mention of it from P's geographical scheme. Still, even in the days of Jeremiah, although the phrase 'Dan to Beersheba' had given place to 'Geba to Beersheba' (2 K. 23.5), an invasion was felt to be begun when the enemy passed Dan (Jer. 41.8.16).

4. Traditions. All the more noteworthy is the abundance of traditions about the tribe. These are of two kinds. First, the legends of the

4. Traditions.

These are of two kinds. First there are the stories which, after circulating orally for many generations, were eventually committed to writing, and afterwards given so large a place in the latter portion of our present Book of Judges (*q.v.*, § 16). These are among the best-known of the traditions of Israel. Then there are the most valuable fragmentary notices in *Josh. 13-14*,³ *Judg. 1-34* *f.* – were scraps rescued from what the pre-exilic histories had to tell of the fortunes of this tribe from the 'Blessings' (see below, § 8). All these traditions, however, – both those that may fairly be treated as historical in their nature, and those that are mainly legendary – deal with two closely related points, the struggles which the tribe had with its two Israelite neighbours, and its migration northwards.

him, it would seem, made the attempt to push its way down from the highlands of Ephraim (see above, § 2) into the territory still completely dominated by the

¹ On the true reading, see MANASSEH.

2. This phrase rarely occurs (only seven times (all between July 20 and 1 K. 125 [53]), and in certain of these passages it may be suspected of being late). The Chronicler (perhaps naturally) prefers the reverse order (Beersheba to Dun 1 Ch. 212 [2 Ch. 242], Dun to Beersheba 2 Ch. 30 [5]). See *Ephraïm*, Dec. 198, pp. 411-420 (Ch Dun to Beersheba; the literary history of the phrase, and the historical problems it raises).

been ditto-graphed from the preceding *vouv*.

CHAMUS. Whether it at first succeeded (Josh. 19:47a,

5. Attempts to settle.

if we read α and β and a K. 6 q) and then was driven back (Judg. 1:14) by the Philistines (cp Bu. *Rt. Sa.* 18, n. 1) or—since it is difficult to see how 'Philistines' could be changed, editorially or by a gloss, to Amorites—by the Amorites (Judg. 1:34/1), or whether it never really established itself at all satisfactorily to the SW. of Ephraim, being forced back before it had really settled, we can hardly say. On some grounds it would perhaps seem probable rather that it separated quite late from Ephraim or that it settled for some considerable time. Otherwise we should perhaps hardly have such clear traditions of the incidents of the subsequent migration (contrast the legendary character of the Samson stories); although it is not at all clear what the history of these traditions is (see above, § 4). In any case, it seems pretty clear that the main strength of the clan (α) migrated northwards, but did not some remain? Probably.

Not so much because the MT represents the two fighting men as being *some* of the clan (Judg. 18:11; α 'clans, *byways*) of Dan (for the partitive preposition α , which here has the same letter not only after it but also before it, might very well be due to dittography), nor perhaps because the existence of a remnant is needed to explain the copious traditions of the early fortunes of the tribe already referred to (see also below), but because it is difficult otherwise to account for the priestly writer assigning it solely to the southern territory.

Those who remained, however, seem hardly to have been able to make good a separate tribal existence; for it was, according to J, not Dan, but the house of Joseph, that finally gained the upper hand over the Canaanites (Judg. 1:35)—whatever that may refer to (see Bu. *Rt. Sa.* 18, n. 2).

According to Josh. 19:47 (emended text), the border of the children of Dan was too narrow for them, and so

6. Migration.

they went up and fought against Leshem (Leshan?) and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan. It is possibly the same writer who explains in Judg. 1:34 that the overcrowding of Dan was because 'the Amorite' forced them into the hill country. This Dan (see next article) became, as we have seen, if it was not already, a famous sanctuary, and it is not surprising that the story of its incorporation into Israel was a favourite with those who put into literary form the traditions of Israel's early days.

Many as are the obscurities of the narrative as we now have it in Judg. 17 ff., one thing is clear: several hands have worked at it (see J. 1961, § 13). A deputation of Danites, after consulting a priest in Mount Ephraim, and a roving district, easy of attack, in the far north, and return to Zorah to conduct their tribesmen thither. On the route they manage in one way or another to get the priest they had consulted to accompany them with the image he tended, which, having settled in their new home, they constitute their national palladium.

The main points in this story must be facts. How long the sanctuary maintained itself we do not know

7. Cycle of legends.

exactly (see the two independent representations in Judg. 18:30 ff., and cp SHILOH, JONATHAN, 1). Of a very different character are the stories that have gathered round the name of Samson; but they are more naturally treated elsewhere, the more so that we cannot be quite sure how far they are really to be regarded as Israelite in any ordinary sense, not to say Danite. See SAMSON.

Whether the metaphors of the serpent (Gen. 49:17) and the lion's whelp (Dt. 33:22) in the several 'Blessings'

8. Later writings.

are simply later echoes perpetuating the memory of the famous raid on Leshem, or whether they point to a repetition of such raids by this lion-city itself (Stade, *GVV* 163), we do not know; the latter is not perhaps unlikely.¹

¹ The metaphor of the serpent on the way, biting the horse's heels and throwing the rider backwards, has been supposed to refer to embarrassment of the Arameans in their wars with Israel.

At a later date, indeed, these references came to be interpreted of the southern Dan (Carg. Ch. 1, and of Samson in particular (Carg. Jon. and Jous.). The latter, however, that P has nothing whatever to tell us of the territory of the N. Danites, perhaps shows how this might come about. On the other hand, the etiological sense in which the words are explained is remarkable in view of the ill odour that attached to the name of Dan in later times (see below, § 9).

What the outlines of the district assigned by P to Dan were, P nowhere states; perhaps he was hazy, unable to formulate any top. the case of Simeon, Josh. 19:60. That he meant them to be inferred from the account of the adjacent tribes (Benjamin, Judah, Ephraim) is possible; but he is not usually afraid of repetition. Of the sixteen (in MT seventeen) places which P assigns to Dan, eight may be regarded as identified beyond reasonable doubt (see ZORAH, SHILOH, BETH-SHEMER, AJALON, TIMNATH, EKKO, JETHO, BETH-BURAK), while MI-JARKON (7:7), and see RABKON, MAKAZ) must probably be sought in the neighbourhood of *Ras el-Lith*. In Josh. 15 the same writer assigns not only Timnah (7:37) and Ekro (7:45), which are historically best known as Philistine cities, but also Zorah and Eshtai, where if anywhere the Danites were settled, to JUDAH.²

Still less to be trusted is the account of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 122, end), which, likewise ignoring altogether the N. Dan, actually makes S. Dan extend as far N. as Dor and as far S. as Ashdod. Though P 10 presents Dan as, next to Judah, the largest tribe at the end of the nomadic period (Nu. 26:43), both P and the Chronicler³ tend otherwise to give the tribe the scantiest possible consideration. In Joshua is the last to have its lot assigned it (19:40 ff.). The Dan fragment is the last of those collected in Judg. (2:34 ff.). The tribe stands last in the list in 1 Ch. 27:6-22. In Rev. (chap. 7) it is omitted altogether (see below, § 9), and the same fate seems to have befallen it in the genealogical lists in 1 Ch. 2 ff.⁴ In the form of the list now appearing in Gen. 46:23 = Nu. 26:42⁵ (both P), indeed, Dan is credited with an family; but one cannot be quite sure that the statement may not be a very late addition founded on the notion (propounded in modern times by Bertheau, *ad loc.*) that Alter (= 'another') in 'HUSHTIM, the sons of Alter' (1 Ch. 7:12b), was a circumlocution for Dan rather than a corruption of Ahijah or some other name (see BEN-JAMIN, § 9, ii. a). At all events, the omission of a Dan list from his lists by the Chronicler would be n

¹ It might indeed be argued from four of P's lists of tribes—the two census lists (Nu. 1:20 ff. 26), and the two camp lists (2:10-10)—that Dan is regarded as a northern tribe, being grouped in a triplet with Asher and Naphtali. But (i) it is immediately preceded by Benjamin, and (2) in the list of tribal representatives who took part in the census Gad is not, as in the census and camp lists, oddly classed with Reuben and Simeon, but with the triplet in question; that is to say, the four concubine tribes are taken together.

² On the other hand, the Chronicler probably did not really mean to make Gath-rimmon Ephraimite (1 Ch. 6:69 154b); see text note but one.

³ A peculiar fact is that P makes the associate of Bezalel of Judah in the construction of the tabernacle a Danite (Ex. 31:2), whilst the Chronicler makes Hiram-abi, who had the same position in the work of Solomon's temple, a man of Tyre whose mother was of Dan (but see 1 K. 7:14, with Klo.'s note, and HIRAM-ABI). P makes the mother of the man who 'blasphemed the Name' son of a woman of Dan by an Egyptian (Lev. 24:10 ff.).

⁴ In the Chronicler's list of tribes in which Levitical cities were appointed (1 Ch. 6:54 151 ff.) Dan appears to be omitted, but 7:1 146 is obviously corrupt. A comparison with its source in Josh. 21:20-20 [P] shows that the name of Dan has dropped out, whilst the fact that Ephraim also, though preserved by α in 1 Ch. 6:61 146, is dropped in MT shows that the omission is not intentional. It has accordingly been restored by Klo. in *HS* and Ki. in *SRD*. In the enumeration of the towns by name farther down (22: 67 [52]-87 [66]) Dan is again omitted (this time without the company of Ephraim); but the probable explanation of this omission of Dan is that either the Chronicler or some copyist has accidentally omitted Josh. 21:21; for the consequence is that 7:24 is copied as if it belonged to 7:22, Aijalon and Gath-rimmon being assigned to Ephraim, and the Kohathite cities becoming eight, instead of ten, as stated above in 1 Ch. 6:1 141.

⁵ Ben-Jamin (1 Ch. 7:12b) = Shuham (2 Ch. 11:1).

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stranger than his omission of Zebulun, which has three families assigned to it by P in Gen. 49:14 = Nu. 26:26.

It is a fact, however, that in later times Dan was in dispute. In the Targums, indeed, as we have seen, the tribe is held to be extinct; but in Talmudic times this is changed. Thus *Midr. Rab.* on Num. declares that when Jeroboam's son from tribe Dan joined him so readily as Dan, it is the Talmud (*Shabbath* 100), accordingly, Dan represents idolatry.

Further, out of the very same passages so favourably interpreted in the Targums, there was evolved, in connection with Jer. 8:16, the remarkable notion (appearing in *Jer. 2:26*) that Beliar is in some peculiar way connected with the tribe, which, it is declared, will transgress against Levi and Judah; 'for in the Book of Enoch it is said that their ruler is Satan; and he will fight against Beliar.' With this is connected the tradition that the Antichrist is to come of the tribe of Dan. Already in Jer. (v. 30:2) we find the fancy. It may be in fact a fancy, that this is the explanation of the omission of Dan from the list of those that are sealed (Rev. 7:5-8).

DAN (דָּן, דָּנָן). 1. A city in the valley which belongs to Benjamin (Judg. 18:28); conquered by the Danites. It was the most northern city of Israel: note the phrase 'from Dan as far as Beersheba' (see above, 994, n. 21). Its original name was LAISH [לַיִשׁ], in Judg. 18:29, the change of name is accounted for. Historical references to it occur, not only in Judg. 18, but also in 2 S. 21a (where *paan* is appended to Dan by a singular error of the text; see DAN-PAAN); also in 1 K. 12:29 (golden calf), and 1 K. 15:26, and 2 Ch. 16:4 (Benhadad's invasion).

The reference to the name Dan in Gen. 14:14 need not, in the present writer's opinion, be counted; it is true, the city afterwards called Dan is meant, but the anachronism 'Dan' is simply a scribe's error for 'Laish'; the true text probably is, '... and pressed after them, he and his servants, as far as Laish, and smote them.'¹

One of the supposed arguments for the late date of Gen. 14 must therefore be abandoned; but this by no means involves regarding that strange narrative as historical. The anachronism in Dt. 31:6 remains.

The site of Dan has recently been fixed by G. A. Smith (*IBG*, 473, 480 f.) at Bānās, on the ground that the situation of Bānās is so much stronger than that of Tell el-Kādi (cp CYSARCA, § 7). The fact is undeniable, yet not decisive. From Judg. 18 we do not gather that Laish was a place of exceptional natural strength; its inhabitants were a peaceful folk, who trusted not in their fortress but in their remoteness from troublesome people like the Danites.

Theodore does not doubt favours our eminent geographer's view. 'The present Bānās,' he says, 'was called Dan,'² and even Jerome (on Ezek. 48:19 and on Am. 8:14) speaks of Dan as being where Bānās now is. The *Jerns. Targ.* too (on Gen. 14:14), calls Caesarea Philippi 'Dan of Caesarea'. These vague statements, however, do not carry much weight. On the other hand, Josephus (*Jnt.* i. 10:1 v. 31 viii. 54; *BJ* iv. 1) expressly says that Dan stood at the 'lesser fountain of the Jordan, in the plain of Sidon, a day's journey from that city, and that the plain around it was extremely fertile. Euseb. and Jer. (*OG* vi. 114-26 249-52) speak still more definitely. 'A village four miles distant from Paneas, on the road to Tyre; it was the boundary of Judea (*opior tpe* 'Ioudaia'), and at it the Jordan takes its rise.' Jerome adds: 'De quo et Jordanis flumen circumspicit a loco sortitus est nomen. For quippe *peior* (id est fluxum sine rivum) Hebraei vocant' (cp JORDAN). A glance at any handbook of geography will show what spot is here meant.

Four miles west of Bānās, in a well-watered district, is one of the two great fountains of the Jordan. It rises at the W. base of an extensive cup-shaped mound, called *Tell el-Kādi*. Now Kadi in Arabic and Dan in Hebrew both mean 'judge,' and the fountain bears a

¹ There is a corrupt duplication. Read (עֲרִיבִים) עֲרִיבִים, עֲרִיבִים עֲרִיבִים. עֲרִיבִים for עֲרִיבִים is due to Ball; but it is also the original of עֲרִיבִים. Niebuhr has already suspected a place-name in עֲרִיבִים. In fact, the Pask after עֲרִיבִים warns us that the text is doubtful. Ewald (*GI* 173) supposed that עֲרִיבִים was substituted late for עֲרִיבִים—an arbitrary and inadequate theory.

² On Jer. 4:15 (*Opera* (1770), 2433).

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name (Laishdan) which also may perhaps be an echo of the name of the old city. The very fact that Tell el-Kādi is now said to be unhealthy suggests one reason more for identifying it with Dan. For Josephus (*J* 19, 10) expressly says that the marshes of Lake Semichonitis (Heli) extend northwards as far as Haphne (Dan), where are the sources of the Little Jordan (*Ischelus*). Probably, however, in antiquity, when irrigation was better cared for, the place now called Tell el-Kādi was perfectly healthy. On the whole, the grounds of the proposed identification seem to the present writer to be strong. Robinson, Guérin, Porter, Lush, and Moore have given their support to the one theory.

Tell el-Kādi rises out of a dense jungle of thorn-bushes and rank weeds. Its circumference is about half a mile and its greatest elevation above the plain eighty feet. There are some traces of old foundations, and heaps of large stones on the top and on the S. part of the rim, where perhaps the citadel of a temple may have stood. There are also ruins in the plain a short distance N. of the hill. There are doubtless other remains, but they are now covered with grass and jungle (Porter).

See Rob. *RR*, 1:106; Guérin, *Galler*, 2:127; G. A. Smith, *IBG*, loc. *TEK* Mem. 1:106; Bull. *Supp.* 47:1; Moore, *Judges*, 399.

2. For Dan in Ezek. 27:17 AV, see JAVAS, § 14.

L. K. I.

DANCE. 'There is a time to raise the death-wail and a time to dance,' says the Proverb (lxxl 34).

1. Among the ancients in Egypt, etc. We have not now to discuss the origin of the practice of dancing, nor its connection with funeral, as well as with festival, observances. We may assume that from a very early period it has been an expression of joy, and has been accompanied by music and song.

The musical instrument employed may be no better than a wooden drum;¹ but without some music there can be none of that rhythmic movement which we call dancing. The principal occasions of dancing are, in an ancient community, religious. If these assumptions are, as far as our evidence goes, true for Polynesia, still more obviously are they true for early Egypt and Babylonia. The happy-tempered Egyptians loved their various dances, and cultivated the art both in public and in private festivities, both in war and in peace; but the primary impulse was religious.² In Babylonia and Assyria, too, the art of dancing flourished. 'To dance' (*rakady*) is a synonym for 'to rejoice'; and so great was the demand for singers, music and singing naturally go together with dancing; that Hezekiah king of Judah was made to send singers as well as other women of the palace to Niniveh (Isa. Inscr. 390).³

Neither Egypt nor early Babylonia, however, can be presumed to have influenced the primitive Israelitish customs, except, indeed, through the

2. Among the Bedouin. Canaanites. Of much greater importance are our scanty notices of Arabian dancing.

What the Bedouin dancing is to-day can be seen as near to civilisation as Jericho. Wild as it is, it is not without rhythm and measure.⁴ There are also still some relics of the primitive religious dance. Besides the dancing at the merry Circumcision Feast (*muzaḥḥan*), combined with sacrifice, there is the well-known custom of 'circumambulating' the Ka'ba or Holy House at Mecca seven times. This procession is a true substitute for a very old heathen rite.⁵ The prince poet Imr-al-Kais likens a herd of wild kine (ox antelopes) to a group of girls, gown-clad, going swiftly round the

¹ Gill, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, 252.

² See Erman, *Egypt*, 206.

³ Correcting *KB* 2:47 by Del. *Ass. HWB* 257:6.

⁴ Cp. Douglas, *J. Des.* 130.

⁵ See We. *Ar. Handb.* 106, 165; and cp. Hesiod, *Thog.* 112 (the Muses dancing round the altar on Helicon); Thucyd. 4 10; Liv. 26:9; Verg. *En.* 8:285; Plut. *Thes.* 21, ἐχορῶν περὶ τοὺς κεράτια βαῖον.

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the first day men of piety and repute singing hymns, danced with torches in their hands. No one who has not seen this pageant, a proverb has seen true joy (*Seder Zeph*). Thus the severity of the Law could not extinguish the impulse in the Jewish people to add rhythmic movement.

There was, however, one kind of dancing against which wise men protested. It is no doubt of tawdry dancing-girls that Ben Sin is thinking when he warns his readers not to "use the company of a woman that is a singer" (Luch. 9:6). Hellenism, indeed, was even more dangerous morally than religiously. It is just possible, too, that when on Herod's birthday the dancers of Herodias came forward to amuse the guests (*id. rousaph. Mt. Hra. ep. Mk. 6:21*), the more stylish dancing was derived from the portentious soledance of the hired female dancers of a tawdry sort.

The few occasions in the Bible in which dancing is referred to may be said to have an interesting history.

7. Biblical references

7. **Biblical references.** It was not always necessary to mention that a happy event was celebrated by dancing, because early readers would supply this detail mentally for themselves. We are thankful, however, that the writers did sometimes mention the dancing, and that so they interpreted for us many other passages. Dancing was continually in request in Israelitish and in Jewish society after Matt. 11:17. Lk. 7:32-35. This has in Assyrian 'dancing' and 'rejoicing' were synonymous terms (Am. 7:15 Jerem. 31:18, 30:12). It is an improbable idea of Eyerer (*PKZ* 22) that there is a reference to a kind of square dance in Cant. 7:1-8 (שִׁיר הַדָּוָד שִׁיר הַדָּוָד; see MATHIAS). Much more safely may we suppose a reference to a sword-dance, such as Wetstein found as a part of the wedding ceremonies in Syria (cp. ANTIQ. 18, § 91). Dancing has, of course, always been popular at weddings; and the virgins in the parable who go out to meet the landlroom no doubt looked forward to a merry round dance. Modern Arabs still sing and dance with lighted torches on the day of a wedding. (Amos. 6:4, 8:14.)

Literature. *Die Sultat*; Spencer, *Die Sultat*, vol. II, pt. 1, 'Sahatio' in *Dts. v. Gk. und Rom. Antiqu.*; 'Tane' in *PKK*, 1:26. Riehm, *HWK*, 2:66 ff.; Wey-
stein, *Zeitung*, for Ethnol., 1871, p. 28 f.;
Franz Dietrichs, *Irr* (P. D.), 1872-6, 1:18-19, 'Aristocrat',
Eastern Customs, 270-271; Grove (Lilly), *Dawning* (95); K.
Koss, for *Land u. seine Gesch.* (99).

DANIEL (דָּנִיֵּאל, Kt.; Kt. דְּנִיֵּאל [Ba. and Vulgate],

² Ezek. 11:42-28:3; ³ Ezek. 28:34 [Ba. and Gussle]. Ezek. 11:42-28:3; ⁴ Ezek. 28:34. —*i.e.*, God is my judge, or, the defender of my right; ⁵ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ [ΔΑΝΑΦ]. The name ⁶ *Serit* occurs in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogüe, *La Serit centrale*, no. 93). On the name Daniel in Ezek., see the suggestion in Exer II, § 1.

1. A man of extraordinary wisdom and righteousness (Ezek. ; see above). This Daniel appears to have become proverbial, as did Noah and Job; but when and where he was thought to have lived we are not told.

2. A Jewish captive, said to have been carried to Babylon 'in the third year of Jehoiakim' when Jerusalem was taken (Dan. 1.26), and to have become, through his supernatural wisdom, chief of the sages of Babylon and the minister of successive dynasties. The late date mentioned in his life is the third year at Cyrus (Dan. 10.1; cp. however, 1.2). Outside the book which bears his name, and the apocryphal additions to it, the only biblical passages which mention this Daniel are 1 Macc. 2.60 and Mt 21.45 (= Mk. 13.14). The former contains only a dialectic reference to the story of the lions' den. The latter apparently makes Jews speak of 'Daniel the prophet'; but, as the form of the citation shows, it is rather the evangelist who speaks (cp. B. Weiss, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 508). See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

DANIEL, BOOK OF

A part of the same bill was introduced in the Senate on June 1, 1902, and passed by a vote of 19 yeas and 12 nays. It was then reported to the Senate on June 11, 1902, and passed by a vote of 19 yeas and 12 nays. It was then reported to the Senate on June 11, 1902, and passed by a vote of 19 yeas and 12 nays. It was then reported to the Senate on June 11, 1902, and passed by a vote of 19 yeas and 12 nays.

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DANIEL, BOOK OF

DANIEL, BOOK OF If we adopt the medieval division of the book into twelve chapters, the first six

1 Suh
divisiona

**1. 8uh
divisiona.** This is a primitive split, which can be dis-
cerned in the first division from the second,
in which Daniel records his visions. More
important, however, than any such division into two
six chapters is recognition of the fact that the aim of
the book is not to record but to prophesy. It aimed at
exhortation and encouragement. It talks, accordingly,
not so much more or less detached and (so to speak)
independent pieces of pictures, designed to lift the minds
and hearts of its original readers, the contemporaries of
the tyrant Antiochus IV. It prophesies about the oppressive
present to the heights of a glowing party and a strong
spiritual faith. These detached pieces, of which there
are ten, I would group so as to divide the book into (a)
an introductory part (chap. 1-2), (b) a second part (chap.
3-6), containing four narratives prefiguring events, and
6) a third part (chap. 7-12), containing four prophetic
pieces. This threefold division is favoured by the con-
sideration that the two four pieces contained in parts
(b) and (c) then serve as further amplifications of part
(a). For (a) also contains a narrative prefiguring events
(chap. 1), and a Messianic prophecy (chap. 2), in which
four kingdoms (corresponding to the four beasts of
chap. 7) are followed by the everlasting Messianic king-
dom which fulfils the history of the world to its close.

2. Contents. The book begins by describing how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, after a siege and capture of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim king of Judah (chapter 1), took Daniel and three other youths from the palace and brought them to Babylon where he had them brought up in the service of the royal court. Part II describes how Daniel was able to identify the vessels which were removed to Babylon – as the author states, “inasmuch as the king desired to know the secret of the vessels” (chapter 5). It also speaks of their desecration and how they were purified by the simplicity with which his Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah guarded themselves against certain pollution, and how marvelously God rewarded them for this; and finally, how they came to stand before the king, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and enchanters in his realm, and so they became his advisers.

The second piece (chaps. 2 and 4) relates an astonishing proof of the supernatural wisdom of Daniel, by means of which he was able to save his own life and the lives of the other magicians. The king insists on having the dream which has disturbed him not only interpreted but also, first of all, recovered for him, and by the king is interpreted as signifying his life. The image seen by the king is interpreted as signifying by its four parts the present kingdom of Nebuchadrezzar, whilst the remaining parts of the body, of silver, brass, and iron, are referred to three kingdoms which are destined to follow the Babylonian. The fourth kingdom, to which, as a divided kingdom, the legs (of iron) and the feet (partly of iron and partly of clay) correspond, is followed by the everlasting kingdom set up by the God of heaven. Just as the stone cut out without hands breaks in pieces the whole image, and itself becomes a great mountain that fills the whole

¹ 288 is 285 is the beginning of 502288; 2 is a miswritten fragment (for 2) of the true name of David's son (cf. NAMES, § 4). Kerber's derivation of the name from 'Caleb' is surely too precarious (*Hbb. Eigenam.*, 6).

² The division into chapters has been most roughly made at three points: chap. II ought not to begin till II 26; and in XI chaps. 3 and 5 ought to end, as in EV, with 3 30 and 5 31 [61] respectively.

DANIEL, BOOK OF

earth, so every earthly dominion must give way before the imperishable kingdom of God.

In the *third* piece (11:30) we are told how, as a punishment for their refusal to worship the great golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, the three friends of Daniel (himself silently passed over) were cast into the burning fiery furnace, and how, at last, when the fire had not been able to slay the men of faith who had been thus steadfast to their faith, the great king was compelled to do homage to their God.

The *fourth* piece (11:33-12:3) tells, in the form of a proclamation by Nebuchadnezzar to all the peoples of the whole world—a form which is not unvaried with uniform consistency—how an evil dream (which the king himself in this instance relates) had thrown him into dismay, and how Daniel alone was able rightly to interpret the vision, prophesying to the king that as a punishment for his pride he should for a long time be bereft of reason. Nebuchadnezzar is thus for a third time constrained to give the glory to the Ruler of heaven.

Next, in the *fifth* piece (12:1-4), we have Belshazzar's Feast and overthrow: we are told how in a wild orgy this king, unmannered by the fate of his father Nebuchadnezzar, desecrated the sacred vessels of the temple, and thereupon was horror-stricken by the miraculous handwriting on the wall. The explanation of this, which Daniel alone was able to give, was soon shown to have been correct, for that very night the king was slain, and his crown passed to Darius the Mede.

The *sixth* piece (12:5-20), that of Daniel in the lions' den, has reference exclusively to Daniel, just as a corresponding section, that of the burning fiery furnace, relates only to his three friends. We here read how King Darius suffered himself to be misled by his nobles, who were envious of Daniel, to promulgate the foolish decree that any one who for the space of a month should offer any petition to God or man should be thrown to the lions. Naturally Daniel transgressed this command; but the king, who had been compelled against his will to consign his faithful servant to punishment, soon became convinced of his error by the protection which Daniel's God vouchsafed to his worshipper, and, condemning the accusers to the fate which they had prepared for Daniel, commanded all his subjects to serve Daniel's God.

The *seventh* piece (7), the first in the prophetic section, is a picture in companionship to chap. 2, and dates from the first year of Belshazzar, not from the time of Nebuchadnezzar, to which the first group of four pieces belong. It, moreover, as we read in 10:1, the last great vision which Daniel saw immediately before his death is to be assigned to the third year of Cyrus, exactly seventy years after Daniel's deportation from Judah; it seems fitting that the *eighth* piece also should be assigned to the Babylonian period, and that only the last two prophetic sections should be given to that of the Medes and Persians. Most of the years they amounted to an ordinary lifetime—that Daniel spent in the East must have fallen under the reigns of the Babylonian kings; for, whilst Darius the Mede was already in his sixty-second year when he ascended the throne of Babylon (5:1 [6:1]), Daniel saw only the beginning of the reign of his successor Cyrus the Persian.

In chap. 7 we have Daniel's account of his vision of the four beasts, from each of which successively the supremacy is taken away to be at last and for ever bestowed upon the Messiah, one 'like a son of man' who comes from heaven, and so at the same time the kingdom is possessed by the saints of the Most High.

It, in 7:25, the angel's interpretation of one of the horns of the fourth beast has already unmistakably pointed to a king who persecuted the Jews on account of their religion; it is made still more apparent in the *ninth* piece (in the interpretation which Gabriel gives of Daniel's vision in the third year of Belshazzar) that by the fourth kingdom, which arises after the reigns of the Medes and Persians, we are to understand the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great and his successors. By the reader acquainted with Jewish history the description of the horn which at first was small, and of the bold overbearing king who deprives the Most High of his continual burnt-offering, and gives up his sanctuary to wanton desecration, and at the same time rages furiously against the holy people, cannot fail to be understood as referring to the Syrian king Antiochus IV. Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) who, by his religious edict (1 Mac. 1:41, 54), designed to bring about the establishment of the Greek cultus throughout his whole dominions, and, by setting up an altar to the Olympian Zeus upon the altar of burnt-offering in Jerusalem (2 Mac. 6:1), provoked the revolt of the Maccabees (167). The *eighth* piece contains the comforting promise that after 2300 evenings and mornings the temple of God will be again restored to its rightful position, and the shameless king overthrown, but not by human hand.

The *ninth* piece (chap. 9), after a prayer of Daniel which, notwithstanding its borrowings from Ezra 9 and

Neh. 9, is still pathetic, gives Gabriel's interpretation of the seventy years, predicted by Jeremiah, as measuring seventy weeks of years, after the lapse of which the day of salvation is to dawn.

Whilst this vision comes to Daniel in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede over the kingdom of Babylon, the last or *tenth* piece (chaps. 10-12) is dated from the third year of Cyrus his successor. In correspondence with the great importance of this last vision is the long introduction, after which, by a sketch (chap. 11) mainly devoted to the complicated relations between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and a picture of the downfall of the Syrian tyrant, the final destiny of the people of God is brought more precisely in connection with universal history. Chap. 12, however, does not give any one absolutely precise indication of the exact time when the troublous days, such as have never before been known, are to come to an end; it vacillates between 1290 and 1335 as the number of days that are to elapse between the setting up of idolatrous worship in the temple and the coming of the glorious time of the end.

The view taken over by the church from the syncretic, which makes Daniel not only the principal hero

3. Authorship. but also the author of the book, has not unreasonably passed current among theologians down to the present century. To the unprejudiced reader the book appears to claim to have been written by Daniel. The narratives in the first six chapters do not expressly make this claim; but in 7:2 we find Daniel himself presented as the narrator; the use of the first person singular. The use of the third person in chaps. 1-6 and in the beginnings of chaps. 7 and 10 is not against the authorship of Daniel (cp. Am. 7:12 ff.), who, at the beginning of chap. 8 and of chap. 9, speaks in the first person in giving the date. The close connection of chaps. 1-6 with the visions which follow may fairly be held to carry over the claim for Daniel's authorship to the beginning of the book also. No attentive reader will allow himself to be misled as to the oneness of the authorship.

4. Unity. of the book by the fragmentary or detached character of the ten pieces of which it is composed, it has attentively observes how the earlier portions allude to the later, and conversely how the later portions allude to themselves to the earlier, and how the same general manner of presentation, thought, and language pervade the whole.

The organic unity of the Book of Daniel, denied by Reuss and Lagarde, has been once more defended by E. H. von Gall in a monograph (see below, § 23). The grounds, however, which he offers (121 ff.) for regarding 9:20 as a late insertion are no more than plausible. The contents of this section are of a higher type than those of the hymns in the apocryphal additions to Daniel. A certain solemn fineness is characteristic of the liturgical style, and is not wanting in passages which may have served the author as his models—e.g., Ezra 9 and Neh. 9. Von Gall's changes in 9:2 are arbitrary; the change in the names of God, which is quite appropriate, proves nothing. It is a pure fancy that the author of Daniel, who was acquainted with the Book of Jeremiah, does not regard misfortune as penal; see 4:14, 5:22, etc. Besides, it is expunging 9:20, how much remains for chap. 9? Only ten verses. This is surely not enough for the ninth of the pieces which form the book.

What has been said as to the true unity of the book is only apparently contradicted by the use from 2:4 to the end of chap. 7 of the Aramaic language in a book otherwise written in Hebrew.

This interchange of language has given rise to many hypotheses. Spinoza thought the first seven chapters might be an extract made in the time of Judas the Maccabee from old writings of the Chaldeans (cp. Berthold, *Einl.* 1508 f.). Huetius, on the other hand, suggested that the whole Book of Daniel had been originally written in Aramaic, and shortly afterwards translated into Hebrew, and that the original work having been partly destroyed in the dark days of the Seleucid era, the text was restored by borrowing the Heb. sections that we now have from the Hebrew version (cp. Berth. *Einl.* 1544, 1549). It is hardly an improvement on this view when J. D. Prieur, adopting the theory of Leconte and Bérus, says: 'The book was probably written at first all in Hebrew; but for the convenience of the general

1 Clermont Gaméau's theory (*J. J.* 1839), accepted by N. d. l. (Z. 1. 14) and Bérus, that the mysterious inscription consists really of names of weights, is rejected by Behrmann. See Meyer.

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reader, whose language was Aramaic, a translation, possibly from the same point as the original, was made into the Aramaic vernacular. It must be supposed that certain parts of the Hebrew manuscript being lost, the missing places were supplied from the current Aramaic translation (*Book of Daniel* 1901, p. 13).

The hypothesis that 'the Hebrew edition was partly destroyed in the troubled Seleucid period, and the missing portions supplied from the Aramaic version,' leaves unexplained why the change of language should occur precisely at 2:1, where cannot be regarded as a gloss, although 'the author of Daniel evidently fell into the error of regarding "Chaldean" as the language of Babylonia.' If, to begin with, the loss of part of a MS. of no great length is in itself very immaterial, still less satisfactory is the assertion that in the second century before Christ such Palestinian Jews as were able to read books at all could hardly understand any Hebrew. Rashi is right when he says (*Exh. in das A.T.*, 1879, p. 112): 'The change of language occurs in the middle of a section that cannot be divided (2:4), which shows that the author was so familiar with both languages that he could glide from one into the other without noticing it, and could assume for a great proportion of his contemporaries a knowledge of them both.' 'None asserts, as Prince expresses it, that both languages were used quite indifferently'; the author of Daniel and his readers were certainly more at home in the Aramaic vernacular. When Prince asks why chap. 7, 'which is indivisible from the succeeding prophetic Hebrew portions,' was written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic, we may answer that chap. 7 was written in the same Aramaic idiom as chap. 2 simply in order to make every observant reader feel that the book was one, and that the four visions were inseparable from the six narratives.

The change of dialect is made quite naturally thus: In chap. 2 the author has introduced the 'Chaldeans,' speaking the language which he believed to be customary with them; afterwards he continues to use the same language on account of its greater convenience both for himself and for his original readers, both in the narrative portions and in the following (seventh) chapter, the piece in companionship to chap. 2; for the last three visions (8-12) a return to Hebrew was suggested by the consideration that the chief front of old been the usual sacred language for prophetic subjects. Whether the Aramaic of Daniel, which is closely allied to that in Ezra, can really be taken as historically the language spoken in the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C., or for the native language of the Chaldeans, cannot be discussed until we have faced the whole question of the historical validity or invalidity of the book (see § 16). It is enough in the meantime to say that the Aramaic or 'Chaldean' portion of Daniel cannot possibly have formed an independent work; on the contrary, the change of language serves to bind the different parts of the work into a firmer unit.

The position of the book of Daniel with reference to historical fact, a question most intimately bound up with that of its date, can be discussed to advantage only after we have, in a purely exegetical way (Bleek in *DT*, 1860, p. 512), firmly established the fact that makes for the unity of authorship in all five prophetic pieces (chaps. 2 and 7-12): the fact, namely, that the range of vision in each case reaches down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of all that had been hostile to God in all history, and that, with Epiphanes' destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected. This done, we shall have no difficulty in finding other weighty reasons for fixing the composition of the book of Daniel at a date shortly before the death of Antiochus IV.

The extraordinary precision with which the entire Daniel seems to prophesy about things that are to happen several centuries afterwards is particularly conspicuous in chap. 11, where, for example, reference is made in v. 13 to the victory which the Consul Lucius Scipio gained over Antiochus III. at Magnesia, in Lycia, in 190 B.C., or in v. 30 to Popilius Laenas, who in the name of the Roman Senate forced Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to quit Egypt with great precipitancy, upon

¹ Considerations of space prevent us from considering the hint thrown out by v. Gall (190) that it is not yet generally established that the LXX was based on the text in two languages, or the complicated hypotheses of Künig (*l.c.* 24) and Ryle (*l.c.* 109, col. 500 f.).

which the king, as we learn from 1 Macc. 1:50 ff., wreaked his wrath upon his Jewish subjects. Although predictions of this sort are nowhere found in the writings of the prophets of the Old Testament, orthodoxy was long accustomed to take special delight in contemplating predictions which had been so wonderfully fulfilled (cp. the case of the name of Cyrus in Is. 41:26). In the present century, however, as the historical sense became quickened, difficulties began to present themselves against assumptions which were contrary to the analogy of the prophetic writings, and found their support merely in the dogma of a magical inspiration.

7. Always. In spite of Prieß's energetic warning against 'hall-measures,' modern apologists, pressed by the constantly increasing historical difficulties caused by uniform decipherments, have been driven more and more to seek refuge in the 'hall-measures,' thus deprecated, so that, as Beyer (*l.c.* 8) immovably says, the defenders of Daniel live, during the last few years, being employed chiefly in cutting Daniel to pieces.

It may, indeed, if inference is made here to but one of the equally arbitrary and dogmatic attempts which have been made to save the authenticity of the book as a whole by 'arranging' its contents so as to authorise Zöckler in his exposition of the book of Daniel (7) declared 11-12 to be a later interpolation; he had come to see quite clearly that such a piece of history could never have been penned by an eighth-century prophet. The attempt, however, was in this case as in the attempt made elsewhere to change the name of Cyrus (Is. 45:1) into an appellative, for it left altogether out of account Dan. 2:41 and the relation of that verse to 11:17. The two verses read of two unlikely marriages between Seleucus and the Ptolemies; namely, v. 17, of the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, with Antiochus III. Theos, and v. 17, of that of Cleopatra (daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III., the Great, and thus sister of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes), from whom all the Egyptian Cleopatras have taken their name, with Ptolemy V. Epiphanes. But these marriages are quite plainly alluded to in 2:41, where we read as follows: 'Regarding the kingdom represented in the vision by the legs of iron and the feet partly of iron and partly of clay: "And whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron does not mingle with clay." From this it follows at once that by the fourth kingdom in chap. 2 is meant that of Alexander the Great, which became divided into that of the Seleucids and that of the Ptolemies (the other kingdoms of the successors of Alexander have here no interest for the author, and are therefore passed over). But if in chap. 2 the first of the four kingdoms has been made out to be the Babylonian, and the Greek to be the fourth, it follows, from what we are told of the dynasties under which Daniel himself lived, that the second and the third kingdoms, reached upon so lightly in Daniel's interpretation in 2:6, must be the Median and the Persian. Still more clearly than in chap. 2 does the author's special interest in the period of the fourth kingdom disclose itself in the visions of Daniel; the relations of the people of God to Antiochus Epiphanes possess such great importance, because, immediately upon the fall of this tyrant—which is to be brought about without human intervention (cp. 2:44 with 8:25)—the Messianic kingdom is forthwith to be set up. It is universally admitted that the reference to Antiochus Epiphanes is as plainly manifest in the second vision (8:14-26), as it is in the last vision (11:1-4), which occupies itself wholly with the reign of this king. Chap. 12:7-12, also relates to his persecution of the saints and his long-continued cessation. To the unprejudiced interpreter there can be no possibility of doubt that in the three other pieces also the range of vision is limited to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. What is true of 2:41 is true also of 7:8 ff. 10 ff., where the little horn (cp. 8:3, 11) whose power the saints are delivered up for three times and a half (cp. 7:25 with 12:7), must again be the same persecutor who had made himself so hateful to the Jews. The same holds good, finally, of chap. 9. Here the sixty-two years which follow the first seven present, it is true, a historical difficulty which will have to be discussed (see § 27); but this much at least is certain, that the 'nameless' one in 9:26 is the high priest of the III. who was put to death in 171 B.C., so that the last seven weeks comes down in 174 B.C., and the suspension of sacrifice and offering which is predicted in 9:26 for the second half of this week enables us to place it so, that it is the action of Antiochus Epiphanes that is referred to.

Now, on the assumption of the authenticity of the book, it is very hard indeed to understand how, out of the ten pieces of which it is composed, 8. Authenticity, so many as five, in which the coming of the Messianic kingdom is predicted, should stop short at the reign of a Seleucid sovereign whose king-

¹ Cp., however, ISRAEL, § 63.

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dom—not to speak of the Greek kingdom out of which it and the other Seleucid kingdoms had arisen—had no existence in the days of the exile Daniel.

Even the early father Hippolytus did not fail to notice the allusions to the history of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies which occur in the book of Daniel; but it was the Neo-platonist Porphyry (ob. 304 A.D.) who first drew the right inference from the acknowledged facts, and took Daniel's professed authorship to be a mere literary form, ascribing the book to a Jew who wrote during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. As, however, this denial of the authenticity of the book came from an opponent of Christianity, it produced no effect. It was necessary that, within the Church itself, a truly scientific and historical method of dealing with the OT should arise.¹ This has at last come to pass. As the result of the labours of several generations, we can safely hold it to have been established, as one of the ascertained results of science, that in chap. 7 we are to understand by the fourth beast the Grecian Empire, by the eleventh horn Antiochus Epiphanes, and by what is related regarding this horn the religious persecution under that king; as also that the author of the book wrote in his reign. A fundamental rule of all sound exegesis was violated when the utterances of chap. 7 were not interpreted in the light of the other four parallel texts, but were torn from their connection in the book in order to give them a meaning divergent from the sense of the rest of the book, as if the fourth beast signified not the Grecian but the Roman Empire. To interpret the four kingdoms as denoting those of Babylonia, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, seems, indeed, by grouping the Medes and Persians under one empire, to offer a series which, from a historical point of view, can be more easily accepted than that of Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece; but this last series alone gives the true sense of the book, which represents the Median kingdom of Darius as being the second of the four world-monarchies, and places this as an independent intermediate link between the Chaldean and the Persian monarchies (cp 6:1 [5:1] 8:20-9:1), distinguishing it quite plainly from the Persian, which it makes out to be the third. With our perfectly certain knowledge, derived from the cuneiform inscriptions, that there never was any such Median empire between those of Babylonia and Persia (cp PERSIA), the authenticity of the Book of Daniel falls to the ground. Quite apart, however, from the numerous contradictions of history to be afterwards spoken of (§ 10, etc.),—contradictions which absolutely exclude the supposition that the author was an eye-witness living during the period of the 'exile,'—the fact that the horizon of the book is throughout bounded by the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the fierce persecutor of the Jews and their religion, with whose fall the Messianic salvation is represented as being ushered in, makes it abundantly plain that the figure of the exile Daniel is employed only as a literary form. The Messianic hope could not possibly have taken this special form so early as during the 'exile,' but only under the oppression of the Syrian tyrant who

sought to extirpate the religion of Israel, and to compel the Jews to adopt the idolatrous worship of Greece.

The book of Daniel being, as Wellhausen well describes it (1/6², 240 f.), 'a hortatory and consolatory writing for the persecuted, designed to strengthen and cheer them by the knowledge that within

a very short time the overbent bow will break,' its author was able to allow himself great freedom in the use of his materials. His aim was not the communication of historical information. Using as a vehicle the materials, historical or unhistorical, that tradition had placed at his disposal, he availed himself of the literary artifice of employing the name of the exile Daniel to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth.¹ As in the cases of Job and Jonah, so also in that of the book of Daniel, a great injustice is done if the standard of strict historicity is applied,—a standard by which the book is not in the least intended to be tried. We find in it (cp Kämpf, *Daniel*, 16 f., 28 ff., 45) not only

10. Unconcern about history. many historical errors but also, frequently, a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities, of which the author, in spite of his great literary art, certainly was not always conscious. If it is permissible to find in 6:8, no less than in the demand mentioned in 2:11, a scornful reference to that religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes which the pious Jew could regard only as a piece of insanity, these passages without doubt contain other conscious allusions to historical fact. In many cases, we can quite confidently conjecture their presence, though we do not always quite understand them. If it is only with difficulty that we are able to form any visual image of the fiery furnace (3), or of the lion's den (6), still less are we able to comprehend how Daniel, who had constantly remained steadfast to the God of Israel, could have come to be the chief of the heathen Magi (2:2); and in like manner we fail to make clear to ourselves how Daniel (cp 8:26 12:4) could have managed to secure that what he had seen should remain a secret for centuries. The matter becomes at once natural and intelligible if we suppose that the exile Daniel was simply employed as a literary device by a writer of much later date, who regarded the fury of Antiochus Epiphanes as the last visitation of the people of God before the blessed time of the end should come. Anachronisms and historical difficulties of every sort occur throughout the whole of the book, not only in its preliminary narratives.

Orthodoxy shows a natural reluctance to recognise the unhistorical character of the book. As even its latest expounder,² although dating it in the Maccabean period, greatly exaggerates its historical value, and justifies himself in his refusal to recognise its true character by urging that in substance the book is not pure invention, but rests upon tradition, it seems fitting to call attention to one outstanding instance in which tradition is no guarantee of historical truth, before we proceed to enumerate some samples of the unhistoricity of the book.—Among the apocryphal additions to Daniel contained in B, that of the 'Dragon at Babel' (cp Schr. in Riehm's *HTB*) is certainly not pure invention. This legend, which in its present literary form is very late, had already been brought into relation with the old Babylonian mythology by Schrader and Ball (Wace, *Apoc.* ii. 348 ff.); but quite recently Gunkel (*ut sup.* 320 ff.) has conclusively shown that what lies at the root of it is the primeval Babylonian myth of the conquest of the Chaos-monster or the great

¹ Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 125. Doubts as to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel were uttered again in the seventeenth century by Hobbes (*Leviathan*, 33) and Spinoza (*Tract. theol. polit.*, 10); but Anthony Collins, the 'free-thinker,' was the first who treated the subject with something like modern thoroughness. As Leibler has shown, the eleven grounds which Collins adduces (*Scheme of Literal Prophecy*, 17:6, p. 149 ff.) are mostly those on which recent criticism relies for proving the Maccabean date of Daniel. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that critical doubts were confined to sceptical theologians. Richard Bentley, scholar and apologist, had reached by 1721 a conviction of the late origin of Daniel. 'Jehd in his monograph (67 f.) makes too light of Bentley's doubts. In spite of Whiston's somewhat disparaging language, it is clear that Bentley found serious difficulties both in the narratives and in the predictions of Daniel, in consequence of which he supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias the high priest, and that this Onias was Daniel's Messiah' (see Whiston's *Memoirs by himself*, Lond. 1749, p. 108 f.). Whiston was a Boyle Lecturer.]

² It is possible, no doubt, that he derived some part of these narratives from Jewish or Babylonian popular stories. But even if we accept this conjecture, the historical setting, the moral purpose, and the skill in presentation are all his own' (Che, *F.H.B.*, art. 'Daniel').

² Georg Behrmann, *Hand-commentar*, 1^o 24.

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dragon Tiamat by the god Marduk.¹ Instead of merely pronouncing this apocryphal narrative, as Zöckler (*Apoc.* [91], 215-221) somewhat imprudently does, foolish and silly, we ought rather to learn from it that dependence on ancient tradition is not incompatible with complete unhistoricity.

As a contemporary, the author of Daniel 11:2-19 was in circumstances which enabled him to depict with the utmost accuracy the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his two Egyptian campaigns; but for the concluding portion of ch. 11 he can no longer be taken as a historical source, inasmuch as 11: 40-45 go beyond the author's present; the actual course of events in which Antiochus Epiphanes perished on an eastern raid in the Persian city of Takke in 164 B.C. is glaringly inconsistent with the author's anticipation that the king, after a successful expedition against Egypt, was to meet his end suddenly in Palestine.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the book was written during the life-time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The conclusion that it belongs to a very late date in the post-exilic period is forced upon us also by its language.

11. Language.

The many Persian words in the book are, in the mouth of Daniel, anachronisms which clearly testify against the authenticity of the book; as also testifies the use of the word *Kasdim* (EV 'Chaldeans', *q.r.*) for the Babylonian priests, soothsayers, or magicians. True, our book sometimes, in agreement with those prophets who lived under the new Babylonian kingdom, understands by the *Kasdim* the people who had the predominance in Babylon (cp Dan 3:5-10; 11: 43-44); but it stands alone, opposed not only to the Assyrio-Babylonian *uassu loquendi* but also to that of all the rest of the OT, in the manner in which it everywhere else (cp 2:24, etc.) makes *Kasdim* synonymous with 'Magi,' a practice which is found, long after the downfall of the Babylonian empire, in Greek and Roman authors. As the number of words borrowed from Persian certainly exceeds a dozen, the few Greek expressions do not come so much into account; but attention is worth calling to *psalterium* in Dan. 3:5, because this form, alongside of the Greek *psalterion*, proves the influence of the Macedonian dialect (which substituted *n* for *h*), and because it is in the case of this word that the Semitic derivation of the foreign words in Daniel, so much insisted on in the apologetic interest, is strikingly seen to be untenable.

The non-Hebrew language of Dan. 2:4 ff. is introduced as being the speech of the 'Chaldeans,' and is kept up by the author down to the end of chap. 7, because in his time (though not so

in 2 K. 18:26) both languages were readily understood; it is thus possible for us to form definite conclusions as to its character. Although it is called Aramaic correctly, it is at the same time intended to be taken as the language of the 'Chaldeans,' and this on any assumption involves a historical error. The biblical Aramaic (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 3 f.) is now known to belong to the West Aramaic group and to be closely related to the language of the Targums and of the Pahlavene and other inscriptions. We know also that this language, of which the remains preserved to us come for the most part from Palestine, did not, as the language of current *improvisatio*, supersede the old Hebrew (which had now begun to assert its claim to be regarded as a sacred language) until the end of the third century B.C. The actual language of the 'Chaldeans' also we know from the cuneiform inscriptions to have been Semitic, but very different from the West Aramaic, so that Luther's free translation of 2:4—'Then spake the Chaldees to the king in Chaldean'—is indeed exegetically correct but historically false. If, on the other hand, in order to avoid supposing that Aramaic was confounded with

'Chaldean,' it is maintained that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic, we may point to the linguistic peculiarities of the old Aramaic inscriptions,² which abundantly show that the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been spoken in Babylon in the sixth century.

How little the Book of Daniel can be depended on in matters of history appears from its very first verse. Not only do the real contemporaries (cp Jer. 16:1, 2; 26:7) of the famous Chaldean king

13. Mistakes in names.

call him Nebuchadnezzar; but also Strabo, in transliterating the name, comes near the cuneiform form. In Dan. 1:1, on the other hand, the name is given in a later corrupt form (with *n* instead of *r*) in connection with the unhistorical statement (cp Jer. 25:1, 36:1, 9, 20) that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. Whatever be the case with the rest of the OT, Daniel betrays no trace of acquaintance with cuneiform; the error made in 13 [5] is an urgent warning against any attempt to interpret the writing on the wall in 5:25 by reference to the real speech of the 'Chaldeans.' In 4:8 [5] Daniel's name Belshazzar, which is already taken in the LXX to be the same as Belshazzar (5:1), the name of the alleged last Babylonian king, is wrongly supposed to be a compound of the divine name Bel (Is. 46:1), although Bel-sar-usur (that is, 'Bel preserve the king') and Bel-sar-usur (that is, 'may his life be preserved') are philologically distinct.² It would take us too far afield were we to show how even Nebuchadnezzar's insanity and the equally unhistorical conception of Belshazzar or even of the legendary Darius the Mede (whom Xenophon's romance, the *Cyropædia*, cannot make a historical person carry us back to traditions which, widely different as they seem, in part at least, to have been, were in any case greatly distorted. How strained are the author's relations with history can be seen by a glance at chap. 11:27. As only two Babylonian kings are known to him, so he knows of only three Persian sovereigns besides Cyrus (10:1); their names being those of the four that occur elsewhere in the OT (cp 1:21, 15:2); as Xerxes is clearly intended by the fourth, this sovereign is made to be the successor of Artaxerxes (whom he really preceded), and the contemporary of Alexander the Great.

In these circumstances Driver's correct statement (*Introd.* 60 510), that 'the book rests upon a traditional basis,' or, at not to have been followed

14. Daniel the hero.

by the statement that 'Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person, one of the Jewish exiles in Babylon.' A book which does not admit of being used as a historical source, save for the author's own time, cannot possibly be a guarantee for the existence of an exile Daniel. When we cast about us for information concerning Daniel independent of our present book, we find that the name Daniel is of rare occurrence in the OT, being met with (see DANIEL, 1:1) only once on perfectly historical ground; and, moreover, what is very remarkable, we find also in Ezra's time (see DANIEL, 4:3) a Mishael, an Azariah, and a Hananiah (cp Dan. 1:6)—a coincidence of rare names which led Bleek to conjecture that our author had thrown back the contemporaries of Ezra by more than a century in order that he might represent them as living

¹ Cp Dr. *Introd.* 60 503 f. (the language of Daniel, 1:1) and. We possess monuments of the official use of Aramaic for the times of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian empires, which indicate that there was in the case of the smaller parts of speech, such as the relative and demonstrative pronouns which have special value for the determination of the age of a language, a notable difference of form between the older and the younger Aramaic. Whilst the old Aramaic of the inscriptions from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. has *h* 81 and *h* 72, in biblical Aramaic these much used particles have the forms *h* 81 and *h* 72. The Book of Daniel is thus, in its use of *h* for the older *h*, quite in agreement with what we know of the usage prevailing in Aramaic inscriptions and books dating from the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D.

² On the name and asserted kingship of Belshazzar, and on Darius the Mede, see BELSHAZZAR, DARIUS, 1.

¹ Similarly Marduk reappears later in the Christian Knight St. George.

in the time of the 'exile' at a heathen court, and showing an example to his countrymen under the oppression of the heathen. This hypothesis and that of Cheyne (*OPs.* 107) are, at any rate, preferable to the view of Ewald, who places the original Daniel among the North Israelitish exiles at the court of Nineveh (*Prophets*, 511).

In confirmation of the date (during the lifetime of Antiochus Epiphanes) already made out, we have many additional facts which point to the early

15. Other signs of late date.

enable us to fix the time with absolute precision. Among these are the *argumenta e silentio* supplied by the fact that Daniel is not named by the son of Sirach who wrote about 190 B.C. (*Eccles.* 18 f.), and—a still weightier argument—by the complete absence of any influence of Daniel upon post-exilic prophetic literature. Conversely this book, to which the angelic names Gabriel and Michael, the resurrection (12:1; cp Eschatology), and a collection of sacred books that included the prophecies of Jeremiah (92) are known, plainly reveals its dependence not only on Jeremiah and Ezekiel but also on the post-exilic Book of Zechariah. If the absence of Daniel from *Eccles.* 496-11 is itself a proof of late origin, a still stronger proof lies in the fact that it has found its place in the Hebrew canon, not in the second division, the collection of prophetic books, but in the third or last division, between Esther and Ezra (cp *CANON*, § 49). Not until the time of the LXX (which, moreover, has treated the text of Daniel in a very arbitrary fashion) does it find a place, after Ezekiel, as the fourth of the 'great' prophets, and thus it comes to pass that once in the NT¹ Daniel is designated as a prophet.

The very arbitrary treatment of the MT of Daniel in the LXX, particularly in chaps. 3-6, and the false interpretation of 9:25 ff. (*Sabbu'im*, 'weeks')

16. Greek translations.

confronted with *Sabbu'im*, 'seventy' brought it about that long before Jerome's time, Theodotion's translation of Daniel (already employed by Irenaeus)² superseded the LXX in ecclesiastical use. Though Theodotion did not remove the apocryphal additions not found in MT, yet, by making use of Aquila's version, he brought the text of the LXX into closer relation with MT. From a MS (Cord. Chisianus) of the LXX in the library of Cardinal Chigi, not very old, but supplied with Origen's obeli and asterisks, an edition of the LXX Daniel was published at Rome in 1772, and another and better one by Cozza in 1877. The Syriac Hexaplar version of Paul of Tella, edited by Bugati in 1788 and photographically reproduced by Ceriani in 1874, is justly held to be purer than the text of the Cod. Chisianus (Swete's 87), which is, indeed, full of errors. The text-critical importance of *Θ* is, for the Book of Daniel, fortunately very small; so far as the integrity of the consonants of the original text is concerned, the book is one of the best preserved in the whole OT.

As distinguished from the older prophets the Book of Daniel is often spoken of as the first apocalypse (cp Dan. 2:19). It makes a revelation of the coming end of the world, although in a veiled manner, so as to avoid the dangers of open speech. Upon the basis of his study of earlier writers (92),³ and conscious of his own divine

enlightenment, the author wrote his work of admonition and comfort in the name of the ancient Daniel; it is on

17. Pseudo-nymity.

ignorance (cp the excellent remarks of B. in Wace's *Apoc.* 2307) or misapprehension that can lay to his charge as a false employment of a literary form which was common throughout antiquity. We must not, of course, unduly exaggerate the feeling, no doubt prevalent in the Maccabean period, that prophecy had become extract—feeling which may have contributed, along with other causes, to the choice of this literary form. Our author pursues the same lofty moral and religious aims which were sought by the older prophets, and it is by no means his intention to gratify a merely idle curiosity. In presenting, as still future, just occurrences in which as one world empire perished after another, he saw the hand of his God only as preparing the way for that which was still really in the future, the downfall of the last and most direful enemy of the good, and the coming of Messiah's salvation, there was a double advantage. The people who were in the secret were able to recognize in what he wrote the circumstances of their own time, although only darkly alluded to; and what had happened already supplied a guarantee for the certainty of that which was still to happen. The author lives in the firm faith that everything has been fully foreordained in the counsels of God (cp 7:14); the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of his people (cp Smend's lecture on 'Jewish Apocalyptic' in *Z. f. F. W.*, 1885, p. 127 ff.). Cp Eschatology.

If we turn now to the question how our author set about fixing by computation the date of the accomplishment of the Messianic hopes of the Jews,

18. Chronological data.

we are able to arrive at a more precise determination of the date of his writing. It must have been either soon before, or soon after, the purification of the temple. Thus we learn from the number given in 8:14. As already said, the years of weeks (cp 2 Ch. 36:1) present some historical difficulty, inasmuch as, after the first seven weeks of years (which suit the Babylonian 'exile'), instead of the $62 \times 7 = 434$ years of the interval which we should expect to find between Cyrus and the death of Onias III. (538-171 B.C.), we are, according to the actual chronology (which gives 307 years), 67 years short. As the Jewish Hellenist Demetrius, however, who wrote about 210 B.C., has fallen into a mistake precisely similar to our author's—a mistake which could easily be made in the absence of a fixed era—we need not be surprised at such an error in a book historically so inaccurate as that of Daniel. The last week of years, which begins in 171 B.C., extends (precisely reckoned) to 164 B.C., and it has certainly contributed greatly to the esteem in which the book has been held, that Antiochus Epiphanes actually did die in the year 164. For our author the division of the seventieth week of years into two equal parts was suggested by the history of his time, inasmuch as towards the end of 168 B.C. the Abomination of Desolation was set up, and idolatrous worship in the temple began. The three-years-and-a-half which remain after deduction of the historical three-years-and-a-half stand for the still incomplete period of the last and greatest tribulation in the course of which our book was written. For the correctness of this second number ($3\frac{1}{2}$) faith had to be the guarantee; and that it was known to be a round number or a number of faith is shown not only by the vague periphrasis in 7:25 and 12:7, where the plural 'times' takes the place of the linguistically impossible dual, but also by the three numbers, 1150 (cp the 2300 evenings and mornings in 8:14), 1260, and 1335 days, used in an approximate way to express three years and a half—apparently with precision but in reality only in round obtained through the error in 25:24-27. Besides, it is unnatural to explain the phrase 'the books' as referring to the Pentateuch when the context speaks only of Jeremiah. Behrmann's rendering of 9:25 ('I took notice of') is preferable to that of Bevan and of EV ('I understood').

¹ In Mt. 24:15, but not in the Mk. 13:14.
² Porphyry, too, made use of Theodotion's translation, and even according to Jerome's express testimony regarded it as the original (cp Bevan, *op. cit.* 3).

³ Following out a suggestion of Nöldeke (*Alttest. Litt.* 224), Prof. Bevan has offered this interpretation of 9:2, 'I understood the number of years by the Pentateuch,' the special reference being to Lev. 26:18-21 24-28, where it is declared that the Israelites are to be punished seven times for their sins. 'The 70 weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. 25:11 29:12 with Lev. 26:18 ff.' 'The 70 years of J. remitt were to be repeated 7 times, and at the end of the 49th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected.' But the expression 'seven times' has here, as in Prov. 24:16, simply the sense of 'often.' The text in 9:2 cannot ascribe to Daniel a comprehension of 'the number of the years by the (holy) books,' because such a comprehension is, as a fact, only

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numbers. Behrmann, with Cornill, continues to fix the date of the book as in the beginning of the year 164, because the number in §14, which does not seem to be symbolical, is held to point to the purification of the temple as having already been accomplished; but Cornill,¹ reckoning backwards 1150 days from 23rd December 195 B.C., sought to make out 27th October 168 as the probable date of the religious edict of Antiochus Epiphanes. The difference of 45 days between the number in 1211 and that in 1212, which it is merely arbitrary to attempt to explain as a gloss, points to months of 30 days. In that case the 1290 days (iv. 11), or 43 months, would fit in if we were to add an intercalary month to the 42 months of the three years and a half. However we may reckon (cp H. Gort in *Th. T.* 28, 450 [94]), the end of chap. 9 forbids the disconnection of the restoration of the temple service from the final close so decidedly that the present writer now nutes with Kuenen and Wellhausen in preferring the usual view, according to which 814 still lies in the author's future, and holds the date of the book to be 195 B.C.

When the book, which rapidly became popular, first began, perhaps as early as 150 B.C. (cp i Macc. 154

19. Apocryphal additions.

259 f.), to be translated by Egyptian Jews into Greek, the legends of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon (cp Bevan, 45), which may very well have had an independent circulation,² had certainly not as yet been taken up into it. In fact, as late as the fifth century A.D. we have it on the authority of Polychronius that the Song of the Three Children was still absent alike from the Syriac version and from the original text. We cannot tell at what date it was that these apocryphal additions (which are contained in all the MSS that have reached us) were taken up into the Greek and the Syriac Daniel. In view of the great popularity of their contents, shown by the variety of the forms in which they are presented, we can only conjecture that they must have been adopted comparatively early (the book from the first was freely rendered rather than faithfully translated in the LXX), although the growth of the four different Syriac texts of Susanna (cp Wace, 230 f.) may have been later. The so-called genuine LXX text, which we possess in the Cod. Chisianus (Sw. 87) and (in Syriac) in a valuable Milan MS (cp Swete, *Septuagint*, vol. 3, p. ii f.) contains, of course, the additions just as fully as do the many MSS which give us Daniel in the text of Theodotion, already described above (§ 16) as a revision of the LXX. Swete (as above) has conveniently printed together the text of Theodotion, which obtained ecclesiastical sanction, and that of the LXX, which had lain in oblivion for almost fifteen centuries. Even if we suppose, with Schurer (*JRE*³ 1890), that the LXX text must have been in existence before the Daniel legend received new developments in Greek, we may safely assume that the additions to the Greek Daniel had been made before the beginning of the Christian era. The balance of probability is that they were not translated from any Semitic source, but were originally written in Greek (cp Pusey, *Daniel*, 378 f.). They are distinguished—as indeed is the LXX version of Daniel—from the Jewish Greek that prevails in the rest of the LXX by their purer and more elegant diction; another indication in the same direction is the well-known play upon Greek words in Susanna (iv. 54 f. 58 f., cp HOLMSTREE), which even Julius Africanus urged as proof of the spuriousness of the piece in his letter to Origen, who wished the narrative to be retained in the canon. As Protestants are in no way bound by the

decree of the Council of Trent (cp Wace, *Apoc.* 1368 f.), which declares the apocryphal additions to be true history, and as we hardly require a full enumeration of reasons such as is given, e.g., by Reuss (*Urs. II. II. ubi citat.*, 1894, 741 f.) in proof of the unhistorical character of the Susanna

legend, we are able to approach without any prejudice the question as to the language in which it was originally written. It may be frankly conceded that in view of the small extent of the additions—plainly the work of a Hellenistic Jew (or Jews)—and in view of the fact that even in the case of a comparatively poor language it is always possible by *free* translation to imitate any play upon words whatever, we have not the means that would enable us to prove conclusively that the original language was Greek.

To estimate the additions correctly, we must consider their substance rather than their present Greek form. Without prejudice to the literary freedom which is manifestly presupposed by their present form and by the fact that the Susanna legend appears in several shapes (cp Salmon in Wace, p. xlvii), it is clear that they contain more or less of traditional matter, and, like the canonical book itself, cannot be regarded as pure invention. So long ago as 1832 Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Forts.* 122 f.) called attention to the fact that traces are preserved in the Haggada of wonderful doings of a Daniel famous for his wisdom—e.g., the fight with the dragon, already mentioned, in Midrash *Ber. Rab.* par. 68 (in Wünsche's transl., Leipzig, 1881, p. 334). As for the position of the legend of the beautiful Susanna, whom Daniel (represented in v. 45 as a very youthful boy) saves from the false accusation of the two elders by his wise judgment, Theodotion, for the sake of the presumed chronological order, has placed it before Dan. I (though after chap. I would be more appropriate), while the LXX and Vg. on the other hand, place it as a thirteenth chapter after the twelve canonical chapters; Bel and the Dragon being a fourteenth. Daniel's wise judgment recalls i K. 315 ff.; but the lascivious old men recall still more Ahab and Zedekiah, the two adulterous false prophets living in Babylon and threatened by Jeremiah (cp Jer. 29:2-3 with Sus. iv. 57), about whom the Talmud and Midrash have so much to say. Brüll even thought that he had discovered the explanation of the flower-name Susanna in the Midrash *Havvra Rabba*, par. 19 (p. 129 in Wünsche's transl.), and Ball (Wace, 230) would tam have it that the piece is an anti-Sadducean 'tendency' writing. More likely is the connection suggested by Ewald (*GE*³ 463b) of the Susanna story with a Babylonian legend, an allusion to which occurs in the Koran (*Sur.* 2:20), of the seduction of two old men by the goddess of love.

While in Susanna Daniel, as his name implies, appears as a judge, he comes before us in the other

21. Bel and the Dragon.

two related pieces—*Bel* and the *Dragon* of Babylon (see 77: 2428)—which immediately follow in all MSS and editions, as the successful opponent of heathenism, distinguished for wisdom and piety. In the first of the two, Daniel convinces the king (called Cyrus only in Theod.) of the fraud practised by the priests of Bel, who pretended that their god was an actual living deity, while it was they themselves with their wives and families who consumed the food and drink offered to Bel. After the execution of the priests and the destruction of the helpless Bel and his temple (v. 22) we read (77: 2441) of further exploits of Daniel in Babylon. He subdued the invulnerable dragon (Job 41:18 [26] ff.) which they worshipped with divine honours, by throwing indigestible substances into its jaws, whereupon the king at the instigation of his enraged people caused the destroyer of their gods to be cast into the lions' den (cp Dan. 6); here he was divinely protected, and supported by food miraculously brought to him from the land of Judaea by the prophet Habakkuk (cp Ezek. 83). In § 87 (see Sw.) the superscription of the twofold narrative of Bel and the Dragon runs: 'From the prophecy of Habakkuk, the son of Jesai, of the tribe of Levi.' Here, doubtless, there is a reference to some Jewish prophetic legend, although only Theodotion calls this Habakkuk a prophet (see HABAKKUK). The only addition

¹ See his *Die Siebzig Jahre nach Daniels*, 1889.

² Cp above, § 10.

DAN-JAAN

which, strictly speaking, supplements the canonical book of Daniel is the double hymn introduced after 3.23, consisting of 67 verses numbered in Greek and Vg. as 77: 24-93. The EV treats this entire section as one, headed 'The Song of the Three Children'; Luther, following the Vatican superscription, divides it into two, under the titles 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Song of the Three Men in the Fiery Furnace'. The prayer named after Azariah (cp Dan. 17) is spoken in the name of the three friends; but its language is as general as if the entire Jewish people, oppressed and penitent, were speaking. After a brief connecting narrative relating their miraculous preservation from the devouring fire—a preservation regarded as an answer to Azariah's prayer—we have in 77: 52-93 the song of praise sung at the same time by all three together. This speaks of the deliverance from the fire only in the verse where they call upon themselves by name (77: 83), whilst the rest takes the form of a prolonged litany, reminiscent of Ps. 103: 20 ff. and still more of Pss. 136 118 and Eccles. 43, where in quite general terms all created things are summoned to praise the Lord.

To the bibliography in Bevan's *Short Comm. on Daniel* (Cambr. 1904) p. 9, and in Strack's *Einl.* (1908) p. 214 ff., add Kamph, 'Daniel' in *SBOT*; Dr. *Introdukt.* 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 522-537; Che. *OPs.* 94, 105-107; *Founders.* 394-371; Behr-schön and Sober; his etymologies are weak, but he criticises Kautzsch's *Gramm.* in several points successfully; Breasted, *Hebraica*, July (61), p. 244 ff. (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax); Löhr, 'Textkrit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklärung des B. Daniel', *Z.ATW.* 1335-46; Dillm. *ATliche Theol.*, Leipzig (95), p. 522 ff., 538; Baer, *Libri Dan. Ex. et Vrb. Text. Mas.* etc., 1882 (with pref. by Franz Del.), and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. H. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1909); Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1891 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurze Gram. des Bibl. Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus Werke*, i.; Leipzig, 1907), see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Kompr. Hippolytus' in *Archiv f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller*, i. (1907); Bihlman, *Die Alexandrin. Übersetzung des B. Dan. u. ihr Verhältnis z. Mass. Text* (1907), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX; chaps. 1, 3, 7-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deuterocanonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel', *JBL*, 17 (1908) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, *FRE* (1908), 4445-457. A. K.

23. Literature. 488-515; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 522-537; Che. *OPs.* 94, 105-107; *Founders.* 394-371; Behr-schön and Sober; his etymologies are weak, but he criticises Kautzsch's *Gramm.* in several points successfully; Breasted, *Hebraica*, July (61), p. 244 ff. (on the proof of the recent origin of Daniel derived from syntax); Löhr, 'Textkrit. Vorarb. zu einer Erklärung des B. Daniel', *Z.ATW.* 1335-46; Dillm. *ATliche Theol.*, Leipzig (95), p. 522 ff., 538; Baer, *Libri Dan. Ex. et Vrb. Text. Mas.* etc., 1882 (with pref. by Franz Del.), and 'Babylonian glosses' by Friedr. Del.); J. H. Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1909); Nestle, *Marg. u. Mat.*, 1891 (see pp. 35-42); Marti, *Kurze Gram. des Bibl. Aram. Sprache*, 1896 (note especially the Texts and Glossary). The commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel has recently been edited by Bonwetsch (*Hippolytus Werke*, i.; Leipzig, 1907), see also Bonwetsch, 'Studien zu den Kompr. Hippolytus' in *Archiv f. d. älteren christl. Schriftsteller*, i. (1907); Bihlman, *Die Alexandrin. Übersetzung des B. Dan. u. ihr Verhältnis z. Mass. Text* (1907), an instructive exposition of the problems presented by the LXX; chaps. 1, 3, 7-12 in the LXX are a real translation of text-critical value; the deuterocanonical parts are most probably based on a Semitic original. G. A. Barton, 'The Comp. of the Book of Daniel', *JBL*, 17 (1908) 62-86 (against unity of authorship); F. Buhl, *FRE* (1908), 4445-457. A. K.

DAN-JAAN (דָּן יָאָן): ΕΙΣ ΔΑΝ ΕΙΔΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΔΑΝ [B]. ΕΙΣ ΔΑΝ ΙΑΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΝ [A]. ΕΩΣ ΔΑΝ [L]; IN D V MILITAKI [Vg.], a place mentioned (2 S. 246) in a description of the limits of David's kingdom, after the 'Land of TAHTIM-HODSHI' (q.v.). Conder (*Idibk.* 408), following Schultz, identifies it with *Dinān*, a ruined place between Tyre and Akka, 4 m. N. of Achzib. That, however, is too far west. 'Dan' must be the historic Dan, and -jaan (for which Ges.'s *pa'ar* 'forest' is a poor conjecture; but see 6 Vg.) is plainly corrupt. To emend the text so as to read 'they went' to Dan, and from Dan they went round (יָבִיחוּ דָּן) to Zidon' (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) is possible. It is better, however, especially if Klostermann is right in his emendation of Tahtim-hodshi, to change -jaan into *we'ijyan*, 'and (to) Ijon'; Ijon, like Kadesh, belonged to the territory of Naphtali. We should then continue, 'and they went round (יָבִיחוּ) to Zidon' (καὶ ἐκὶκλωσαν). Observe that Klostermann's emendation (יָבִיחוּ) is easier, and probably gives a better sense than that of Wellhausen and Driver. It is also proposed by Gratz.

DANNAH (דָּנָה; ΠΕΝΝΑ [B.V.]), a city of the hill country of Judah (Josh. 15:49), mentioned between Socoh (Shuweikoh) and Delair. Suitable to this position is the modern *Idhna*, the *Idōna* of the OS, 6 m. SE. of Beit-Jibrin; the variation in the form of the name is a not unusual one (cp Ibiq and Bezek).

DAPHNE (ΔΑΦΝΗ [AV]), 2 Macc. 4:33. See ANTIOCH, 2, § 1.

DARIUS

DARDA (דָּרְדָּר), one of three wise men, sons of MATHAI, (the Chronicler differs; see ZERAI), compare with Solomon (1 K. 1:31 [5:11]). 6:27: ΔΑΡΔΑ [B]. ΤΟΝ ΔΑΡΔΑ [V]. ΔΑΡΔΑΕ [L]. In 1 Ch. 26 the name appears as *Dara* (δαρα [BA], *darade* [L]); but as it seems intended to be analogous in form to Chalec (χάλεικ), a second *d* is indispensable. The largest group of MSS of the OS read in 1 K. and 1 Ch. *τον δαρδα* (three cursives in 1 K. have *τον δαρδαν* (so Arm.). Pesh-Targ. and some MSS (Kemm.) support MT in both passages.

DARIC (דָּרִיכִים, דָּרִיכִים). RV 1 Ch. 29:7 etc. AV DRAM [q.v.].

DARIUS (דָּרְיֹוֹשׁ). Old Pers. Dārayavānš, Darayavānš Bab. *Dariyamaš* (vau); Sus. *m Fariyamaš* (vauš) Δαρ[ε]hoc [BNAQI. 87].

1. Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus, Dan. 6:1 [2:28 [29] 9:1 and 11:1 (καρπορ [BAQ—i.e., Theod.; 87—i.e., the LXX]. Δαρειος [Aq. Sym.]). The name is here applied in error to the conqueror of the new Babylonian empire. In Dan. 9:1 Ahasuerus is the father of Darius the Mede, who, we are informed (cp 11:1), 'was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans' after the death of Belshazzar. We are told of Darius that he was then (538 B.C.) sixty-two years old, from which it follows that Ahasuerus his father must have been a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar. With this agrees Tob. 1:15, where it is said (but not by N*) that the population of Nineveh was deported by Nebuchadnezzar and Ahasuerus. All this proceeds upon a mistake. Nineveh was conquered by Cyaxares (Old Pers. Uvakhšātarā), the predecessor of Astyages, with the assistance of Nabopolassar (Nabū-pal-usar) the father of Nebuchadnezzar. In the list of Median kings one searches in vain for a name that can by any possibility be taken for that of Ahasuerus or Darius. Even if it be argued that Darius was indeed a Mede though nowhere called king of Media, we have to reckon not only with the notices given by the Greek historians but also with the Nabū-nā'id-Cyrus cylinder, from which it appears that Cyrus himself, immediately after the fall of the capital, ascended the throne of Babylon, and appointed to the governorship of the province of Babylon Gobryas (Old Pers. Gubaruva, Bab. Ugbaru or Gubaru), governor of Gutium, who, it would appear, was superseded, as king, by Cambyses the Persian. This Gobryas may very well have been the person who, seventeen years afterwards, joined forces with Darius Hystaspis against the pseudo-Smerdis. As governor of Gutium, which lay on the Median frontier, he may well have been called a Mede, and, as the ally of Darius, have been confounded with him. The name, however, of the father of Gobryas was Mardonius (Marduniya), not Nerses, and it is not to be supposed that Cyrus made such a political blunder as to entrust the control of so important a province as Gutium to a Mede. See DANIEL, BOOK OF, § 13.

2. Darius I. Hystaspis, king of Persia (521-485 B.C.), who allowed the Jews to rebuild their temple, is referred to in Ezra 4:5-24 5:5 6:1 Hag. 1:21 Zeck. 1:17, and probably in Neh. 12:22. His liberality towards the Jews is in complete accord with what we know otherwise of his general policy in religious matters towards the subject nations. He took the great Cyrus for his model, and contrasts strongly with Cambyses.

If Cambyses dealt the sacred Apis-bull of Memphis a mortal wound, Darius presented the city with a new Apis, and restored the temple of Annu-Ra at the oasis of El-Khargeh with great splendour. In Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean, temples were indeed sometimes destroyed by his generals, especially where, as at Naxos and at Eretria (Herod. 6:97-101),

1. It is stated in Neh. 12:22 that the priests were registered under 'Darius the Persian'; the Levites (if we emend the text) till the period from Elishah to Jaddan. The text of 7:22 f. has passed through changes, probably through the reduction of the Chronicler. So Koster, *Herod.* 1-9. [For other views see Meyer, *Introd.* 105, and NEUBAUER, § 1.]

DARKON

revenge was to be gratified; but he himself gave special orders to spare Delos, and also caused three hundred talents of incense to be burnt on the altars of Apollo and Artemis. If he discerned some affinity between Apollo and his own god Mithra, he may well have seen resemblance enough between Yahwe and Ahura-mazda to lead him to do homage to the god of Israel.

3. Darius III, Codomanus, the last king of Persia (1 Mac. 1:1). Cp. DANIEL, Book of, § 14; Ptolemy.
4. 1 Mac. 12:7 AV; RV ARIUS. See SPARTAN.

DARKON (דַּרְקוֹן): BDB compares Ar. *daraka*, 'hasten'; *darakap*, 'sheel'; ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [B], ΔΕΡ [V]. The Fine Darkon, a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see NATHAN) in the great post-exilic list (see 1 Chr. 9:1-7; Ezra 2:56-60; Neh. 7:53 [ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [BKA]] - 1 Esd. 5:41; LOZAN following ΔΑΡΚΩΝ [BKA]).

DART. On the various Heb. and Gk. words see WEAPONS.

DATES (דָּתִים, 2 Ch. 31:5 AV; 1 V HONFV [p. 75]).

DATHAN AND ABIRAM (דָּתָן וְאַבִּירָם, meaning obscure; and אֲבִירָם, see ABIRAM), Kenites who led a revolt against Moses in the interval between the return of the spies and the final march towards Canaan.

In Nu. 16-17 the revolt of Dathan and Abiram is mingled and confused with another revolt, that of Korah.

1. **The story.** Consequently, it is difficult, indeed impossible, to interpret the narrative as it stands. There are sections of the

narrative from which Korah disappears altogether. We have three causes for the revolt: impatience with the civil authority of Moses, discontent with the exclusive right of the Levitical tribe (as against Israel in general) to exercise priestly functions, and a desire on the part of the Levites who were not descended from Aaron to vindicate their equal right to the priesthood. These various motives are not combined, but appear in various parts of the narrative independently. The confusion reaches its highest point when we are told that the company of rebels who had already been swallowed up by the open earth were devoured by fire from Yahwe (cp. 16:33 with 35).

If, however, we turn to Dt. 11:6, we find the means of escaping from this confusion ready to our hand. 'There

2. **In Deuteronomy.** Moses begs the Israelites to remember what Yahwe their God 'did to Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, the sons of Reuben; how the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up and their households and their tents and every living thing that followed them, in the midst of all Israel.' From this passage, with which cp. Ps. 106:17, we might naturally conclude that the Deuteronomist had a text of early Israelite history before him, in which the revolt of Dathan and Abiram was mentioned without any reference to Korah, and the rebels, instead of being devoured by fire, were swallowed up alive by the earth.

We ask, therefore, if any such independent narrative of the revolt led by Dathan and Abiram can be extracted from the composite text of Nu. 16. The

3. **Original narrative.** answer must be given, and is in fact given by all recent scholars, in the affirmative. We have but to read 16:1b-24:12-15, 25, 29, 27b-32a, 33, 34 by themselves, in order to obtain an account which is nearly complete and is also consistent and intelligible. This is the history from which the Deuteronomist has borrowed his summary—from which he has taken not only his facts but also his words and phrases. That, however, is not all. The verses just mentioned form a literary unity. Their style is partly that of the Yahvist, partly that of the Elohist, whose allied works here, as elsewhere, have been combined by an editor into a whole. The rest of the narrative in ch. 16, is in the style of the priestly writer (P), a style so clearly marked and uniform that it cannot be mistaken. The Deuteronomist makes no allusion to the priestly narrative—for the simple reason that in his time it did not exist. One difficulty remains. In v. 1 On is mentioned as one of the rebels,

DATHEMA

but not a word is said of him in the sequel. Here in all probability the text is corrupt, and most scholars accept the emendation proposed by Grel [Grelch. Buch. 1, 80]. 'Dathan and Abiram, sons of Eliab, son of Pallu, son of Reuben.' The emendation is abundantly justified by a comparison of Gen. 16:1, 6-14 Nu. 26:5-12 Ch. 5:1.

When disentangled from the later priestly story of the rebellion of Korah, with which it was mingled

4. **The old tradition.** by the compiler of the Hexateuch, the old tradition is in substance as follows.

Dathan and Abiram belonged to Reuben, the oldest tribe, which had, however, forfeited its claim to the hegemony or primacy among the sons of Jacob (see the so-called Blessing of Jacob; Gen. 49:1-5). As Kenites, Dathan and Abiram resent the supremacy of Moses. When Moses bids them come up to judgment, they insolently refuse. They reproach him with his untitleness for rule. Instead of leading them into a land flowing with milk and honey, he has led them away from Egypt, which deserved to be so described, and has exposed them to the deadly perils of the wilderness. It is only by blinding the people that he can maintain his position. Moses, in answer, protests that he has neither done them any hurt nor robbed them of so much as an ass, and he begs Yahwe to pay no respect to their offering. These last words refer, apparently, to the sacrifice which every Israelite might offer for his household, and may be compared with Gen. 14:18, where the Yahvist tells us that Yahwe looked favourably on the offering of Abel but not on that of Cain. The writer is not thinking of any special priesthood, but simply takes for granted that Yahwe, whose favour was always sought by sacrifice, will not accept the offering of rebels against just authority. Thereupon Moses, accompanied by the elders of Israel, goes down to the tents of his opponents. He predicts the divine chastisement which will fall upon them, and his threat is fulfilled. The earth opens her mouth and Dathan and Abiram go down into Sheol, the receptacle of the shades; only, they, unlike other men, go down into it alive. Their wives and little ones perish with them.

We have made no attempt to distinguish between the work of the Yahvist and that of the Elohist. There

5. **Redaction.** are marks of style and expressions proper to the one and to the other, and again and again the same thing is mentioned twice. Kennen (*Unt.* § 8, n. 14) and Kittel (*Hist.* 1:24 n. 1) attribute the narrative of course after exclusion of P) as a whole to the Elohist, Cornill (*Ent.* 20), with better right, to the Yahvist. The frequent doublets show that two hands have been at work. We believe that Yahvist and Elohist told much the same story, and that the editor who combined their histories into one here made the Yahvist his basis, adopting at the same time some expressions from the Elohist. We cannot see any solid ground for Dillmann's belief that the Yahvist represented Dathan and Abiram as claiming the priesthood. He urges the words in v. 15, 'respect not thou their offering'; but such a curse, while all Israelites were allowed to sacrifice, might be naturally invoked against any enemy. The Yahvist makes little or no mention of a special priesthood, and though, no doubt, he was familiar with the institution, assuredly did not impugn the right of lay Israelites to offer sacrifice. The whole narrative now before us depicts a rebellion directed against Moses as a civil ruler. Had Dathan and Abiram claimed to exercise priestly functions we should have heard more about it. See KORAH.

W. L. A.

DATHEMA (ΔΑΘΗΜΑ [A], -ΘΑΙΜΑ [S], -ΜΕΘΑ [V], Syr. ܕܐܬܝܡܐ in 1 Mac. 5:4; ΔΙΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΟ ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ, Jos. *Ant.* xii 8-11), one of the strong places in Galilee to which the Jews had betaken themselves when threatened by Euthymus and his host. It was relieved, with great slaughter of the enemy, by Judas the Maccabee (1 Mac. 5:4 ff. 24 ff. 25 ff.).

DAUGHTER

Dathema has not been identified; from the description it must have lain between Bosra and Maspha (Möpel). The Syr. reading may be only a mistake for *Danthea* (Lew. *Ital.* 534); but within the distance from Bosra of a night's march (cp. Jos. *Ant.* 20.8.3) lies the modern *Kemtheh*, a considerable village and station on the (day) road (Daughity, *Ar. Dec.* 17).

DAUGHTER. The word 'daughter' (בַּת, *bat*) in EV often has Hebraistic senses, the chief of which are here mentioned:

1. Native Canaanite or Philistine women are 'daughters' of Canaan (Gen. 36.2) or of Philistia (2 S. 1.20).

2. 'Daughter' is a synonym for 'girl' or 'woman' (Gen. 30.13 Judg. 12.11) 'daughters' (Cant. 2.2-6); in addressing a person (Ruth 2.8 Ps. 130.1).

3. The population of a place, or the place and its population, may be called collectively a 'daughter'. A typical phrase is *בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם* (Is. 38.10 etc.); lit. 'daughter of Zion', but, since the genitive is appositional, more correctly rendered 'people of Zion' (so sometimes in *Sept.*). So, too, 'daughter of Babylon' (Ps. 137.5) 'daughter of Egypt' (Jer. 46.10-14); also 'daughter of my people' i.e., my country-people (Is. 22.1 Jer. 4.6). A phrase which is generally synonymous is 'sons' (*ben*, inhabitants) of Zion, Babylon, etc. See *2DMG*, 40.69; König, *Synon.*, § 255.7.

4. Dependent towns may be called 'daughters'. Thus the 'daughters of Judah' in Ps. 48.11 (12) are the cities of Judah (cp. *Genealogies*, i. § 1). Cp. the use of 'mother' for a provincial capital in 2 S. 20.19. See *Howe, Villages*.

5. 'Daughter', like 'son', in combination with a noun, may also express some speciality of character or capacity. Examples of this are few in number. A 'daughter of Belial' is certainly a 'grossly wicked person' (1 S. 1.17). 'Daughter of troops' (*בְּנוֹת חַיִּל*; Mic. 5.6 [4.4]) is explained 'those who submit to attack'; but the text is doubtful. 'Daughters of music' (*בְּנוֹת נָחַל*; Eccl. 12.4) might be singing women; but others think that the sounds of music are thus figuratively described.

DAVID (דָּוִד, *David*; *Δαυιδ* [BAL.]). The name may be explained (1) as meaning 'beloved, a friend', NAB. 5. 56; or (2) as meaning 'paternal uncle,' if we pronounce דָּוִד (*i.e.*, *Dod*), for which Gray (*HP*, 83) offers Semitic analogies, though the explanation is certainly 'at first sight unlikely'; or (3), best of all, as an abbreviation of *Dodiel*, which was perhaps the name of one of David's sons (see DANIEL, 1.4), or of *Dodijah* = *Dobai* (q.v.). See also *Dodo*.

The chronology of the life of David is most uncertain. We have elsewhere (see *CHRONOLOGY*, § 20.37) assumed 630 B.C. as the first year of the reign of Rehoboam. To accept the round number of forty years assigned to the reign of Solomon in 1 K. 11.42 and to that of David in 2 S. 5.4 and in 1 K. 2.11 as strictly historical, would be uncritical. The chronological statements referred to are, at most, editorial guesses which may, as good critics think, be not very far from the mark.² The early history also of David is in many respects uncertain. It intertwines to a great extent with the still obscurer record of his predecessor (see SAUL); and keen criticism is necessary to arrive at the kernel of fact which there undoubtedly is in the legends that have come down to us. Winckler indeed denies that there is such a kernel of facts in the romantic story of David's early vicissitudes. Such exaggerated distrust, however, appears to arise from a preconceived theory respecting David, and most critics hold strongly to the view that the imaginative element in the story of David is but the vesture which half conceals, half discloses, certain facts treasured in popular tradition. If it should appear that this imaginative element contains some details which we have allowed a warm place in our regard and it would pain us to miss from the history of Israel, we must comfort ourselves with the thought (1) that what remains unshaken becomes more precious than ever, and (2) that even pure legends are of great historical value for the characterisation of the age which produced them.

(a) *First appearance.*—The only ancestor of David

¹ The MSS generally have *daδ*. Lag. gives *daδδ* in a few places.

² See Kamphausen, *Die Chronol. der hebr. Könige*, 16 f.; cp. (c.v. David) St. *GLT* 1264.297. Wi. (*GL* 1174) questions this.

DAVID

known to early traditions was his father Jesse,¹ who was believed to have been a citizen of Bethlehem.² David was the youngest of his four³ sons (so 1 S. 17.14 [omits], cp. 16.5-9), and was sent to keep his father's sheep in the steppes of Judah. Such at least is the statement of one of our traditions, which, at any rate, has the merit of accounting for the agility, endurance, and courage, so constantly ascribed to David (cp. 1 S. 17.34 24.2 2 S. 17.9).

There, too, David is supposed to have acquired that skill in music (cp. Gen. 4.20 f.) which led to his first introduction to Saul, after which he became the king's armour-bearer and slew Goliath. This, however, is not in accordance with the older and more trustworthy account, which simply tells us that David was a valiant Israelitish warrior who happened to be also clever with his tongue and with his lyre, and who was sent for from Bethlehem (a feature borrowed, perhaps, from the other tradition, to charm away Saul's melancholy). Nor is the statement that the shepherd-lad slew Goliath the Philistine consistent with the plain and thoroughly credible, because unlegendary, tradition given elsewhere, that the slayer of Goliath was Elhanan, and the period of his exploit not in Saul's but in David's reign⁴ (see ELHANAN, GOLIATH). We must, therefore, if the superior antiquity and probability of a narrative are to count as recommendations, give up the more romantic of the two sets of statements respecting David's introduction to Saul and his early prowess. That he became Saul's armour-bearer and musician need not be disputed.

(b) *Break with Saul.*—Another point in which the ordinary view of the life of David needs rectification is the occasion which gave birth to Saul's jealousy of David. The MT of 1 S. 18.6 states that 'when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistines,' the women came out of the cities of Israel, singing, 'Saul hath slain

¹ This is intelligible enough in the light of David's words in 1 S. 18.18 (not in *80*). That a later age claimed descent for the most popular of the kings from the ancient princes of Judah (Ruth 1.18 f.) is also intelligible (see *RUTH*, BOOK 10 f.); David was not to be of less distinguished origin than Saul (1 S. 9.1). Cp. the case of Sargon. It was only in the time of Esar-haddon that a genealogy was produced giving the Sargonic dynasty (which had simply usurped the throne) the necessary line of ancestors. See the inscriptions quoted by Wi. (*Hebraica*, 4 52 f.).

² The connection with Bethlehem has been rendered doubtful by Marg. (*Psalm*, 23 f.), who thinks that the belief in it arose from a false reading in 1 S. 20.25, where, for 'asked leave of me unto Bethlehem' (cp. *DAVID*) he reads (with Klo.) 'asked leave of me until the meal-time' (*with lechem for both lechem*)—a sound emendation. From the fact that David's sister AMIGAL (cp. *q.v.*) married a man of Jezreel (near Carmel in Judah, the native place of David's favourite wife Abigail), and that David himself took his first wife from that place (see AMIGAL), Marg. suspects that the hero's real home was further south than Bethlehem, perhaps at Arad. This view he supports by a plausible but unprovable conjecture, viz., that Shammah the Aradite (so he reads in 2 S. 23.25; see HARRITT)—i.e., the man of Arad—is Shammah, David's brother, and *Ami* Amiah b. Shobab the Aradite (2 S. 23.31; see HARRITT), was also a relation of David. Both these persons were enrolled among David's 'thirty.' The name of the home of David may conceivably have been forgotten, and (quite apart from 1 S. 20.28) a tradition such as that in 2 S. 23.14-17 may have suggested to narrators the choice of Bethlehem for his birthplace. This is probable. Cp. Winckler, *Gen. 12.4*.

³ A later tradition increased the number to seven (cp. Ch. 2.11 15) or rather eight (1 S. 16.10 f. 17.12 [B om.]). The names of three out of the seven in 1 Ch. 2.15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

⁴ The duplicate narratives of Saul's first meeting with David and of the slaying of Goliath respectively are:—
(a) 1 S. 16.14-23 17.1-18.4 (part), and
(b) 1 S. 17.1-18.4 (part), 2 S. 21.9.

On these passages what is most necessary has been stated by Dr. *Introd.* 160; cp. also the writers referred to in GOLIATH. WRS (*OT*, 433) finds some of the arguments for the existence of two opposite traditions as to David's introduction to Saul inconclusive. But there seems no strong objection to regarding the words *וְהָיָה דָּוִד עִשְׂרֵי שָׁנִים* 'who is with the sheep' in 1 S. 16.19 as a harmonising interpolation (see St. *GLT* 1224 n. 2; Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 213), and it seems unnatural to take the words of Saul's servant in 1 S. 16.18 proleptically. The true continuation of 1 S. 16.23 is not 17.1, but a lost description of David's early exploits (see above), which was followed by 18.6 (in a shorter form)—8a.

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his thousands and David his ten thousands,' from which (see v. 88) Saul inferred that the ambition of his spoiled favourite would not rest satisfied without the crown itself. It is certain, however, that MT does not give the original form of this passage. Whether the Hebrew text underlying the LXX contained the words 'when David returned, etc.', and the clause at the end of v. 8, is a point on which critics differ. Even if, as Budde supposes, the LXX translator, to produce a simpler narrative, omitted these clauses, it is not denied by that critic that the former clause is an editorial insertion;¹ it was not, therefore, the slaughter of Goliath by the shepherd lad that (according to the tradition) made Saul suspect that David nourished hopes of becoming king.

This, however, is merely a negative statement. What was it, we may ask, that, according to the best analysis of chap. 17, aroused the jealousy of Saul? To the present writer, as well as to Stade and Wellhausen, r S. 186 (with the omission of the reference to Goliath) seems to presuppose some account of David's early exploits as a warrior which stood in no connection with the story of Goliath, and indeed was removed by the editor to make room for it. It was these early exploits of a trained warrior that excited the jealousy of Saul, but (since v. 86-11, which $\mathfrak{G}^b$ omits, are derived, like v. 17-19, which also $\mathfrak{G}^b$ omits, from another source) did not suggest the thought of David's wish for the crown. This is no doubt psychologically intelligible. Saul could not bear the sight of his too popular armour-bearer, and so he transferred him to a post which would remove him from his own immediate presence. The tradition adds that this served to promote David's interests. Even Michal, Saul's daughter (see MICHAL, EGLAH, HUKRAM), fell under his fascination, and her jealous father resolved to put the young captain on a perilous enterprise, promising him his daughter's hand in return for the customary proofs of victory, but secretly hoping that he would never return. David went forth, slew a hundred Philistines, and won his wife;² but the anxiety of Saul went on increasing after such a manifest proof of the divine protection of David.

This is certainly an improvement upon the ordinary view which treats chap. 18 as a homogeneous narrative; but who can assert that this view of the facts produces the impression of being perfectly historical? It will be noticed that we have laid no stress on the song of the women (187). The fragment is indeed clearly ancient; but it seems best understood as coming from a time when David was already king. This, however, is not the most important point. We need a narrative of still greater simplicity and verisimilitude. It is, as Stade remarks,³ more credible that Saul gave his daughter in marriage to David of his own accord, in order to bind the young hero to the family of his benefactor, and that Saul's jealousy broke out after, not before the marriage. Besides, it would be inconsistent in Saul, first, to send David away as a captain of a thousand (1813), and then to bring him back to the court as the king's son-in-law. For this position had attached to it the captaincy of the body-guard (see r S. 2214, $\mathfrak{G}^{bav}$), which gave its holder a rank next to Alner the general (r S. 2025), so that Saul would be continually liable to fresh irritation from the sight of David. We cannot, however, positively assert that Stade's correction of the tradition brings us face to face with facts, and must be content to believe that the early story of David's life is not altogether a popular fiction, without insisting too

¹ See Budde's interesting analysis, as embodied in *SBOT*, Heb. edition. This critic seems to hold that the Goliath-story was originally closed by a description of the festal rejoicing which greeted the returning warriors and especially David, and that the same document then went on to relate the terror with which David's success inspired Saul, the king's removal of David to a high military post, and the episode of Merab. For Stade's view, see *SAUL* § 10.

² On the course but not in itself incredible requirement of Saul (r S. 1825-27, 2 S. 314), see *MARRIAGE*, and cp *St. Gesch.* 1232.

³ *OT* 1233; cp *We. CH* 251.

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much on the most romantic and interesting, and therefore least certain, parts of it. One of these least certain parts is the account of David's early relations with MICHAL (17-19).

(i) *Early late narratives.*—On the episode of Saul's broken promise of Merab as a wife for David (r S. 1817-19) it is unnecessary to dwell. The story, as all agree, interrupts the original context of chap. 18, to which the insertion has been clumsily fitted by an interpolation in v. 16. We have here, therefore, a notice drawn from a distinct source. The language of vv. 17 and 19 seems to presuppose the story of David and Ishbath (17-25) speaks of the king's promise of his daughter, and the whole narrative implies that David is as yet a mere lad, too young in fact to marry. It might of course be historical in spite of its close connection with the highly imaginative story. Since, however, Michal, not Merab ($\mathfrak{G}^b$, however, has *Merab*), appears in 2 S. 21 as the mother of Adriel's children, it is more than probable that the whole episode of Merab rests on a confusion of names. In short, we have two variants of the same tradition, and the form given in 1 S. 20 ff. is the more likely to be historical.

Nor need we pause long on some other late narratives. (ii) The account of Samuel's solemn consecration of David as king in r S. 16-17 has evidently not a historical but a religious motive. To devout readers the 'from according to God's mind' would have seemed to be disparaged if he had not, equally with his predecessor, been anointed by Samuel. (iii) The episode of David's visit to the prophetic community at Ramoth (19-24) is an attempt, in the style of the midrash, to explain the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' On this, as well as on (i), see *SAUL* 11, n. 84. (iv) The pretended madness of David at Gath (21-19) see *ACUSATION*. To these we should, not inconsiderably, add (v), a part of the story of David and Bathsheba (see *BATHSHEBA*).

Let us now resume the thread of the narrative. David was at first known to the servants of Saul as a

2. At the court of Saul.

brave warrior and a skilled musician, and also as clever of speech and comely in person. Whatever he did seemed to prosper, for he had not only unusual abilities, but also a power of fascination which seemed a special sign of the divine favour (cp 1 S. 452). His prowess in the war against the Philistines marked him out as one worthy to be the king's friend. He was, in fact, rewarded, first of all with the position of a royal armour-bearer, and then with the hand of Saul's daughter, Michal. For a time all went well. In the intervals of military service he played on his harp, and by his skill in music chased away the 'evil spirit' of melancholy, which already threatened to mar the king's career. Saul's gratitude, however, was not proof against the severe trial to which it was exposed by David's growing popularity, and, it would seem, by his close intimacy with Jonathan. The heir to the throne had, like Michal, passed under the spell of David, and become his devoted friend, probably his sworn brother,² and the disturbed mind of the king conceived the idea that Jonathan had stirred up David to be his father's enemy, in the expectation (we must suppose) of succeeding him as king (228). Saul brooded over this idea, and even reasoned with his son on the folly of supposing that his crown, if he came by these unholy means to wear it before the time, would be secure from such a powerful and ambitious subject as David (2031). Hence, tradition reports, Saul 'spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should slay David' (191), and even sought, in a fit of frenzy, to pierce David with his javelin (1815). ($\mathfrak{G}^b$ omits) 196). Whether it was due to Jonathan's influence that the final breach between Saul and David was averted, we cannot tell; the story in 19-17 seems really another version of that in chap. 20. It is equally uncertain whether the story in 19-17 has any claim to represent the closing scene in David's life at Gibeah. There are difficulties in regarding it as the true sequel to 18-16. It may possibly come from another source,³ and refer

¹ This is the view expressed in *EB* 99, art. 'David.' WRS there emphasises the fact that the episode of Merab (including v. 21), like the section of chap. 17 to which it specially refers, is wanting in $\mathfrak{G}^b$, the text represented by which he regards as superior to that of MT in chaps. 17-19 (cp *OT/OT* 4317).

² See WRS *Rev. Version* 185; *COVENANT*, § 4; and cp also, with caution, Trombull, *Blind Covenant* (188).

³ Verse 10 should end at 'escaped,' and v. 11 should begin, 'And it came to pass that night that Saul sent' (so $\mathfrak{G}^b$, but not L).

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to a slightly later period in David's life. The daring spirit of that hero might prompt him to visit his wife, even after his first flight,¹ or at least the first reciters of the tale may have meant it to be so understood. There remains the story in chap. 20, which (putting aside the opening words as a misleading editorial insertion, and 10:4-7 as an expansion, due to an early editor² who loved the theme of Jonathan's friendship, for David) evidently gives a traditional account of the rupture between Saul and David. Whether it is historical, however, is quite uncertain. There were, of course, gaps in the tradition, especially as regards the earlier period of David's life. Two great facts were certain, viz., the transformation of Saul's original kindness towards David into its opposite, and the firm friendship between David and Jonathan. Out of these facts the reciters of legends, aided by a traditional acquaintance with the general circumstances of the time, had to produce the best detailed account of David's flight from Saul that they could.

As was natural, David turned his steps southward. In the hill-country of Judah he would find hiding-places

enough, and if the army of Saul threatened to reach him even there, he could easily seek the hospitality of some one of the neighbouring peoples. This, it is true, would be most displeasing to a worshipper of Yahwe (see 20:16); but it must have already occurred to David as a possibility, for he soon afterwards placed his father and mother under the protection of the king of Moab (22:1 f.; see MOAB). At present,³ his first impulse was to fly with his men to the sanctuary at Nob, or perhaps rather Gibeon (see Nob, where he had already, it would seem, had occasion to consult the priestly oracle (22:13). On his arrival, so the tradition declares, he obtained bread, by a plausible but fictitious story, from the consecrated table, and, as a pledge of victory in the king's 'business,' the mighty sword of Goliath (see GOLIATH, § 3). We can hardly venture to accept this account as correct;⁴ it is most probably a later writer's attempt to fill up a gap in the old tradition. Whatever took place, it is certain that David very soon hastened on to the fortified hill-town of Achish. Here he was still in his native land, though probably not among Israelites (see ACHISH); he could worship his own god, and might hope to be safe from his pursuers. In the fort (not the cave) of Achish he was joined by his family, and by a small band of fellow-outlaws (about 400 in number). Meantime Doeg, the Edomite, who had seen David conversing with the priest Ahimelech at Nob (or Gibeon), had reported the circumstance with details, which may or may not have been his own invention,⁵ to Saul, and the king inferred from the report that Ahimelech had used the sacred oracle in support of treasonable designs of David. It is only his rooted belief in David's treason that excuses the fierceness with which Saul destroyed, not only the eighty-five priests,⁶ but also the entire population of the city of Nob or rather Gibeon (22:18 f.); see GIBEON, DOEG, ABIAHAR, BAN. He also indicated the expulsion of David from the royal family by giving Michal, David's wife, to a new husband (see MICHAL).

David now became a captain of freebooters, levying

¹ The danger of such an enterprise was diminished by the reluctance to violate the apartments of women and to attack a sleeping foe, which appears also in Judg. 10:2, and among the Arabs. Wellhausen cites a closely parallel case from Sprenger's *Leben Muhammads*, 243.

² See the text as exhibited by Budde in *SBOT*.

³ It is incredible that David should have passed by the sanctuary without 'inquiring of Yahwe,' nor does the reference to the 'sword of Goliath' in line 15 much to accept the rest of the story. That the words assigned to Saul in 22:8 rightly express the king's belief is, however, more than probable.

⁴ It is certainly not impossible that David did take the opportunity of consulting the sacred oracle. The reference to the sword of Goliath in 22:8 is interpolated (see Budde).

⁵ So MT Pesh. and Vg.; *DBA*, by a manifest error, 305, 108, combining the two readings, 383 (*Ant.* vi. 12). *DB* has 330.

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blackmail on those who could pay it, in return for protection against Amalekites, Philistines

4. An outlaw. or other enemies. We have an attractive and sympathetic sketch of his conduct, and of his generous spirit which softened the harsher details, in chap. 25. Besides the means of subsistence, David looked, of course, for timely warning of the approach of his bitter enemies. In this way he held his ground manfully (with the support of the priest Abiathar) against almost overwhelming odds, trusting that he was being preserved for high ends. He must have felt that not only he could provide Israel with the leader that needed, though to work directly towards the attainment of the crown would have been contrary to his loyal nature. One point in his favour there was, the value of which can hardly be overrated, viz., the peculiar conformation of the hill-country of Judah. It is necessary for the untravelled student to form by books and photographs some idea of those 'tossed and broken hills' where the valleys are all alike, and large bodies of men may camp near each other without knowing it. *Magnus Conder* goes even further, and claims that through recent identifications the narrative assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. From Gibeon (Gib'at near Mukhris) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell es-Sa'idi) from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, the bounded by the Shephelah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistines and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest spot to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich cornland of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct, it is but a march of 4 m. distance. Here, as at Achish, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehém. At Haras he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Achish, had invaded Keilah immediately beneath him, and it is this proximity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.¹ There can be no doubt that exact identifications of the sites referred to would give the narrative of David's outlaw-period a greater approximation to consistency. But this able explorer's identifications are too often (like that of Gath above) unproven, and he has, on principle, omitted to take account of the composite character of the biblical narrative.²

We left David at Achish; we next find him before another fortified town (1 S. 23:1-3), called Keilah (קַיִלָּה), of which Abiathar was perhaps a native (see GIBEON). His hope was to secure the gratitude of the inhabitants by chastising the Philistines who were besieging it. Supported by an oracle, he attacked and defeated those most dangerous of foes. He was disturbed, however, by another oracle, warning him that the men of Keilah would surrender their benefactor to Saul. The king was, in fact, on his way with his whole fighting force, and David would sooner trust himself to the intricacies of the wilderness than to the 'bolts and bars' of Keilah. Whether David really went from the 'forest of Hareth' to Keilah, is highly uncertain. The anecdote in 23:1-3 is not necessarily the sequel of the connected narrative in 21:1-22. Nor can we assume (with Conder) that the generous action related in chap. 24 took place immediately before the events described in chap. 25; for, as critics agree, the narrative is but a duplicate of the traditional story given in a better form in chap. 26.³ If we ask how much of the

¹ *PEFQ*, 75, p. 149.

² See Conder, 'The Scenery of David's Outlaw Life,' *PEFQ*, 75, pp. 41-48.

³ That the story in chap. 26 is more original than that in chap. 24 is obvious. The conversation which it gives is full of antique and characteristic ideas, wanting in chap. 24. That David is recognised by his voice is meaningless in 24:16 (p. 75 B), but appropriate in 26:17. See *Bib. Res.* 227 f.; and cp. *Che. Ant.*, 12-12.

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details of these hairbreadth escapes is historical, the reply must be equally disappointing to literarists. The central facts of the stories are all that we can safely rely upon. Such a detail, for instance, as the meeting of David and Jonathan in the wilderness of Ziph (23:16-17) is obviously an innocent piece of romance; in fact it is but another version of the favourite story of the 'covenant' between the friends. Nor can we venture to assume that, if David once, in accordance with a chivalrous rule still common in Arabia, spared the life of his sleeping foe, either he or Saul displayed that delicacy of sentiment which a later age attributed to them.

Strangely enough, the two accounts of David's generosity towards Saul are the setting of a perhaps more completely historical story—that of David and Nabal (chap. 25). The portrait of David here given is less idealistic, but seems much more truthful than that in chaps. 24 and 26. Not less interesting is the sketch of Abigail. To her it was that David owed his avoidance of blood-guiltiness. To her, too, he was indebted for the improvement which took place in his social status. As the husband of Abigail, he was no longer a mere freebooter, but the wealthy head of a powerful Calebite family, and so took one step forward towards his ultimate enthronement at Hebron as king of Judah.¹

How long David remained in the Calebite district of Carmel, we do not know. He is next introduced as

8. With the Philistines.

despairing of being able to hold out any longer against his foe; 'there is nothing better for me,' he said, 'than speedily to escape into the land of the Philistines' (27:1). So he placed himself and his 600 at the disposal of Achish, king of Gath. All at ease, however, among the Philistine chieftains, he induced his new suzerain to give him as a residence the outlying town of Ziklag. Here he still maintained amicable relations with his friends in Judah, and though he craftily professed to be engaged in raids against the Negeb of Judah, he was in reality more honourably employed (see ACHISH, AMALEK, § 3).

At length, in the second year, a change in his relation to Achish became imminent. The Philistine lords, who had probably long been suspicious of his intentions, refused to let David join them in their campaign against Saul. David on his side professed eagerness to fight for Achish; but we are not bound to take his words too literally. Historians, it is true, differ in their view of David's conduct. It seems psychologically probable, however, that David was only too glad to be sent back by Achish to Ziklag, with a charge not to cherish revengeful thoughts against his friendly suzerain (1 S. 29:10, 31). A picture, Homeric in its vividness, is given of the effect produced on David and his men by the sight that met them at Ziklag, which the cruel Amalekites had plundered (30:3-4). An oracle encouraged David to pursue his foes. He came up with them, and chastised them severely. The account closes with a list of the towns in Judah, to which David sent politic gifts. His ambitious plans were no doubt maturing.

Meantime Saul had fallen on Gilboa and Israel was in a state of chaos. The Philistines were masters of the

fertile lowlands of Jezreel and the Jordan, but disinclined to interfere with the poorer country of Judah. There were some even in northern Israel who thought that David and David alone could help them, and among these were probably the men of Jabesh-gilead, to whom he sent graciously expressed thanks for their chivalrous rescue of the bodies of Saul and his sons (2 S. 25:7 cp 31:7). David,

¹ Wi. (*GI*, 1:25) sees underlying the Nabal-story a tradition that David was 'prince of Caleb' (a tribe or district), and, following C. Niebuhr, he even finds this title in 2 S. 38, where, according to EV, Abner says, 'Am I a dog's head?' but where Wi. renders, 'Am I the prince of Caleb?' (257). Marquart's theory (see above, § 1, note 2), that David was really a man of S. Judah, might be used to corroborate Wi.'s opinion. In any case, the facts on which Marquart's theory is based illustrate this period. See DOUG, § 3 (5).

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however, was content to let Abner have his way, and attempt to consolidate the weakened royal authority in the North, nominally for Saul's incapacitated son, Ishbaal. For the present, David transferred his residence, in obedience to an oracle, to Hebron, placing his men in the neighbouring towns or villages. The elders of Judah took the hint, and solemnly acknowledged him as their king.

It was not a grand position. As king of Judah, David was no less a vassal of the Philistines than when he was only lord of Ziklag; indeed, he still retained Ziklag. This only shows his caution, however, not his want of independence. Even Abner could not venture to let the puppet king Ishbaal revolt from the Philistines;² rest was the last need both of Israel and of Judah. We cannot, however, suppose that David and his kin were idle. It is, on the whole, probable that the conquest of the Jebusite fortress of Zion belongs to the period of David's tribal kingship,³ and not (as is generally supposed) to the commencement of his enlarged sovereignty. When the Philistines made that bold attempt to seize David which is related in 2 S. 5:17, David, we learn, took refuge in 'the stronghold.' It is difficult to suppose that a different 'stronghold' is meant from that mentioned in 27:79 (which there is reason to assign to the same document). The Philistines themselves are uncertain where they will find David; clearly then David had more than one place of residence. We are also told that they 'came up' to seek David, and spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem. It is true that where the narrative 2 S. 5:6-9 is placed, it seems to have reference to the beginning of David's kingship over Israel. Probably, however, something has fallen out before v. 6. The lost passage presumably referred to David's removal of his residence to Jerusalem; the narrative which has been preserved explains how the king and 'his men' possessed themselves of the all but impregnable fortress.

By this important conquest David secured his position from all possible enemies, whether Philistine or Israeli. He also doubtless hoped to make Zion what it ultimately became—the capital of united Israel. We may assume that this caused uneasiness to Abner, who doubtless had dreams of a reunited Israel under the sceptre of a descendant or kinsman of Saul. These dreams must have been rudely interrupted by the news of David's success. Abner well understood what the conquest of Zion portended, and it was natural that he should seek to counteract David's ambition. He had no occasion to form an elaborate plan of operations; he had but to allow the unsleeping jealousy of Israel and Judah to display itself. There would be constant border hostilities, and Judah, as the weaker of the two, would (he must have hoped) be reduced to vassalage to Israel, and in time perhaps incorporated into the kingdom. A 'very sore battle' is reported between the men of Ishbaal and those of David by the pool of Gibeon. It began with a mere sham fight; but such a contest could not be expected to end without bloodshed, and Abner must have foreseen this when he and the men of Ishbaal set out from Mahanaim (2 S. 2:12-17). The result was disastrous for the cause of Ishbaal, and year after year the war was renewed with constant loss of prestige to the house of Saul. Fierce private passions, too, added to the horrors of the time (see ABNER; ISHTHBAAL, 1; JOAB, 1). At length, Ishbaal being removed, David stood alone, sad but confident, for who else could be thought of in this hour of need? Had he not in the olden time been Israel's leader against the Philistines, and was he not by marriage a member of

¹ This view is accepted by St., E. Mey., We., Kamph., Kittel.

² See Kamph. *Z. ITH* 643-97 1884; Ki. *Hist.* ii. The older view (see St.) was that Abner upheld the banner of Israel against the Philistines; but Kamph. shows at great length that the evidence will not justify this.

³ See Klo. *Saml. u. Kdn.* 146 ff.; *Gesch.* 150.

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Saul's house (2 S. 5:23-31-36)? So the elders of Israel accepted the inevitable, and anointed the son of Jesse king over Israel.

David was now, according to it not very early tradition,¹ in his thirty-eighth year, seven and a half years

had elapsed since he first became king at Hebron. His training had been long and varied, and he might now fairly hope to finish the work which

Saul had begun, and remove for ever the danger of Philistine invasions. The Philistines knew what they had to expect from the new king of 'all Israel and Judah,' and lost not a moment in 'seeking him.' They felt towards him as the Syrian king felt towards Alab; if he were only slain or captured, the title of Israel was settled. They knew, too, the rapidity of his movements, and sought to capture him before he could retire into his newly-won stronghold of Zion. They were too late for this, and challenged him to battle in the valley of Rephaim westward from Jerusalem (2 S. 5:17-25; cp BAAL-PERAZIM). Two great victories are said to have been won on this occasion by David. We have also a record of individual exploits and of personal dangers run by David in 2 S. 21:15-22 23:1-7 (see ISITH-RENON, etc.), which must, it would seem, have stood originally close to 56-12 17-25. It is singular that this should be almost all that is told us respecting what, if entirely David's work, would be the greatest of all his achievements. One more notice indeed has come down to us (2 S. 8:1); but it is tantalisingly short. It states that David smote the Philistines and subdued them, and took 'something of importance' out of the hand of the Philistines.² The Chronicler thinks that what David 'took' was 'Gath and its towns' (1 Ch. 18:1), and this is certainly plausible, for deeds of high renown were performed near Gath (see ELHANAN, 1), and afterwards we find 600 men of Gath in David's service (2 S. 15:18; see below, § 11). It is more probable, however, that Ashdod was the city spoken of in the true text (see MÉRHEG-AMMAN). Still it is doubtful whether such a total defeat of the Philistines as the passage just quoted ascribes to David, is historical. That the Israelites were delivered from the dread of these foes is indisputable; but that David broke the power of the Philistines is not probable. It is a reasonable conjecture that the deliverance of the Israelites was helped either by an Egyptian, or by a Musrite (N. Arabian) intervention.³ Moreover, the friendly terms on which David appears to have stood with the Philistines at a later time suggest that he had made a treaty of peace with this people on conditions equally honourable to both sides, one of which, as we have elsewhere seen reason to think, was the restoration of the ark (see ARK, § 5).

However this may be, David was certainly not deficient in the qualities of a general. This is plain from his wise measures on the rebellion of Absalom, of which we have very full particulars. His other wars, with neighbours only less dangerous than the Philistines, may be conveniently referred to here. We have a summary of them in the same section that refers to the subduing of the Philistines (2 S. 8:1-14, cp 1 S. 11:47, and see SAUL, 1 § 3), and further information respecting the Ammonite war in 2 S. 10:11-12 24:31. It is important, however, to study these notices critically, both from a purely literary, and from a historical, point of view. The two points of view, it is true, cannot be kept very long apart. A preliminary literary analysis, however, will quickly show us that in 2 S. 8:1-14 we are dealing, not with an original

historical, but with a panegyric made up from various sources, containing strong traces of editorial work.

to 2 S. 10 the case is not at first sight so clear. A further investigation reveals here, too, the hand of the editor. The contents also must be criticised, and will greatly clear up the problems of literary and historical criticism. The historical results of the whole process are not unimportant.⁴

(a) *Moab*.—Little enough is told us of David's war with the Moabites (cp MOAB); but that little is suggestive. With cold-blooded precision the conqueror destroyed two-thirds (such is the meaning of 2 S. 8:2) of the fighting force of Moab. The description seems to imply that it was an act of national retaliation, and the offence which caused this may be plausibly conjectured. The kingdom of Israel, as Kamphausen has shown, by no means so powerful as the early writers supposed. The defeat on Gilboa had brought the Israelites to the verge of ruin, and Saul's feeble successor had to maintain, not only with the Philistines, but also with Moabites and the Ammonites, to whom his capital Mahanaim, was only too accessible. It is probable that both Moab and Ammon granted him peace only on insulting conditions, and we can form some idea of the insults that were possible in such circumstances from 1 S. 11:2 2 S. 10:4. David of course had to give to insolent neighbours a lesson.

(b) *Ammon*.—Passing on to the Ammonites, notice that, if there is a doubt as to the degree of severity of their punishment (2 S. 12:1), there is none to the gravity of their offence (2 S. 10:1-5). The account of the details of the war requires very careful criticism. The conduct of the host of Israel was entrusted to Joab, and it was owing to the politic self-restraint of general that David in person stormed the Ammonite capital, and carried away the crown of the idol Milcom (see AMMON, § 8). The difficulty of the narrative is caused by the statements which it contains respecting the Aramean allies of the Ammonites and successes which David gained over them.⁵ Was Zolab mentioned in 2 S. 10:6 (undoubtedly an anachronism) as joining with Beth-rehob to send help to Ammonites, a powerful kingdom N. of Damascus, which all Aram W. of the Euphrates was subject to (2 S. 10:6), or was it a small state near the land of Ammon, which on various grounds agrees with our expectations? If the latter view be adopted, we must regard 2 S. 10:15-19 as a late editorial insertion, akin to the much edited passage 8:1-8, and that we know respecting David's relations to Arameans is that Joab routed the forces sent by them to help the Ammonites, so that they 'feared to help Ammonites any more' (2 S. 10:13 19b). The statement of 8:6, in itself so improbable, that David annihilated Damascus, is due to a misreading of a passage which appears over again in 7:14. The editor, by mistake, read 'Aram' instead of 'Edom,' and then interpreted 'Aram' as 'Aram-Damascus.'⁶

(c) *Edom*.—Lastly we come to the war with Edom, which, as we are told in 2 S. 8:11, was incorporated into David's kingdom. We are left entirely ignorant as to the cause of the war,⁷ and know next to nothing of the details, though the conquest of such a small region would have been well worth describing. A general

1 On the criticism, see SAMUEL, ii. §§ 4, 6, and cp BUNYAN, 215 f., 242 ff.; Klo. *Sam. u. Kön.*; Wi. *GT* 1:13 27, 10. For another estimate of the evidence, see ISRAEL, § 12.

2 RV 98 gives the more favourable view (on which see TRS 228) that David put the Ammonitish captives to labour at public works.

3 See Wi. *GT* 1:13 144.

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Ammonites, we have degrees of the same; there is none as yet. The account of Ammon's careful criticism of his father is entrusted to Joseph, under constraint of this the Ammonitish deity of the idol-god of the narrative, which contains requiemes and the like.² Was the help to the Danasians, to be subject (as the state near the ends agrees best) view be adopted, rhetorical in § 8-9, and all relations to the sent by them are to help de-

The statement David annexed passage which, or, by mistake, then inter, etc.

war with Edom, incorporated by entirely ignorant next to nothing such a difficult thing. A great

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strange inconsistency to a later age. Whether the course that he took was prescribed by an oracle, it is now impossible to say; the narrative in 2 S. 7, with the accompanying prophecy, is one of the late Deuteronomistic insertions, and cannot be safely followed.¹

David was careful to combine the necessary innovations

to disintegration inherent in the old clan-organisation
(see GOVERNMENT, § 18; he see to counteract by
the institution of a bodyguard as a natural
development out of his old leaders. This
well-disciplined and able army' was sufficient to
old national militia, but suspicion. Specially
heroes of whom a list It is uncertain whether
the knights';² view. They were
of which some were by no means reliable (AVV
able men (AVV each other of Abs David's service with Uzziah the Highpriest
and Uzziah the Highpriest how well these Palestine confidence, is proved by 2S there threats, and on later C foreign guards [e.g. Zeph. 18, 20, 41] *JH*, WRS
1 Jf (*on 29, 2*, n.)

(ii) The list of heroes in 2 S. 23 enumerates 'the Three' *zār šēpār*; 4 MACH (3) ELIŠAR (1) and SHAMMAH (1); then follow Abishai and Benahai, who occupy an intermediary position; and finally, the hero who occupies the thirty-seventh in a list of 40. There is some difficulty in assigning this number (see ELIKA, 19170111, 2), and the numerous textual corruptions preclude complete certainty as to their names and origin (besides the special articles of *Ying. Fund.* 75 p. 1).

The heroes seem to have been originally arranged in pairs according to their homes; thus, M. harai and Heleb from N. gadiah (22, 24), two from Iattir (15), one each from the neighbouring places of Prathon and Geshi (30, 31). It is noticeable that they are almost wholly of Benjamite and Judean origin, and this supports the conclusion that the list in the main refers to the early days of David's life (p. 69, cf. 1 S. 23, 17), before his supremacy was spread over the rest of Israel. Note the head of David's guard, and how he apparently reached the position he holds in 2 S. 8, 14 (see below). The omission of Joab as the holder of any official position is remarkable, and suggests that he had not yet become 'captain of the host', though the references in 77, 18 (Abi-hai, the father of the host), 1 p. 7, 24, 37 seem to show that he was not unknown. It is highly probable that the whole chapter was its present form to a comparatively late editor (cf. Kne. *U. m.* i. 2, § 2, p. 11).

(u.) In 1 Ch. II the same list is substantially repeated—in a few cases with better readings—and a few names occur in 1 Ch. II 27:1-4 (see below, § 1.1 i.). Verses 1-4 of 1 Ch. II 27:1-4 add sixteen other heroes, who, to judge from the gentilia (often doubtful, see MAHAYITE, MIKAYATHI, MITNATHI) are partly of east-Jordanic origin. The authenticity of these names is a difficult question. They may have proceeded from a source common to both compilations (see Kue. *Zeit.* 12, § 10, n. 1); but the mention of Reubenites, and the preponderating proportion of theophorous names as well as the relative lateness of such names as Jasiel, Jeiel, Josphaviah in this chapter, render their genuineness open to question.

(iii.) Further lists of warriors are found in 1 Ch. 12, which enumerates those who came to David (a) at Ziklag (1-22), and (b) at Hebron (2: ff.). (3) The latter is purely fabulous. It represents the warriors as assembling from all the tribes (not ex-

¹ The modifications introduced into this narrative both by the author of the gloss in 7, 13 and by the Chronist (1 Ch. 17) are interesting evidence of the constant recasting of old material carried on by the editors. See SAUVET, II, § 5; and cf. We. *l. rel.*, I, 1, 177.

² *ḥarṣūt* and *ḥarṣūt* were sometimes confounded (see 1 Ch. 11:15, 12:18, Var. Bib.). Klo. prefers *ḥarṣūt* (cp 11. on Ex. 14:7). At any rate such a term as 'the thirty' would soon become conventional (see 2 S. 23:39). Cp CHAMBERLAIN, § 10.

Klo., Kl., Bu. It seems doubtful whether David had really had any prolonged or bitter strife with the Philistines.

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(see Haggai 1.11).
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honest and vigorous ruler both in peace and in war, the evidence given above sufficiently shows. In after-times his name became the symbol of a righteous ruler (Jer. 23, 34, and further criticism of the records has only confirmed the eulogy given to David by Robertson Smith in 1877: that his administration of justice 'was never stained by selfish considerations or motives of personal animosity.'¹ Nor does he deserve to be blamed for his cruelty to Israel's foreign enemies, when we consider the imperfect development of the idea of morality in his time, and the fate that would have been in store for himself and his people, had the conquerors and the conquered changed places. The doubtless thought it absolutely necessary to compel Israel's cruel and malicious neighbours; to the Edomites at his own door he was gentle;² compare him with Sargon or Ashur-bani-pal, in whom cruelty was joined to the lust of conquest, and how great is his moral superiority! Nor can we easily admit a doubt as to the genuineness of his religion. He lived in the fear of God, according to the standard of his times.

The generous elevation of David's character is seen most clearly in those parts of his life where an inferior nature would have been most at fault—in his conduct towards Saul (with which the story of REPHAIH is in no way inconsistent), in the blameless reputation of himself and his band of outlaws in the wilderness of Judah, in his repentance (which we so greatly desire to believe) under the rebuke of Nathan, and in his noble and truly religious bearing on the revolt of Absalom, the accuracy of the account of which is guaranteed by the antique elements which it contains. His unflinching insight into character, and his power of winning men's hearts and touching their better impulses, appear in innumerable traits of the history (e.g., 2 S. 14:1-20; 3:1-5; 23:15-17). His knowledge of men was the divination of a poet rather than the acquired genius of a statesman, and his capacity for rule stood in harmonious unity with his

people by song? The old tradition knows him as a musician (1 S. 16:4-5); late editors of the psalms, but not Amos, may must have supposed ²¹), as a poet. Several poems, too, are ascribed to his authorship in the Books of Samuel, and those who inserted them had a very definite belief on the subject (see SAMUEL, n. § 7). One

4) It would be a strange exception to this rule if out of pure inadvertence David urged his son Solomon to put certain persons who had injured him to death (1 K 2: 29). Three answers may be given to this charge. (1) If David spoke in his state these words, it was because he feared to leave Judah, should heeding unrepentant and Shimei's solemn curse unheeded, by the death of the offenders: continued enmity would, words as ribbed. (2) David supply a vigour of mind and a regard permit us to assume in a dying king. After neglecting to communicate with the elders of Israel and Judah respecting his successor to the throne, it is not likely that David's mental powers suddenly rallied, so as to enable him to make this foolish and even eloquent speech. (3) The text is precisely one of the occasions on which a narrator was likely to invent. Solomon needed to be excused to unfriendly readers for having put Ishb and Shimei to death. The excuse (which in the narrator's view was perfectly valid) could best be given by introducing it into a last speech of David.

² The allusion is to Aramath, or rather Adonijah, as the name should probably be read. See ARAMATH.

[illegible]

David to be more nearly a saint than he appears to us in almost any part of the Chronicler's biography.

The effects of David's sin lasted to the close of his life, for the undue influence of Bathsheba is conspicuous in the sad story of the competition for David's crown. Even apart from this, however, the royal princes could not but display the faults due to their birth and education. The narrative is imputably exact. We shudder at the brutal passion of Amnon, and the shameless counsel of the wily Jonadab. If a brilliant suggestion of Ewald may be accepted, we see the 'intransigent expression,' or in plain English the black scowl that for two long years rested on the face of Absalom,¹ and the name of the court when the blow was struck, and Amnon was assassinated in the midst of his brethren. Not less valuable psychologically is the graphic description of Absalom's untimely revolt (see *AUSAROM*, 1).

On the tragic death of the popular favorite, better thoughts were turned to David's people, who brought themselves of the many occasions on which he had saved them from their enemies. The men of Judah, however, took the opportunity of putting forward that claim to precedence (2 S. 19:41-44) which the king's policy had steadily ignored, and a rupture ensued between north and south, which, but for Joab's energy, might have led to a second and more dangerous rebellion (see, however, SHULY, 11). After this nothing seems to have occurred to trouble the peace of the kingdom. David did not many more years to live, for Absalom's rebellion must have occurred near the last decade of his father's life (Kittel, *ibid.* 2:173). The closing scene in the biography (1 K. 1:1-21a) represents David as derelict and bedridden, and an easy prey to the intrigues of Solomon. The unifying account of the palace-intrigue (see ABRAMSON, 1), which placed Bathsheba's son upon the throne, and was followed by the execution of Adonijah and Joab, shocked the Chronicler's sense of reverence. He therefore (as also perhaps the author of a lost Midrash on which he bases his work) substitutes for it a great religious function, in which David plays the leading part, and Solomon appears as the meek recipient of much highly spiritual advice and of minute instructions as to the building of the temple (1 Ch. 28:29).

We have now to estimate the character of David.² We may safely assert that, if the narrative is

to his physical but also to his moral qualities. In him the better elements of the Israelitish character start at once into a new life. There are some points in him that repel us; in these he is the child of the past. There is more in him that attracts us; in this he is a herald of the future. One of the later writers who have contributed to the story of Saul and David describes the latter as 'a man according to God's mind' (1 S. 13:14), which means, as the context interprets it, one in whom Yahweh God of Israel has found the qualities of a leader of his people (cp Jer 31:5). That David was an

1 On 2 S. 13.12 see Ew. *Hist.* 3.172. The suggestion is given in fuller form by Dr. WRS 274, whose "only doubt is whether a word (*hinnu*) meaning in itself simply 'unhappiness' could be used absolutely to signify a "token of unhappiness" for others." WRS (DAY in *Exodus*) accepted the view; W. and Ba. are also attracted by it. The present writer prefers Ew.'s alternative suggestion, viz., to read הַנִּיחָה instead of הַנִּיחָה (Ki) or הַנִּיחָה (Ki); but הַנִּיחָה remains unexplained. Almost certainly הַנִּיחָה is right. Read, with him, הַנִּיחָה . . . הַנִּיחָה 12, 'for hostility was in Absalom's heart'; cp הַנִּיחָה 3.17.

The most helpful characterization of David from a moderate traditional point of view is that of Koh. *Lehrb. der Bibl.*, 2 vols., 1874-1887 (84). Owing to the progress of criticism, however, all the earlier sketches of David's character need a thorough revision. A bridge between the old and the new is offered in Weyne's *Life*, 1872, where the results of recent criticism of the Books of Samuel and of the Psalter are presupposed, and all that is still tenable in the earlier estimates of David is retained. See also *Lehrb.*, §§ 170-2.

DAVID, CITY OF

DAY

of them—the deeply-felt elegy on Saul and Jonathan—was taken from the so-called Book of JASAR (*q.v.*, § 2), and another—the short elegy on Abner—may have been copied from the same book. These occur in 2 S. 19-27 and 333f. respectively. They have an antique air and are worthy of David. Whether any religious elements formerly present have been removed, we cannot say; but there is no special reason to think so. That the song of triumph in 2 S. 22 (= Ps. 18) and the 'last words of David' in 23:1-7 (both highly religious compositions) are Davidic, is not, on grounds of criticism, tenable. Nor can any of the psalms in the Psalter be ascribed with any probability to David. The eager search for possible Davidic psalms seems to be a proof that the seekers have taken up the study of the Psalter at the wrong end. That David composed religious songs is of course probable enough. When he and his companions 'played before Yahwe with all their might, and with songs and with (divers musical instruments)',¹ it is reasonable to conjecture that 'some of these songs had been made for the purpose by the poet-king.'² But how much resemblance would these psalms have had to the psalms of the second temple? and how could the David known to us from history have entered into the ideas of Psalms 32 and 51, which are assigned by Deitzsch and Orelli to the sad period of David's great sin? Would not that have been one of the greatest of miracles? See PSALMS.

[In the above sketch sentences have been here and there borrowed from the late Robertson Smith's art. 'David' in the *EB*, especially where David's character and his originality as a ruler are referred to. The advance of criticism since 1877 required a fresh survey of the subject. On Renan's view of David in his *Hist. d'Israël*, see WRS *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1888, p. 134 f. Dümcker (*Hist. of Ant.* vol. ii.) is hardly less unsympathetic than Renan, and his narrative needs adjustment to the results of critical analysis. St.'s *GT* 1223-29, and We.'s *Prod.*, *ET*, 261-272, and *IT* 59-64, are of the highest importance. Wi.'s *GT* 1 is fresh and original, but often rash. Cheyne's *Aids* (92), part I, relates to the David-narratives; Ki.'s analysis in *Kau. HS*, the results of which are tabulated in chap. I, is provisionally adopted. See also Dr. TBS *Cont.*; Kamph., *Philister und Hebräer zur Zeit Davids*, *ZATW* [86] 43-97; Marquart's *Fundamente* (97); and the articles in this Dictionary on Samuel and Chronicles (with the books there referred to). Prof. W. R. Smith's article in *EB*⁹⁹ should be taken with the corresponding portion of Ewald's *Hist. op.* Chandler's *Life of David* (1st ed. 1766) gives answers to the very real difficulties suggested by Pierre Bayle which are now superseded. Stahelin's *Leben Davids* (60) is recommended by Robertson Smith for the numerous parallels adduced from Oriental history. The late H. A. White's art. in Hastings' *DB* has great merit. For an account of David as a tactician, see Dieulafoy's monograph.]

T. K. C.

DAVID, CITY OF (דָּוִד, דָּוִד), 2 Sam. 57 1 K. 21. See JERUSALEM.

DAY. Among the ancients the day was reckoned in a great variety of ways. The Babylonians reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the Athenians from sunset to sunset, the Umbrians from noon to noon, the common people everywhere from dawn to dark, the Roman priests and those by whom the civil day has been defined, as also the Egyptians and Hipparchus, from midnight to midnight (Plin. *HN* 270, § 138). 'From dawn to dark' (*ante lucem ad tenebras*) was the ancient and ordinary meaning of a day (20) among the Israelites; night, as being the time 'when no man can work' (In. 94), might, it was considered, be left out of account altogether, or, at all

events, as being the evident complement of the 'day' and involved in it, did not require explicit mention. Thus the word 'day' came to have a twofold meaning at one time signifying the period from sunrise to sunset at another including day's inseparable accompaniment the night, and embracing the whole period from sunrise to the next. Only in cases where the count had to be brought out, or there was risk of ambiguity was it necessary to name the night (לַיְלָה) expressly, as, for example, in Gen. 7:12 31:19. Apart from this and the combination of יוֹם and לַיְלָה, the Hebrews possessed no expression for the civil day as including day and night; for the designation בֹּקֶר, 'evening' and morning, which makes its first appearance in the second century B.C. (Dan. 8:14), equivalent to the Greek *εὐχθέρων* (2 Cor. 11:25), is but a combination precisely similar to the older יוֹם and לַיְלָה.

The Israelites regarded the morning as the beginning of the day; in the evening the day 'declined' or 'went down,' and until the new day (בֹּקֶר, 'morning') broke it was necessary to 'tarry all night' (עַד בֹּקֶר, 196-9 and the series in Nu. 11:32, 'all that day and all the night and all the next day'). Not till post-exilic times do we find traces of a new mode of reckoning which makes day begin at sunset and continue till the sunset following. In P, it is true, the expression 'day and night' (e.g., Lev. 8:35 Nu. 9:21) is unhesitatingly used, not 'night and day,' and the evening following the fourteenth day of the first month is regarded as the evening of the day (Ex. 12:18); but Lev. 23:32 certainly reckons the day as extending from evening to evening, and the same mode of reckoning seems to have been in the mind of the writer (P) when, after describing the work of each day, he invariably adds, 'So there was evening and there was morning, a first [second, third, etc.] day' (Gen. 1:5 8:13 etc., יוֹם וָלַיְלָה, לַיְלָה וָבֹקֶר, יוֹם וָלַיְלָה, etc.). The later mode of reckoning is shown also in the above-mentioned expression in Dan. 8:14 (בֹּקֶר וָלַיְלָה), in the order of the words 'evening, morning, noon' in Ps. 55:17 (עֶרֶב וָבֹקֶר וָצֹהַר), and in the 'night and day,' 'night or day,' of the late passages Is. 27:3 31:10 Esth. 4:16. In connection with this later Jewish custom one has to remember the importance which the new moon (visible only in the evening) had for the Israelites in the determination of their feasts, and it must not be forgotten that other ancient peoples, who observed lunar divisions of time (Athenians, Gauls, Germans) also began their day with evening. All the same, it is undeniably a somewhat unnatural mode of reckoning, and as far as Israel is concerned can have come into use only when it was desirable to fix times with legal and uniform precision for the nation at large.

The ancient Israelites had no precise subdivision of the day for accurate measurement of time. They designated the various periods of the day by the natural changes which marked its successive stages, or by the successive occupations in ordinary daily routine. Thus it was in the nature of things that morning (בֹּקֶר), midday (צֹהַר), and evening (עֶרֶב) should be distinguished, and equally so that morning should be spoken of as the rising of the morning, the breaking of the day (Gen. 19:15 32:24 [25]), or the rising of the sun (Gen. 19:23 32:1 [4]); midday, the heat of the day (Gen. 18:1 8:11) or the height of the day [i.e. the perfect day] (Prov. 4:12); afternoon, the time of the day's decline (Judg. 19:2); and evening, the time of the going down of the sun (Gen. 15:12 17:1) or of 'the wind of the day' or evening breeze (Gen. 38 Cant. 2:17 [when the day is cool] 46). Specially noticeable is the expression בֵּין עֶרֶב וּבֵין עֶרֶב, 'between the two evenings,' met with only in

¹ In Dt. 28:66 Jer. 14:17 the original text had 'day and night' (see 5); a late transcriber substituted 'night and day' in accordance with the mode of expression current in his own time.

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P (Ex. 126 16 12 29 30 41 302 Lev. 23 5 Nu. 9 3 5 11 28 48), which can mean only 'towards evening,' 'about the evening time,' since it is used to indicate the same period that is called in Dt. 16 the time of the going down of the sun (cp. Ex. 126 Nu. 9 3 11). Whether the form ought to be taken as a dual, and 'the two evenings' understood as meaning 'the evening of the sun and the evening of its still visible light,' may be left an open question; but it is important to note that the evening sacrifice prescribed by the law to be made עֶשְׂרֵים וְשֵׁנִי—i.e., towards evening (Ex. 29 39 41 Nu. 28 4 8)—was offered in the first century of our era in the afternoon between half-past two and half-past three (cp. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 43 and Mishna, *Pesahim* 51; also *Avot* 31 10 3 30, where the prayer associated with the evening sacrifice also is made at the ninth hour), and that only the Samaritans and Karaites maintain the old correct interpretation. The change possibly may not have taken place till after the Maccabean period; for in Daniel (9 21) the daily offering is still spoken of as עֶשְׂרֵים וְשֵׁנִי, 'the evening oblation,' and no place in the OT gives any hint of a change (cp. on the other hand, the reminiscences of psalmody by night in the temple: 1 Ch. 9 33 23 30 Ps. 92 2 3 [34] 134 1; cp. 119 62). By reference to functions of daily recurrence, morning is called 'the time of incense' (1 K. 18 36); the middle of the afternoon, the time of the offering of the Mishka (1 K. 18 39 36); and the evening, 'the time that women go out to draw water' (Gen. 24 11), or 'the time of the evening oblation' (Dan. 9 21; cp. Ezra 9 4 f.). Cp. also 'cock-crowing' as denoting early morning (Mk. 14 30 72).

The OT affords no evidence that the Israelites divided their day into twelve hours as the Babylonians did.

The sundial (2) of Ahaz (2 K. 20 9 11 Is. 38 8), whatever it was (see DIAL.), did not lead to a more accurate measurement of time on the part of the people, and even at so late a date as that of Daniel (4 16 5 5) the Aramaic word שָׂעָה ('hour') does not mean any exact portion of time. reckoning by hours is met with first in the NT, where the day consists of twelve hours (Jn. 11 9) or twelfths simply designated as first [second, etc.] of the day, reckoned as beginning at sunrise (cp. Acts 2 15 Mt. 20 3 5 6 27 35 40 etc.). The hour was thus with the Jews a variable quantity, as it was also with the Babylonians, the twelfth part of the day ranging from forty-nine to seventy-one minutes according to the season of the year. The division of the day into twelve parts and the further development of the sexagesimal system as a whole had commended itself to the Babylonians from their observation that, at the vernal equinox, the time between the appearance of the first direct ray of the sun and that of visibility of the entire disk above the horizon amounted to a 300th of the whole time during which the sun was visible in the heavens, or the 720th part of a full day reckoned from one sunrise to another.

Equal divisions of the night were of older date than equal divisions of the day. Three night-watches were recognised: the first (שָׁמַר אֶשְׁמֶר; Lam. 2 19), the middle (שָׁמַר תְּשִׁמֶר; Judg. 7 19), within which, of course, midnight fell, Ex. 11 4) and the last (שָׁמַר אֶשְׁמֶר; Ex. 11 4 1 S. 11 11).

From the NT we learn that, in the first century of our era at least, the Roman division into four watches had in common use superseded the old division into three (Mk. 13 35 δὲ μεσονύκτιον, ἀλεκτοπορεύων; and πρῶτη, Mt. 14 25 Mk. 6 43 Lk. 12 3, cp. Acts 12 4). From the division of the day into twelve hours the step to a similar division of the night was easy (so, certainly, in Acts 23 23; cp. also Acts 16 1 Lk. 12 3) and, for the last cited passage, see the parallel in Mt. 21 43 which speaks of 'watch' not 'hour'.

'Day' is sometimes used in a half-apophorical sense. Thus in Hos. 2 15 7 it means 'high day' (cf. Job 31 'birthday'; Jer. 50 27 Job 18 5 15 23 Ps. 37 11, 13, 37 'day of doom'; Is. 9 3 14 'day of battle'). On the expression 'day of Yahweh' (Isa.

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115 Ezek. 13 5 Is. 2 12) and 'day of judgment' (2 Pet. 3 7 ἡμέρα κρίσεως) see EPOCHAL DAY. Paul uses the expression ἀνθρωπίνη ἡμέρα (1 Cor. 7 1) in contrast to ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (1 K. 17 24 1 Cor. 1 8 [see Var. Bile]; ἡ κυριακή ἡμέρα, Rev. 1 10; see 100 9'S DAY) to mean an ordinary 'day of trial' (Grimm) compares *Zandak*, *Reichstag*. See also 'Tag' in Winer's *HBW*, as also in *PKE*, and Riehm's *HBW*; Boninger, *HA* 202 f.; Nowack, *HA* 1 214 f.; Herzfeld, *GLT* (37) 2 184 f. and Schürer, *GV* 2 234 3rd ed. 2 295.

DAY'S JOURNEY (יוֹם דֶּרֶךְ, Nu. 11 31; ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, Lk. 24 40). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. For 'sabbath day's journey,' see SABBATH, § 4, n.

DAYS MAN (יוֹמָנִים), Job 9 33 EV; EV^{mg} UMPIRE (see Murray under 'daysman'); Davidson quotes Spenser, *Fairie Queen*, ii. 8 25. G¹ renders by μεσιτης καὶ ἐλέγχων. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10.

DAY STAR. 1. (לֵלָה; εὐεφωρος), Is. 14 12 RV; 2. (φωεφωρος), 2 Pet. 1 19. See LUCIFER.

DEACON and DEACONESS (ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ).

1. *The Word.* We may consider first the use of the word and of its cognates.

In the Gospels the word *διακονος* is used (1) literally, of a servant who prepares or serves a meal, Mt. 23 1, Jn. 2 5 9; (2) metaphorically (Mk. 9 35 10 43 Mt. 23 11 20 26, Jn. 12 26). It is never used by Lk. who, in what seems a parallel to sayings in Mk., prefers the participle ο *διακονων* (22 26 f.); in one place (10 40), however, he uses *διακονος* of the preparation of a meal. The verb (*διακονω*) is likewise used (1) literally, of preparing or supplying food (Mk. 14 13 Mt. 4 11 14 the angel); 14 14 (Mt. Lk.), Lk. 10 40 12 37 17 Jn. 12 Mt. 2 44 (rather more widely); and again somewhat more widely (Mk. 16 44 Mt. 27 55 Lk. 8 3) of the women who ministered to Jesus in his journeyings in Galilee; (2) metaphorically (Lk. 22 26 f.; Jn. 12 26).

The ordinary word for a servant in the Gospels is δοῦλος, a bond-servant or slave; but a δοῦλος may be called upon to *διακονειν* (Lk. 17 7), and in the case of a functionary may be termed *διακονος* (Mt. 22 13 26). Δοῦλος emphasises relation to a master; *διακονος*, performance of service. The latter word is free from the associations of slavery which belong to the former. It was thus fitted for adoption as the designation of any form of Christian service rendered to Christ or to his Church.

Accordingly in Acts we find *διακονος* frequently in this sense: A 13 17 25, the *διακονος* of apostles; p 11, the daily *διακονος* by which the needs of the poorer brethren were met.

2. In Acts, suppl. 11 and, in contrast to this, the *διακονος* of the word (9 4). In 11, 12 and 12 25 *διακονος* is used of the help in the famine rendered by Antioch to the brethren in Judaea (a sense which recurs in Paul's epistles). In 20 24 Paul speaks more generally of fulfilling the *διακονος* which he has received of the Lord Jesus; and in 21 9 he declares what God has wrought among the Gentiles through his *διακονος*. The word *διακονος* does not occur at all in Acts (as it does not in Lk.); but *διακονω* is used in a literal sense, notice of serving the tables; and metaphorically of Timothy and Onesimus, who 'ministered' to Paul (19 22).

In the first of the four chronological groups of the Pauline epistles, the only instance of the word for its cognates is 1 Thess. 5 12, where Timothy is called 'the *διακονος*'.

3. In Epistles, *ποις διακονος*, *diakonia* (cf. the gospel of Ch. 1). In the series of 20 34 the words are freely used. Paul and Apollos are *διακονος* through whom we believed (1 Cor. 3 5). 'The *διακονος* of *διακονος*' are spoken of in 12 5; and of the household of Stephanas the remarkable phrase is used, 'they appointed (or 'set') themselves unto *διακονος* to the saints' (19 1). This passage alone would show that the words were not yet limited to ecclesiastical use. In 2 Cor. the most noteworthy passages are 7 15 12 19 23, where the words are applied to the collection for the Greek churches for the poor saints in Jerusalem, a service on which Paul and the greatest stress as being a means of cementing the unity between the Jewish and the Gentile portions of the Church. The Epistle to the Romans (12 3 7) shows us his anxiety for this matter, and his fixed resolve to carry out his part of the person at any risk to liberty or life. Here again, in 12 19, *διακονω* and *διακονος* are used of the ministration to temporal needs. In the same epistle (14 1) occur the notable words 'I testify my *διακονος* to the Gentiles'; and the well-known words with which he uses the term 'seen when he speaks of the temporal as well as the *διακονος* of God' (13 4). The application of the word to Phoebe of Cenchreae (16 1) will be considered presently (6 4).

In the third group Paul himself is twice styled a *διακονος* of the gospel (1 Phil. 2 25 1 Th. 2 9), and once a *διακονος* of the church (Col. 1 24 7). Timothy is twice described as 'the below brother and faithful *διακονος* in the Lord' (1 Tim. 4 12 Gal. 4 1) in the latter place the description 'below brother' is

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also is inserted); similarly, 'Epaphras, who is a faithful *diakonos*, on our behalf, of Christ' (Col. 1.7). 'The work of *diakonia* is referred to in the widest sense in Eph. 4.12; and in Col. 4.17 Archippus receives the message: 'Look to the *diakonia* which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou mayest fulfil it.' In Philémon Paul says of Onesimus the runaway slave, 'that on thy behalf he may minister to me' (*diakoni*), p. 13). In Philippians the only instance is of special importance; for the epistle is addressed 'to all the saints . . . in Philippi, together with *diakonoi* and *diakonai*' (1.1).

The fourth group consists of the Pastoral Epistles; and here the general sense of the words is still the most frequent. The apostle thanks God (1 Tim. 1.12) for having appointed him unto *diakonia*. Timothy is to be a good *diakonos* of Christ Jesus (4.6), and is charged to fulfil his *diakonia* (2 Tim. 4.5). Of Onesiphorus the apostle recalls how he 'ministered' in Ephesus (1.10); and of Mark he says, 'he is useful to me for *diakonia*' (1.11). On the other hand, the passage of most importance for our purpose is the code of regulations laid down in 1 Tim. 3.8-13 for a class of persons who are definitely designated *diakonoi*.

Before considering these regulations we may return to Rom. 16.1, 'I commend to you Phoebe our sister, who is [also] *diakonos* of the church which is in Cenchreae.' It is possible to interpret the word here either in the general sense in which Paul uses it so often, or in the official sense which we find in the later epistles to the Philippians and to Timothy. It is no objection to the official sense that the person so designated is a woman; for we shall presently see that at Ephesus the Order included deacons of either sex.

On the other hand, since there is not in the two earlier groups of Paul's epistles any other indication that *diakonia* is a special office in the Church, this, which occurs in the second group, would be a solitary and somewhat puzzling exception. More over, as Cenchreae was the E. port of Corinth, this case practically belongs to the Corinthian church. In that church special mention is made of the *diakonia* of Stephanas and his household, the word *diakonia* being used in its broadest sense. There also Chloe and her household were of note. It may be, therefore, that Phoebe was another woman of influence who held a corresponding pre-eminence of service in the neighbouring port, a pre-eminence that earned for her at the apostle's hands the honourable title of *diakonos* of the church; for she had been a helper (perhaps we should render it 'a patroness,' *πομπή*) of many and of the apostle himself. If we could assume that the diaconate was formally established in the Corinthian church at this time, we should certainly conclude that Phoebe was one of the women who served it; but this assumption is in sharp contrast with the silence of Paul's epistles as to any kind of definite ecclesiastical organisation at Corinth.

Of Phoebe, then, we may say with security that she is a witness to the important services rendered by women in the primitive Church; but in tracing the history of the diaconate it will not be wise to assume that the word *diakonos* is used of her in the strictly official sense. As a matter of historical evidence this passage must be left out of the count as being, at any rate, uncertain testimony. For a technical diaconate in Paul's writings we are thus reduced to two passages, Phil. 1.1 and 1 Tim. 3.8-13.

II. Origin and functions of the Diaconate.—The first recognition of any need of organisation in the Christian community occurs in connection with the daily meal in Jerusalem (see CHURCH, § 11).

5. Origin of Diaconate. The word *diakonos* is not applied in Acts to the seven men who were on this occasion appointed to the service of the poor; but we have already noted that *diakonos* does not occur in Lk. or Acts. Nevertheless, by the later Church tradition, they were constantly regarded as the earliest deacons; and so strong was this feeling that the number of deacons in some churches was limited to seven. Names apart, they truly represented the essential feature of the diaconate, as the Church's organ for service to her poorer members. In other communities, especially in the Greek world, this service was destined to take a different form; but the deacons of the Pauline epistles at Philippi and Ephesus had a similar function, though the circumstances in which they discharged it were very dissimilar. The definite title is met with first in the Greek churches, and here the order from its commencement is found to include the services of men and women alike. The admission of women to the diaconate could scarcely have arisen in the Jewish communities; but it was probably felt to be natural in places where women were in general accorded a larger liberty. What then we recognise the germ of the institution in the appointment of the Seven in Jerusalem, we must

look to the Greek churches for the development of definite and permanent order.

As the personal ministry of Paul drew to a close, and as it became evident that the 'return' of Christ was indefinitely postponed, it was natural that ecclesiastical organisation should assume a new and increasing importance. It is in harmony with this that we find the apostle in a later epistle recognising expressly 'bishops and deacons' at Philippi, very much as I had recognised the 'episcopate' of the presbyters at Ephesus, when he thought that he should see them again no more (Acts 20.28). 'Those who ruled,' and 'those who served' under them, were coming to form definite classes, to which the natural designations of overseers (*ἐπισκοποι*) and servants (*διδάσκαλοι*) were beginning to be formally appropriated. Accordingly, the first epistle to Timothy

6. Functions. lays down regulations for the two classes under these titles. The differences in the regulations help to show us the nature of the function to be discharged in the two cases (1 Tim. 3.1-13). The rules which should govern the choice of deacons must be cited in full.

'Deacons in like manner must be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not eager for petty gains, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience. And they too are first to be tested, and then to minister, if they be irreproachable. Women in like manner must be grave, not slanderers, sober, faithful in all things. Deacons are to be husbands of one wife, ruling well their children and their own houses; for they that have ministered well acquire a good standing for themselves and much boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'

The essence of these regulations is that deacons, whether men or women, must be persons of character, who can rule their tongues and are temperate in the use of wine. Frustworthiness is demanded of the woman, as strict honesty is of the man; this doubtless points to the fact that Church moneys would pass through their hands. Deacons are to know what they believe, and to live in accordance with it; but no aptitude for teaching is demanded of them, nor any qualifications for exercising discipline. The service of the deacons is the house to house service, which deals primarily with temporal wants.

In the AV the women spoken of here are represented as the wives of the deacons. This interpretation puts a serious strain on the original Greek, and it is now generally abandoned. It finds no parallel in any demand for special qualifications in the wives of bishops. It belongs to a period when the diaconate of women had been wholly lost sight of; and it cannot be maintained in face of the fact that women were undoubtedly admitted to this office in the early ages of the Church's history.

For the later confusion between deaconesses and widows see WIDOW; and for a full historical account of the female diaconate see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (198).

J. A. R.

DEAD, THE, and DEATH. The preliminaries may first be briefly considered. To kiss the dead (Gen. 50.1) and to close their eyes (Gen. 46.4) and month (Mishna, *Shab.* 23.5) immediately after death was looked upon as a deed of natural piety. In NT times the body was washed (Acts 9.37), anointed with sweet-smelling ointments (Mk. 16.1; Lk. 21.1; Jn. 12.7), and wrapped in linen cloth (Mt. 27.59; Mk. 15.46; Lk. 23.53), or the hands and feet were bound with grave-clothes and the head covered with a napkin (Jn. 11.44). The age of these customs must remain uncertain, as they are not alluded to in OT; but the old belief that in Scythia the dead would be known by their dress, the king by his cladon, the soldier by his sword, the prophet by his mantle (1 S. 28.1; Ezek. 32.27), leads to the inference that the dead were buried dressed as in life. In later times, delicate foods, ornaments, gold and silver, and all kinds of valuables were placed with the body in the graves of

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princes and nobles¹ (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 34). If what we read (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 84 xvi. 71) as to the plundering of David's grave by Hyrcanus and Herod is to be accepted, this custom also is very old. LAMENTING, *q.v.* was not in use. On sacrifices to the dead, cp ESCATOLOGY, § 3.

The usual method of disposing of the dead was by burial (Gen. 23. 19, 25. 35; Judg. 2. 8, 2 etc.). In L.S. 41. 11, where we read of the burning of the body of Saul, the text is corrupt (see Klost. *ad loc.*); as is also the case with Am. 6. 1, 2. Burning was looked upon as something abominable, as an injury to the dead (Am. 2. 1); it was used by priestly law and old custom, only in a few cases, to render the death sentence more severe (Josh. 7. 25 Lev. 20. 14, 21. 1; cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12). The aversion to the burning of the body was connected with the belief that the soul even after death was bound to the body. Not to be buried was a terrible disgrace which one could hardly wish even to one's greatest enemy (Am. 2. 1; 1 K. 1. 2, 14; 16. 4, 2, 8, 9, 10; 18. 33; Jer. 7. 32, 8. 2, 9, 2 [21]; 14. 6, 16; Ezek. 29. 3). The spirits of the unburied dead wander restlessly about, and in Sheol are condemned to lie in the corners (Ezek. 32. 1, 18, 19 etc.). Burial alone so bound the spirit to the body that it had rest and could harm no one. It was therefore the sacred duty of every one who found a corpse in the open field to give it burial (1 K. 14. 11, 16, 21; Jer. 7. 33, 8. 2, 10, and especially Job 11. 24). In cases of death by stoning the pile of stones took the place of a regular grave (Josh. 7. 26). Cp the Greek idea as given, for example, in the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

Rapid internment was necessary on account of the hot climate, and even without express biblical authority we may assume that then, as now, in the East, it usually took place on the day of death (cp Dt. 21. 23). The body was carried to the grave on a bier (2 S. 3. 31; Jer. 7. 14 [sopós]). Coffins were not used by the Israelites (2 K. 13. 21); Joseph's bones were placed in a coffin (Gen. 50. 26). Egyptians (cp ESCATOLOGY). The stone coffin (sarcophagus) was adopted by the Jews (as also by the Phœnicians) from the Egyptians long after the exile, but only by the wealthy. The procession of friends, who would of course often be mourners,² was accompanied by hired mourners singing lamentations (2 S. 3. 31; cp MOURNING CUSTOMS).³ The place of burial was determined by the belief that the unity of the family and tribe continued after death. The bodies of those who wished to be reunited with their parents and family in Sheol had to be buried in the family sepulchre (see TOMBS, ESCATOLOGY).

See Benzinger, *Arch.* (94), § 23; Nowack, *H. L.* (14), § 32; and Bender in *JQR*, 1894, f.

'Death' (מָוֶת, ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ) can mean, not only the process or state of death, but also the realm of the dead, 2. Biblical references. See L.S. 28. 15 Hos. 13. 14 Ps. 63 [6] 9. 13 [14] 22. 15 [16] 68. 20 [21] 89 48 [49] 107. 18 Prov. 2. 18, 7. 27 Job 2. 22, 38, 17 Rev. 1. 18, 6. 8, 20. 13. f. In Rev. 6. 8 RV prints Death, to correspond to Hades. Both are personifications; cp the later Jewish representations of ABADDON, *q.v.* and MARECOTH ('Death') as two of God's chief angels (cp DESTROYER). 'The dead' in AV corresponds not only to מֵתִים (often) but also to עֲרֵפֶת (Ps. 88. 10).

¹ On Job 31. 5, where some plausibly find an allusion to the treasures in royal tombs, see TOMBS.

² See, however, the ingenious suggestions of WPS *Rel. Sem.* 2. 172. Wellh. is fully conscious of the difficulty of Am. 6. 10 (*Die Kl. Prop.*, 37); also Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 48.

³ In Job 21. 32 *sopós* (hier, coffin) is used in SA to render מֵת, 'tomb' or 'sepulchral mound'; but *sopós* (13) for *sopós* (18) is the better reading. See TOMBS.

⁴ Cp L.S. 7. 12. Whether we may compare Job 21. 31b is uncertain. Di. denies, Dahm affirms this. The whole passage is obscure and not very coherent.

⁵ On the mourning women in primitive Babylonia see Maspero, *Diction. of Civ.* 384. They also washed, prepared, and arranged the dead body.

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[11] Prov. 2. 18, 21. 16 L.S. 11. 6, 26. 14; inconstantly Job 26. 5, 'dead things'. RV sometimes has 'they that are deceased' (e.g., Job 26. 5), in mg. always 'the shades', Heb. *Rephaim*.

We will examine the above passages, beginning with: (a) Job 26. 5, of which Schultens remarks, 'Sulata nox diem solumque admittit.' RV, and virtually Davidson, render thus—

They that are deceased—
Beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof.

Davidson comments, 'This abode of deceased persons lies deep down under the waters of the sea and all the inhabitants of these waters, for the sea belongs to the upper world. Yet the power of God is felt even at this immeasurable distance from his abode on high.' Thus this may appear natural, but to those who believed that the 'shades' were 'deceased' by God (Ps. 88. 5 [6]) it would scarcely appear so. The Hebrew word is also not worthy of the context. Probably we should read (*Expt. Times*, 10. 32 May 1904)—

He makes the sea and its billows to start (in alarm),
He terrifies the waters and the floods thereof.

(b) L.S. 88. 1 [11] the shades are represented as incapable of arising and praising God. In 'arise' Kuyper sees a reference to the resurrection, an idea which the psalmist finds inconvertible. (c) Prov. 2. 18, no return from the shades. (d) Prov. 9. 1. Those who frequent the house of Madam Folly (7. 13) are, as it were, shades already haunting Dante. (e) Prov. 21. 16, Folly leads surely to the shades. (f) L.S. 14. 6. When the over-throwing king of Babylon appears in Sheol, the shades themselves, especially the royal shades, are in excitement. Some tidings of his greatness have reached them, and they marvel to see one who had claimed to sit with the gods reduced to their own miserable state. The poet takes some liberty with the popular belief, or else revivifies an earlier form of it. In the legend of Ishtar, 7. 10, we read, 'I will raise up the dead to eat the living.' (g) L.S. 26. 14. 'The shades will not rise, for to life shall the earth bring it'—shades (*Rephaim*). The resurrection hope. See ESCATOLOGY, § 3.

Butcher (*Th. intert.* § 112 ff) derives the word *Rephaim* (רֵפְאִים) from רָפָה, *propitius*. The giants are 'hurled' to Sheol, and then, as the chief inhabitants of Sheol, give their name to the whole population. Dahm (on L.S. 14. 6 and Job 26. 5) holds the same view as to the transference of the title *Rephaim* from the giants to all other inhabitants of deathland. This theory must take the meaning of the *Rephaim* of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and gives a doubtful meaning to רָפָה. It also assumes an incorrect passage (Job 26. 5) which is certainly corrupt. It is an old view revived (see Schultens on Job. 17. 37, p. 795). Most critics, however, hold that *Rephaim* = 'the flood, weak, a natural development of רָפָה (cp Jer. 6. 24 etc.). At that time also become weak (רָפָה) as we ask the shades (L.S. 14. 6). But this is far too easy, and the Hebrews would hardly have spoken of the spirits of the dead as 'the weak ones.' 'I see a god coming up out of the earth,' says the wise woman to Saul (1 S. 28. 13; RV). The word ought to mean 'the terrible' or 'the wise,' or the like. In the later OT books the condition of those in Sheol is portrayed in very gloomy colours; but these books do not express the primitive popular belief. No doubt *Rephaim* is a mutilated or modified form of some primitive religious term. A sister-form is most probably *TERAPHIM* (*q.v.*). Cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* 430, n. 5.

§ 1. L.S. 2. 2 f. T. K. 1.

DEAD SEA, THE, the usual designation of the lake in which the course of the Jordan terminates, occurs

1. Names. nowhere in OT or NT though it was not uncommon in antiquity (*θάλασσα νεκρά*; Plin. v. 7. 1; Galen 1. 20; Justin xxxv. 36, En. 8. 261), and is found in Vg. of Josh. 3. 16 (*mare solitum*; *sed nunc constiter mortuum*).

In the OT this lake is occasionally called simply 'the sea' (סָהַר, four times, and in the expression 'from sea to sea'), also 'the salt sea' (סָהַר מֶלַח, nine times; *ἡ θάλασσα τῆς αἰῶνος*, *ἡ ἀλμυρῆ*, never salt, in *Septuagint*); 'the sea of the plain,' RV 'sea of the Arabah' (סָהַר הָעָרָב, 10 times; *ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Ἀραβίας*; *mare solitudinis, m. deserti*), in the three places

1. עֲרֵב הָיָה הַיָּם מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן עַד הַיָּם הַמֵּלַח

² Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 362.

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where both designations are employed 'Salt sea' is used to explain the expression 'sea of the Arabah'; and, in three places, 'the eastern (east, former) sea' (2277, 217; ἡ θαλάσση ἡ ἀνατολική θουκάνωσις, ἡ θ. ἡ παλαιά; *mare orientale*).¹ In Doct. Sci. (24, 190) and in Josephus (often; see especially *Bliv.* 84) it is 'Ἀσφαλίτις λίανη'; so also in Pliny (*lacus Asphaliticus*; *HN*, 1515). Josephus also has ἡ Σοδομική λίανη (*Inf.* v, 122); cp. the 'Sodomish sea' (*mare Sodomiticum*) of 4 Esd. 57. This name occurs also in Edrisi (35, transl. Janbri, 1117), who calls it the sea of Sodom and Gomorrah and the sea of Zarrah (Zair). Its name in Arabic (at least since the eleventh century) is *Bahr* (or *Bahriyat*) *Lut*; but this does not prove the name of Lot to have remained attached to the sea in local tradition for four thousand years. It arises simply from the fact that Lot and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned in the Koran.

From the biblical point of view the Dead Sea is not very important. The references to it in the OT occur generally in topographical connections, especially in delineations of the eastern frontier of the land of Israel. There are two notable exceptions: (a) where it comes into the story of the Cities of the Plain, and (b) where it is referred to in the prophetic descriptions of Ezek. 47 and Zech. 148. The NT does not refer to it at all.

From the geographical point of view it is otherwise: the interest of this lake is quite extraordinary.

2. Geographical interest. The Jordan valley, running from N. to S., begins to sink below sea-level as far N. as a little below Lake Huleh; the Lake of Galilee is some 680 feet lower, and thence the 'Arabah' or Ghôr continues to fall till the surface of the Dead Sea is reached at a distance below the sea of some 1300 feet. At the opposite extremity of this lake ends another valley, coming from the S., formerly called the Arabah [?]. Thus the lake constitutes the deepest portion of what is the most strongly marked depression (unconnected with the sea) on the surface of the globe. It has no effluent. Should the question be asked, whether in former times the Jordan, after passing through the Dead Sea, may not have flowed on southward falling at last into the Red Sea, the Gulf or Gulf of Aden, it may suffice to point out how much below sea-level the Dead Sea is, and further, that the valley to the S. of the Dead Sea is really two valleys. One runs N., the other S., and the intersection watershed is at a height of 650 feet above the level of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean (according to the *PEF* survey).² Thus the two basins are hydrographically distinct, which is confirmed by a stratigraphical study of the sedimentary deposits on the valley floor (Lartet).

The geological investigation of Palestine and of the Dead Sea, carried on mainly by Fries, Lartet, Hübl, and Blanckenhorn, has proved, contrary to previous ideas, that the Dead Sea cannot possibly date from the historical epoch, and that it must have presented, at any rate from the beginning of the quaternary epoch, practically the same aspect and configuration as at present. Traces can still be seen, however, of a past time when the water stood as much as 1180 feet above its present level, as well as of another phase in which the difference was only 348 feet; in short, the waters have gradually subsided to their present position.

The actual level is that at which the evaporation exactly counterbalances the daily influx of water from the Jordan and the other affluents. Of these, the chief, including certain

winter torrents, are: (a) on the eastern side, reckoning from N. to S., the Wady Ghuweir, the Wadys Zerka-Ma'in (Callirhoe Mōijh (Arnon), Beni-Hanād, ed-Dera'a (Kerak), Numéréh, e-Ahsa (or e-Sāliyah); (b) on the S., the Wadys Tufileh, el-Jel el-Fikreh (these three traverse a marshy plain, the Sebkhah which stretches immediately southwards from the Dead Sea and is bordered by gigantic thickets of reeds); (c) on the western side, going from S. to N., the Wady el-Muhawwaj, the Wady So (to the S. of which lies Sebbih, the ancient fortress of Masada) and the spring of 'Am-Jedy (Engedi), the Wady en-Nār (Kedron) and the spring of 'Am el-Feshkhah (cp. B. TH. ARABAH), to the S. of which is the head and known as Rās el-Feshkhah.

The amount of daily evaporation³ has been estimated at 13½ millimetres, and the daily contribution of the Jordan alone at 6,000,000 tons (the volume of the Rhone at its influx into the Lake of Geneva is 22,000,000 tons). Another feature of it is its great density, which arises from its salinity (the mean is 1.166). At a depth of 1000 feet the solid matters contained in the water represent 27 per cent of the total weight. These substances are mainly chlorides of sodium, magnesium, and calcium, also certain derivatives of bromium. The chloride of magnesium gives the water a very disagreeable taste; the chloride of calcium gives it a slightly oily consistency. The eyes, and some assume also the skin, are powerfully affected by contact with it. Garments receive from the evaporating water a saline deposit, with indelible spots of an oily appearance. The salt encrusts also the many trees and pieces of wood which lie stranded on the shore; so much so that the form a characteristic feature of the landscape, and recall the striking antithesis in Jer. 175-8.

A bath in the Dead Sea at once proves its difference in density from other seas or from fresh-water lakes.

Eggs float on it. The human body, being lighter than the water, swimming becomes difficult, the head alone of the swimmer tending to sink. The boiling point of the water is 221° F. It is remarkably limpid, and has a beautiful colour, now blue, now green. To think of this lake as somber and sad is quite an illusion; its intense colouring its varied effects of light, its scarped overhanging slopes broken by deep gorges, produce a picture of wild and sublime beauty. 'The scenery round the sea is very fine,' says Gaudier; 'it is compared, by those who have seen both, to that of the Lake of Geneva.' The present writer, whose home is in Geneva, agrees with this comparison, it being understood that it is between the northern portion of the Dead Sea and the eastern end of the Lake of Geneva towards the embouchure of the Rhone. Another common error about the Dead Sea is that its waters have no motion; on the contrary, it is constantly agitated by the winds, and storms sometimes drive huge billows to the shore. It does not owe its name to this imagined immobility, but rather to the fact that no sort of living creature—fish, crustacean, mollusc, etc.—can subsist in its waters, the only exceptions being certain inferior organisms and microbes, as shown by the investigations of Ehrenberg and of the zoologist Lartet (not to be confused with the geologist Lartet). This fact—which is conclusively proved by the death not only of the fish carried down into it by the Jordan (their bodies serve as food for numerous birds which frequent the neighbourhood), but also of salt-water fishes—has given rise to various incorrect ideas. Thus it has been said that birds attempting to fly over it drop down dead; this is a mere imagination—a fable which like a host of earlier water-series, the present writer is able to contradict from ocular testimony. Or perhaps it may be the result of a confusion with some other lake (see *Köln*, 214 #1). It is equally false to say that the shores of the Dead Sea derive their barrenness from the pernicious action of its waters. What hinders the growth of plants in its vicinity is not the presence of the lake itself, but the absence of fresh water whether from affluents or by precipitation. Wherever there is fresh

¹ The evaporation produces whitish or bluish clouds which float above the water. Hence 'a smoking waste' (Wisd. 107) Cp. N. 1505.

¹ Notwithstanding the continued advocacy of the wrong view in *PEF*, 1878, 112-11, it is certain that 'ἡ ἀνατολική θουκάνωσις' (AV, 'the utmost sea'; RV, 'the hinder sea'; mg., 'the western sea') is not the Dead Sea but the Mediterranean; cp. *Doct. Sci.* 190.

² The (not very wide) variations from this figure are for the most part explained by a rise of the sea level in one season and another, which can be the least of the rise or fall some 10 or 15 feet. It is at its highest in April and May.

³ The discovery of the great depth of the surface of the Dead Sea below sea-level (2100 to 2800 ft.) was made independently and almost simultaneously by Schimper on the one hand, and Moore and Bosc on the other, in 1842. Afterwards confirmed by Koenigstein and by Schimper.

⁴ The distance from the watershed to the Red Sea is about 46 m., and to the Dead Sea over 73 m.

DEAD SEA, THE

running water, as at Engedi, where there is a thermal spring (79° F.), vegetation flourishes (cp. Cant. 1:14) and, as elsewhere throughout the Ghaz, exhibits a combination of tropical plants with others belonging to the Mediterranean region. Finally, the scant population of its shores is to be accounted for more by the found temperature (above 100° F. in the shade) than by any infertility or positive miasma.

In fact, the lake has not always been so deserted; witness, for example, the town of LAMAR at the SW. extremity. Even the shores of the Sea of Galilee have gradually come to be wholly abandoned except in three or four localities. The shores of the Dead Sea too had once a very different aspect. Both in antiquity (we learn this from Tac. *Hist.* 5) and also from the Madaba mosaic and so recently as the time of the Crusades when Kerak and other fortresses had such an important position, the waters of the Dead Sea were covered with passing vessels. Nor were the curative qualities of the water of the Dead Sea unknown in the Roman period. Julius Africanus speaks of these baths as wholesome (Rekud, 153 f.), as also does Galen (ib. 241 f.), who (wrongly) adds that an artificial substitute could be obtained by the simple expedient of saturating ordinary sea water with added salt. Mention is often made of the mephitic odour exhaled by the Dead Sea (see NINNIAS); but it has not been shown that the lake itself is the cause of this. It may be occasioned either by the marshy lagoons by which the lake is bordered, or by the mineral springs of the neighbourhood. The sulphurous odour, which reminds one of that of rotten eggs, is particularly noticeable near 'Ain el-Eshlah.

The lake, as we have seen, lies N. and S., with a maximum length of 47½ m., a maximum breadth of 10 m. (Josephus gives 66 and 17 m. respectively) and a superficial area of

360 sq. m. (the Lake of Geneva being 224 sq. m.). It is divided into two unequal portions by a peninsula, 11-12 m. in length and about 40-80 ft. above the level of the lake, flat for the most part, but with a range of hills rising 300 ft. This peninsula, formed of white calcareous marl, with deposits of salt and gypsum, projects from the E. shore; it is separated from the W. shore by a channel about 3 m. in breadth. The name of the peninsula is el-Mozrah or el-Lasim, the last designation, meaning 'the tongue', has been brought into connection with the mention of the pass (LV. 'the high way'; Heb. tongue [that looketh southward]) in Josh 15:25, but whilst the modern Arabic term is applied to the land in the middle of the lake, the two biblical passages refer to the water at the two ends of the lake (cp. Is. 11:15; 'the tongue of the Egyptian Sea').

The N. promontory of the Irtan has been named Cape Cosganau, the S. Cape Molyneux in honour of two bold explorers who navigated the Dead Sea in 1845 and 1847 respectively. We ought also to mention the expedition of Moscati and Beck in 1847 and of Symonds in 1847, and especially that of Lt. M. Lynch of the U.S. navy in 1843 and that of the Duke de Luyne in 1844, both of which were of great importance.

The portion of the Dead Sea to the N. of the Irtan is much the larger, and reaches a great depth (1278 ft.).

The S. smaller portion is quite shallow (10-18 ft.), and in parts even fordable. Possibly this portion is of less ancient date than the rest of the lake, and may have arisen within historic times in consequence of some subsidence of the land. The shores immediately bordering on this section are the most saline of the whole country. There are salt marshes in the neighbourhood, and it is there that, running parallel with the W. shore, the curious ridge of rock salt, a veritable *arsifera* as Lartet (p. 87) picturesquely calls it, occurs. It is called Jebel Usdim or Hagar-Usdim or Khasim-Usdim, thus echoing the name of Sodom, and rises to a height of 600 ft., with a length of 3½ m. and a breadth of over half a mile. In its immediate vicinity can be seen, occasionally at least, detached pillars of salt, suggesting some resemblance to a rudimentary colossal statue.

Another peculiarity is the presence of asphalt in the Dead Sea basin (see BITUMEN), whence the Greek name

6. Its asphalt. of Asphaltitis (cp. Tac. *Hist.* 5:6; Str. 16:42; Dioseor. 199; Diol. Sic. 19:25).

Since 1803 roving boats, sailing boats, and, more recently, even steam launches have occasionally been at the service of travellers.

Near the lake are found beds of a whitish chalky marl, and also of bituminous marl. It is not, however, from these deposits on its shores that the water of the Dead Sea derives its bituminous constituents, but rather, no doubt, from deep subaqueous beds; there has been observed a marked coincidence between the appearance of considerable bituminous masses floating on the surface and the occurrence of the earthquakes which at intervals desolate the whole of that region. When these take place quantities of bitumen are broken loose and come to the surface; the natives are diligent in collecting them, but hitherto no methodical exploitation of these mineral resources on a commercial basis has been attempted. The existence of bituminous constituents in small quantity in the water can always be shown.

Notwithstanding the presence of this bitumen, of sulphur springs, and of masses of sulphur which are met with here and there, as also of certain igneous formations, the region of the Dead Sea must not be included in the category of volcanic territories properly so called. On the contrary, in opposition to the assertions of certain travellers too richly endowed with imagination (e.g., Kusssegger and Van de Veldey), the very competent geologists already named agree in doubting whether any large part in the formation of this region ought to be attributed to igneous forces.¹

The calcareous beds rise in regular stages in the W. bank from the margin of the lake. On the other shore the arrangement is less regular, but under the surface as beds there are carboniferous strata and beneath these are other formations still more ancient. At the most it may be assumed that certain volcanic agitations have made themselves felt in the depths of the lake. Blankensford (*op. cit.* 1:25, p. 53) records and attaches importance to an observation made by Molyneux and quoted by Kuter (756 f.) relating to a whitish belt of foam stretching from the NW. of the lake towards the Irtan and following on the whole the modern line of the lake, above which a whitish vapour lingered in the air. From this phenomenon, supported by certain other indications, he concludes the existence of a fault in the floor of the lake which is produced in the channel skirting the Irtan and terminates in the S. portion of the lake near the calcareous shore of the W. Molyneux. On 10th March (this year) 1892 the author of this article witnessed the same phenomenon as that seen by Molyneux in 1847.

In a general way we might describe the geological formation of the Jordan valley and the Dead Sea basin by the technical expression *synclinal*.

7. The story in Gen. 19. The phenomenon occurred at the time of the transition from the tertiary to the quaternary epoch. It is not possible, therefore, to establish any relation between the formation of the Dead Sea as a whole and the catastrophe described in Gen. 19.

At most that narrative might possibly admit of being connected with certain events of a more local character and of secondary importance, which might have occurred within historic times (see LOT, SODOM, SODOM).

As we have not to deal with the historical side of the question, but with the geological only, it will suffice to say (a) that the text of Genesis speaks of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven, but neither of an earthquake, nor of an igneous eruption, nor of a local condition; (b) that there is nothing to show that the cities of the Pentapolis were in the plain of Sodom; (c) that the remark in Gen. 14:1 'the plain of Sodom which is the Salt Sea' may be a conjecture of the narrator or even the gloss of a copyist or late reader; (d) that account must be taken of the mention of the *kikkar of Jordan* (Gen. 13:10-12; 19:17:25:2-26); (e) that possibly a distinction must be made between the actual position of the Pentapolis and the position assigned to it by later writers, inasmuch as these entertained perhaps divergent opinions as to this point; (f) that the position of Zoar is as problematical as that of the other four cities; (g) that scholars are divided as to whether the cities were placed on the Pentapolis in the N. of the Dead Sea, or those which lay in the S.

In complete contrast with the sombre narratives regarding these doomed cities, the D.L. at two prophetic passages of Lament and Zechariah (cp. 1:11, 13), describes the transformation of the waste and barren regions of the Dead Sea basin into a fertile stream issuing from the temple, fertilising all that it touches so that fish and fruit-bearing trees abound.

¹ The well-known geologist, Dr. Hoffmann has adopted this view.

DEAL

DEBT

Kelani, *Palestina*, 238-258; Seetzen, *Reisen*, 1406-430
2217-274 293-335 37-16 4352-105 367-380 401-402; v. Schulze

8. Literature.

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 72-73; *Die Morte Meer* (67); Tsch. *Über den Ursprung des*
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Exploration à la Mer Morte (75-109), see especially vol. III,
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 (75); F. Falconeri, *Il Mare Morto* (A. Stoppani, *Il Mare Morto*
 (81); Hull, *Mount Seir* (89), chap. 1, *Le Mont Scir*, *Le Mont Scir*
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 Guérin, *Description de la Palestine* (74); Lartet, *Le Mont Scir*,
 Lartet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (84), 334-44; Lartet, *Le Mont Scir*,
 Land of Israel (82), 255-360; G. A. Sm., *Hist. Geogr. of the*
Dead Sea (94), 437-510; Blankenhorn, 'Entsteh. u. Gewäss.
des Totes Meeres, ZDPV, 19, 1-52 (99); 'Noch einmal Sodom u.
Gomorra', ib. 21, 63-83 (98); 'Das Tote Meer u. der Unter-
gang von Sodom u. Gomorra' (98); Diener, 'Die Katastrophe
von Sodom u. Gomorra im Lichte geologischer Forschung,'
Mitt. der K.-K. Geogr. Ges. in Wien, 1897, pp. 1-22. 1. U. G.

DEAL TENTH

AND MEASURES. See WEIGHTS

DEATH (ΘΑΝΑΤΟC), see DEAD, THE.

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΑΒΕΙΝ [B*], -p [AL], ΛΑΒΕΙΝ [B³]), king of Eglon, defeated and slain by Joshua (Josh. 10, cp 23).

DEBIR (דְּבִיר; ΔΔΒΙΡ [BAL.]). (1) A place in the S. of Judah (Josh. 10:18 f. etc.); see KIRJATH-SEPHIR.
2. In Josh. 15:7 דְּבִיר is by AV taken as a place-name on the N. boundary of Judah; it has been identified by some with the present Thoghret ed Debr near Tal'at ed-Dam (Adummu) on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.

The text, however, is uncertain and the word may not be a place-name. G. renders: 'to the fourth part (רָבִיבִי) of the vale of Achor.' He suggests the translation 'backwards'—*i.e.*, 'westwards'—רָבִיבִי meaning 'behind'; but there is no other instance of its geographical application.¹

DEBORA, RV Deborah (ΔΕΒΒΩΡΑ [BN], ΔΕΜΒΩΡΑ [A]), the grandmother of Tobit (Tob. 18). G. A. S.

DEBORAH (דְּבוֹרָה, 'a lev.' § 68; cp WRS in *Journ. Phil.* 14 [85] 120 f.; *ΔΕΒΒΑ* [ΒΑΒΙΛ.]

1. Occasion
of her
leadership.

the triumphal ode, Judg. 5. The Israelites, particularly the tribes which had settled about the plain of Jezreel, had been reduced to great straits by the Canaanites, who, holding the fortified cities along the plain (Judg. 17), blockaded the main roads and cut off communication, while from their strongholds they harried the country so that the unwall'd villages were deserted (56 f.). Incited by Deborah, the Israelites at last took up arms against their oppressors. Under Barak as their leader, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasse united with Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali, and gave battle to Sisera and the confederate Canaanite kings in the plain not far from Taanach and Megiddo. The Canaanites, notwithstanding their formidable iron chariots, were put to rout; the waters of the Kishon completed their ruin. Sisera, seeking refuge in flight at a nomad's tent, was killed by a woman, Jael.

The history of the struggle is related somewhat differently in chap. 4,² according to which Barak, at the summons of Deborah, raised ten thousand men of the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, occupied Mt. Tabor, and from that position attacked Sisera as the latter was advancing against him. A more serious difference is that

² On the relation of chaps. 4 and 5 in general, see JUDGES, § 7.

On the relation of chaps. 4 and 5 in general, see JUDGES. 87

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in chap. I the oppressor of Israel, from whom it is by Deborah, is Jabin king of Hazor, a city in Upper Galilee, whilst Sisera is only Jabin's general. In the act of the story, however, Jabin plays no part; and we can only surmise that the story of Sisera has, by mistake, been connected with a tradition of a conflict between some northern tribes and the king of Hazor (see also

From chap. 4 we learn that Deborah was a priestess, an inspired woman; that her husband's name was Lappidoth; and that her home was between Beth Ramah, whither the Israelites resorted to her for judgment. Chap. 5 is, however, seems to prove that she was of the tribe of Issachar; and other considerations would incline us to think that she lived in or near the plain of Jezreel. (For a conjecture on this subject see *DABERATH*.) That her home was in Mt. Ephraim has been inferred by the author of 45 (in addition to the narrative) from the existence of a tomb of Deborah under a tree below Bethel, where, according to the patriarchal legend (see below, no. 2), the Rebekah was buried (*Gen.* 35:8).

Barak, who shares with Deborah the glory victory, was from Kedesh in Naphtali (46).

2. **Barak**. is somewhat remote, and in the account Sisera's flight seems impossible. It has been conjectured by Wellhausen (*CH* 221) that that of the more famous Kedesh in Galilee has been planted an obscure KEDESH (q v., 2) in Issachar 674 [57]—mentioned with Daberath not far from Tabur; a suggestion which is the more plausible, if, as the text be sound, connects Barak also 515, if the text be sound, connects Barak also Issachar (cp BEZAVANIM KISHON). It is likely that Kedesh in Naphtali, in the immediate vicinity of Hazor, comes in some way from the north.

The Song of Deborah bears in itself the evidence it is the work of one who had lived through the struggle which it celebrates, and that reason of inestimable value.

3. The Song of Deborah.

one of the oldest Hebrew poems which have come to us, but one of the greatest. On its date cp S and POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (iv.). See also TORICAL LITERATURE, § 2.

Few odes in the world's literature, indeed, compared with this triumphal *Te Deum*. Unfortunately the text, especially in vv. 8-15, has suffered grievously from the injuries of time.

Until very recent times, Deborah has been universally believed to be the author. It is ascribed to her in the title; and this testimony was thought to be conclusively confirmed by 2: 7, 'Until I, Deborah, arose.' The use of the Hebrew verbs in this verse, however, is ambiguous, and the clause might equally well be interpreted, 'thou didst arise, Deborah' (cp 2: 12), whilst 3: 23 can be rendered in the third person (cp 2: 15). On the other hand, the natural inference from 2: 15, and especially from 2: 12, is that the heroine is not the poet.

(On the subjects of this article see, further, M. J. Judges ('95), and cp JAEL. On the Song of Deborah cp HADRACH, KAMENI (2), KISHON, MEKOZ, and A. Mulker, *Das Lied der Deborah* ('87); G. A. Co. *The History and Song of Deborah* ('92); additional literature in Moore, *op. cit.*, 127, 146.

More recent studies, chiefly in the text, are: Grimme, *Zf.* '96, 572 ff.; Marquart, *Erkenntnis* 189, u. j. d. Gesch. (Buddh., *Actes d. Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 220 ff.); Ruhlen, *JOR*, '98, 541 ff.; Riess, *Preuss. Jahrb.* 91 295 f.; D. H. Müller, *Actes d. Xme Congrès d. Orientalistes*, 420 ff.

2. Rebekah's nurse who, according to J, died and was buried with Bethel under the oak known as ALLON-BACH (Gen. 35:8) *רֶבְקָה* [רֶבְקָה] *Rebeka* [Rebeka]. She is alluded to, but unnamed, in 2:54, where she accompanies Rebekah on her departure from Bethel 1:1. To connect these two traditions would make about 150 years old at the time of her death. (For a recommendation of the text which removes this difficulty, see DUB.)

DEPT. OF THE ARMY.

[illegible]

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DECALOGUE

(207) Ezek. 18:7. ἀρεοφίλις. Lk. 7:40. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16, and TRADE AND COMMERCE.

DECALOGUE (ἡ δεκάλογος, see BIBLICAL, *de z. logos*, *se. liber*), a term adopted from Patristic Greek and Latin, and meaning what we commonly call the ten commandments. Ultimately, the name comes from the LXX which in this case adheres closely to the original Hebrew and speaks, not of ten commandments,

1. Meaning of the term. but of ten words (δέκα λόγος or *piguara*, Ex. 34:28 Dt. 4:13 104). The decalogue, according to the biblical narrative, was uttered by God from Horeb and written by him on two tables of stone which he had prepared. Afterwards, when Moses had broken the tables in indignation at the idolatry of the people, he was laden to hew other tables on which God again wrote the ten words. They were the foundation of a covenant (*berith*) between Yahwe and his people (Dt. 10) and were placed in the ark as the 'testimony' (*eduth*) or revelation of Yahwe's will (Ex. 25:16); see COVENANT, § 6 (n.).

The two parallel texts of the decalogue, one in Ex. 20 the other in Dt. 5, present striking points of difference.

2. The two texts. In Exodus the Sabbath is to be kept, because Yahwe made all things in six days and rested the seventh; in Deuteronomy, because the slave as well as his master needs rest. Here, too, as in the command to honour parents, there are amplifications of language peculiar to the version in Deuteronomy. In Exodus the Israelite is forbidden to covet his neighbour's house, and then wife, slave, and cattle are specified as possessions included within the Hebrew idea of house or household. In Deuteronomy the commandment is adapted to a later and more humane view. First, the Israelite is not to 'covet' his neighbour's wife. Next, he is not to 'desire' his neighbour's house, land, slaves, etc. The separation of the wife from mere property is very significant (see FAMILY, § 6).

How comes it that the parallel texts vary so seriously? The answer now generally given is that originally the decalogue was composed of concise precepts, which were expanded in different ways by later editors. The decalogue was incorporated in his work by the Elohist; it was repeated by the Deuteronomist and lastly by the Priestly Writer. No wonder then that, in the final redaction of the Pentateuch, each text of the decalogue offers clear marks of the Deuteronomistic style, whilst in Ex. 20:11 the Deuteronomite motive of humanity has been supplanted by the example of God's rest after the week of creation—evidence of a super-redaction in the spirit of P (cp. Ex. 31:17 Gen. 2:2). Commandments 6-9 preserve their primitive form. We may therefore on that analogy restore the decalogue to its original form thus:—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 20

1. Thou shalt have no other gods beside me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any (graven) image.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahwe thy God for a vain oath.
4. Remember the sabbath day to hallow it.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

(a) In their arrangement the commandments fall into two pentads, or sets of five each, corresponding to the two tables. The first table sets forth the law of piety in the pure worship of Yahwe and in reverence to parents, the

3. Arrangement. second table exhibits the law of probity or duty to fellow Israelites. (b) The scheme known to Philo (*De Decalogo*, 12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 55), adopted by the Greek and Anglican churches, as also by the Scottish and other churches of the Calvinistic type, and approved, among recent scholars, by Dillmann.

1 Perhaps for purposes of sorcery.

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Another arrangement adopted by Knobel and, in 1869, by Kuhn, is to count the opening statement, 'I am Yahwe thy God,' etc., as the first 'word,' and bind the commandments against foreign god- and image-worship into one. This is the Talmudic division, which is still in force among the Jews, and is also of greater antiquity in the Greek church than some have supposed.

Augustine too (and he is followed by Roman Catholics and Lutherans), treats the prohibition of serving other gods and worshipping images as one commandment. He makes this the first, however, not, like the modern Jews the second 'word.' Hence he has to divide the prohibition of coveting into two commandments, viz.: one against coveting a neighbour's wife, the other against coveting his goods. The objection to the Talmudic scheme is the awkwardness of a law which makes up the number ten from one statement of fact and nine precepts. The Augustinian scheme cannot be bettered to the text in Exodus and causally have been intended even by the Deuteronomist.

The order given by the Vatican text of the LXX in Exodus is: 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not murder,' and in Deuteronomy 'Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not murder, Thou shalt not steal.' Probably the variation arose from the belief that the prohibition of adultery, as the destruction of family life, should be immediately connected with the injunction to honour parents.

We come next to the question of date. The Elohist document (perhaps a later edition of it) is our earliest

4. Date. external witness, and that does not carry us back beyond the middle of the eighth century B.C. Nor does internal evidence point to a much earlier time. The character of the decalogue, which is not ritual but almost purely moral; the prohibition of images, apparently unknown to Elijah and Elisha; the refinement which forbids thoughts of covetousness (the Hebrew cannot fairly be taken otherwise); all lend support to the view that the decalogue is grounded on the teaching of the great prophets of whose discourses we have written records. It has been compared with the loftier teaching in Micah 6:8, and may belong to the same age, i.e., at earliest that of Manasseh (see, further, MOSTS).

The reasons against a date very much earlier are clinched by the modern discovery that there was another decalogue older in character. True, we cannot say for certain how each particular precept of this older decalogue ran. We do know, however, that reference is made to it by the Yahwist in Ex. 34:28, and further, that the decalogue itself is imbedded in 1:29, and there is, therefore, no doubt about its general character. Wellhausen's reconstruction is as follows:—

DECALOGUE OF EXODUS 34

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep.
4. Every firstling is mine.
5. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks.
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end.
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of thy sacrifice with leaven.
8. The fat of my feast shall not be left over till the morning.
9. The best of the firstfruits of thy land shalt thou bring to the house of Yahwe thy God.
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

The Yahwistic legend which encloses this decalogue is simpler and more natural, for here it is Moses not

1 Geffken (*Einteilung des Dekaloges*, 1738) found it first in Synellus (circa 790 A.D.) and Cedrinus (1119); but Nestle has shown that it is to be met with in the *Codex Vaticanus* and the *Amosianus*. See Nestle, *F. P. Times*, 426 f. (July 1890) and cp. Redpath, *Codex Zithavensis*, *F. P. Times*, 832 (May 1891).

2 *CH 31 C*; cp. Stade, *GLT* 510; Stark, *Deuteronomium*, 7.

3 According to the more original text in Ex. 23:18.

4 The number ten is gained by omitting the command of the seventh-day rest (which is out of place in the cycle of annual feasts) and the command that all males should appear before Yahwe twice in the year (which is merely a recapitulation of the three preceding laws).

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Yahwé, who hews the tables and writes the words. The decalogue represents that ritual of outward worship which was essential to the early stages of national religion, but was subordinated to ethical monotheism by Amos and his successors. Yet even this decalogue must be put long after the time of Moses. The texts mentioned imply an agricultural life, and must have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement.

See Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, 1267 ff. (II 85, 86); and, for the later criticism, Kuonen, *Rev.* 241; Smend, *ATKrit.* 273 f., 278 f.; Rothstein, *Die Bundesbuch*, (88); Baile in *J.A.O.* (90), pp. 194 f., 220 f.; Bartsch, *Das Bundesbuch* (92); Meissner, *Der Dekalog* (93); Montet, *JOR.* 3286 ff.; Addis, *The Documents of the Israelites*, 126 ff.; Robertson Smith (*J.B.P.* 1899), 'Dealogue' in 1876 held that the decalogue, as a system of 'ten words', was as old as Moses, though the original fourth commandment must have had a much simpler form. He also rejected the hypothesis of a second decalogue. How largely he had modified his views in later years on both points may be gathered from *O.T.C.* 134 ff. See also EXODUS, II. 94. W. L. A.

6. Literature. See Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, 1267 ff. (II 85, 86); and, for the later criticism, Kuonen, *Rev.* 241; Smend, *ATKrit.* 273 f., 278 f.; Rothstein, *Die Bundesbuch*, (88); Baile in *J.A.O.* (90), pp. 194 f., 220 f.; Bartsch, *Das Bundesbuch* (92); Meissner, *Der Dekalog* (93); Montet, *JOR.* 3286 ff.; Addis, *The Documents of the Israelites*, 126 ff.; Robertson Smith (*J.B.P.* 1899), 'Dealogue' in 1876 held that the decalogue, as a system of 'ten words', was as old as Moses, though the original fourth commandment must have had a much simpler form. He also rejected the hypothesis of a second decalogue. How largely he had modified his views in later years on both points may be gathered from *O.T.C.* 134 ff. See also EXODUS, II. 94. W. L. A.

DECAPOLIS (ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙΣ [Pl. VII]) is the name given in the gospels (Mt. 4: 13; Mk. 5: 23) to a territory in Bashan and Gilead covered, or affected, by the power of a league of ten or more Greek cities (called in Mk. 7: 31 τὰ δέκα πόλεις, ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙΣ, by Pliny *HN* v. 15, *Decapolitana regio*). Josephus calls the league itself both ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΙΣ (*B.J.* iii. 97) and αἱ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ δέκα πόλεις (*Vita*, 65-74). Other early instances of the name are Ptolemy v. 1522, and *C.G.* no. 450, of the time of Hadrian. Eusebius describes the Decapolis of the Gospels as a region (see below, § 2).

The first Greek cities in Syria were founded by the veterans of Alexander, and from his time their numbers were rapidly increased by the immigration of Greeks under the patronage of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. On the west the Greeks settled in ultimately Hellenised Phoenician and Philistine towns; but beyond Jordan many of their settlements were upon fresh sites. Among the oldest were Pella, Dion, Philadelphia (on the site of Rabath-Ammon), Gadara, and Abila—all strong fortresses by 218 B.C. (*Polyb.* 5: 71; 16: 10; *Jos. Ant.* vii. 34; Stark, *Gaza*, 381). Bosra had become largely Greek in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 5: 24 ff.). Gerasa and Hippus are not mentioned till the first century B.C. (*Jos. Ant.* viii. 153-4; *B.J.* i. 18).

As the Hellenic world came under Roman sway, various confederacies of Greek cities were formed, both for purposes of trade, like the Haemastatic League, and for defence against alien races (Mommson, *Prov. of the Rom. Emp.*, Eng. ed. 1: 264 f.). Such confederation was nowhere more necessary than in Syria, where, after the success of the Maccabees, and especially under the Jewish king Alexander Jannaeus (104-78 B.C.), the Greek cities must needs have combined against the common danger of overthrow and absorption by their Semitic neighbours. Such combinations, however, if they were formed, proved a failure till the Roman legions led by Pompey reached Syria in 65. Then the Greek cities took a new lease of life. Several called themselves after Pompey and several dated their eras from the year of his Syrian campaign, 64-63 B.C. Among these were Gadara, Hippus, Pella, Dion, Abila, Kanatha, and Philadelphia. Pompey gave them, or after this time they gradually received, municipal freedom, the rights of coinage, asylum, property in the surrounding districts, and association with one another. They were, however, put under the Roman Province of Syria (*Ant.* xiv. 44; *B.J.* i. 77), and taxed for imperial purposes; their coins bore 'the image of Caesar'; and they were liable to military service (*B.J.* ii. 1819). Some of them, certainly with the reservation of their rights, were afterwards transferred from the Governor of Syria to the direct authority of Herod.

From Pompey's time to Hadrian's (106 A.D.), Rome's grasp of Eastern Palestine was neither constant nor effective. It was during this time, and in this region of

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unsettlement, that the League of the Decapolis. The precise year we are unable to fix, it may have been till after Herod's death in 4 B.C., but it was soon after Pompey's campaign.

2. The Decapolis. At first, as the name implies, the league comprised ten cities. Only one of Jordan—Scythopolis, the ancient Bethshan—remained the approach to the others, by Ladsraclon, the Greek cities of the coast and the Levant, Scythopolis remained the capital of the league. All the other cities either upon the three great roads which, traversed E. Palestine, or on the trunk road, ultimately joined: Pella, Gadara, and Hippus, on the edge of the Jordan valley, and the Lake of Gerasa (modern Jerash), and Philadelphia (near the S. road); Raphana, somewhere near the road; Kanatha (now Kanawat, see KENATH), the central road joins the great trunk road from S. at the foot of the Jebel Hamrân; and Damascus, the junction of this road with the northernmost three roads. All the sites are certain except Dion, Raphana and of Dion. These form the earliest list we have—Pliny in *HN* 5: 15. Other cities added. Ptolemy gives eighteen, omitting Raphana, adding other nine, mostly towards Damascus.—At a branch of the Varunk 12 m. E. of Gadara; K. either the modern Kerak or el Kumeiyeh in en-N. Kapitolas, probably the modern Beit er-Ras, Irbid; and some of the Semitic towns incorporated in the extension of the Empire in 106, such as Ladsraclon, Bosra. Each of these cities held sway over the territory in its neighbourhood. Round Hippus was Hippus (*B.J.* iii. 31); round Gadara the country of the Gadarenes (*Mk.* 5: 23 according to one reading), which, if we judge from the traces on some Gadarene coins, extended to the Lake of Galilee. In the fourth century Jerome calls all Gilead the region of Gerasa. These sub-properties or spheres of influence must have touched one another, and the remains of the long aqueduct the centre of Hamrân by Edrei to Gadara is one of how far they extended. The 'Decapolitan region' (of Decapolis) was, therefore, a wide and ill-defined, territory lying on the E. of the Lake of Galilee and stretching across a large part of Gilead. Eusebius (*OS*) defines the Decapolis of the Gospels as lying in Peraea round Hippus, Pella, and Gadara. Pliny, however, describes it as interpenetrated by Jewish Tetrarchies (*HN* 5: 16); and in particular territories of Herod Antipas in Galilee and Peraea probably so joined across Jordan as to cut off, from E. Decapolis, the suburban territory of Scythopolis.

Within this region of Decapolis Hellenism was dominant. On the time of the ministry of Jesus, and the time of the Decapolis, it flowed out upon Galilee. This proved by a trace or two in Galilee themselves (e.g., the presence of a large temple of some in Gadara), by the ample ruins, still extant Greek architecture (the most glorious period of which, however, was not till the time of the Antonines), especially by the constant communication between Decapolis and the Mediterranean ports and Greece, and by the flourishing state of Greek literature in Ten Cities. The Decapolis had, in each city, temples to purely Hellenic deities, theatres, amphitheatres, and various athletic institutions. Yearly were the *παγκάδοι* celebrated—games in which every form of physical strength was exhibited. There was a vigorous municipal life of democratic constitution. Gadara was the birthplace or home of Philodēmus the Epicurean contemporary of Cicero, Meleager the epigrammatist, Ménippas the satirist, Theodōrus the rhetorician (tutor of Tiberius), and others. The Greek writers of Damascus are still better known. Gerasa had a school famous for its teachers. Besides, the League, being largely a commercial union, pushed the Greek method of trade across W. Palestine; the result is seen in the

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many commercial and travellers' terms and names for objects of trade and human consumption which, in the centuries immediately before and after Christ, passed from Greek into Hebrew.

Besides the ancient authorities already cited, see Euphronius, *Harv.* 297; *De Mins. et Pond.* 45; Stephanus Byzant. *De Urbibus* (Basile, 1598, ed. Haindorf, Lips., 1835).

Literature. especially the art. *Peşvara*, Rehaut, *Palästina* 198, 203, 207; E. de Sauty, *Annuaire-géogr. de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1874; Schür, *Erz.* 3, 94 ff.; *Annuaire*, 186 chap. 28; and various works of travel in E. Palestine. G. A. S.

DECK (C-77). Deck 276 RVms; EV BUSSES
See Stamp.

DEDAN (דִּדָן, oftenest דִּדָּן [DIDDAN]), a son of KAMAH (see GENEALOGY, § 23), son of CASH, Gen. 107 (1st), or of Jukshan, son of Keturah, Gen. 253 (J), 1 Ch. 132.

$\delta\alpha\delta\alpha\nu$ {A}D{Q}I., $\delta\sigma$. {K}I., $\delta\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\mu$ {B}Z⁹, $\delta\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\nu$ {C}H.

As the name of a people it also occurs in Is 21:13 'caravans of DEBATHITES' [so RV; AV DEBATHITE], in connection with the 'land of Tema'; δαβαρ [DAVAR], but in Aq. and Sym. δαβαριμ; and in Theod. and Oug. δαδ. (qmg.), Jer. 27:21 (with Tema and Buz), 28 (where it is thought of as adjoining Idem); Ezek 26:23 (where Theod. reads δαβαριμα; cp Theod. for Sym in Lev 26:17; 26:23).

lish. 99). Ezek. 27.23 (with Arabia, Kedar, Sheba, and Raamah, as trading with Tyre). 38.12 (with Sheba). But not 25.65 (see ROMANUM). These passages (to which add Gen. 25.14 (Ch. 12) all point to Arabia, but one to the southern, some to the northern region. 7 occurs in Min. and Saba inscriptions (see especially *Basor.*, *Skizze* 2.377). Probably Dedan was a tribe with important seats in S. or central Arabia (Glasier, *loc. cit.*), east of N. of Medina) and trading settlements in the W. N.

DEDICATE, DEDICATION. For דָּבַדַּבְּ, *leḏabbe* (lit. 'to separate,' more usually rendered 'to consecrate,' 'ellow,' or 'sanctify') see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, *ḥalal*. For דָּבַדַּבְּ, *ḥaram*, see BAN.

* CATECHISE, and cp BDB, c.v. Various dedication
ceremonies are described, mostly in late documents.
There is the dedication of

There is the dedication of the temple in (Ch. 8, 1-8, 26) (see p. 63); all is being separately referred to in 2 Ch. 7 (see *עֲדָתָם*); the altar of the tabernacle is mentioned in Num. 7, 1-17, 9, 1-10, 1-11, 12-17; that of the walls of Jerusalem as rebuilt by Nehemiah in Neh. 12, 27 ff. (see *עֲדָתָם* *תִּשְׁבָּע*). No special word is prescribed for the dedication of a new house referred to in Mal. 3 (see *עֲדָתָם*). On the dedication of temple and altar in justification of the covenant with blood, and the dedication of a new and valid way of access to God are added to in Heb. 9, 18 (see CHAVANAS 1) and Heb. 10, 20.

DEDICATION, FEAST OF THE. On the 15th of Chislew of the year 145 of the Seleucid era (Dec. 165 B.C.), during the religious persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, a pagan altar was set up on the site of burnt offering at Jerusalem, and on the 25th of the same month sacrifice was for the first time offered upon it (1 Macc. 1:40-64; 2 Macc. 6:1-11; Jos. xii. 54). Three years afterwards (195 B.C.), as the Maccabees had recovered Jerusalem and the temple, The temple was then cleansed, the altar of burnt offering displaced by one entirely new, new vessels made, and the temple reconsecrated with festivities. These lasted for eight days, beginning on 25th Chislew 148 of the Seleucid era (Dec. 165 B.C.), it is, on the very day on which, three years before, the altar had been desecrated (1 Macc. 4:10-30).

commemoration of these events, the feast of the
 atonement (מִצְוָה [Megilla, iii. 46; Bikkurim, 16; Rosh
 ana, 13, etc.]; τὰ ἑκάθαια, iii. 1022; αἱ ἑμέραι
 νουμῶν τοῦ θινιασθηρίου, i Macc 4:30; καθήκοντος
 πρὸς 2 Macc. 1:18), lasting eight days from the 25th
 of Chislew, was celebrated 'with mirth and joy' (μετ'
 σὺνῃς καὶ χαρᾶς) annually. According to 2 Macc.

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196 it was observed after the murder of the feast of Tabernacles, and in another passage it is even called the feast of tabernacles of the month Tishrey (*hupai ris syngoungias toe xaseoi*, a Marc. Ev.). The special and distinguishing peculiarity in its celebration was the illumination of synagogues and houses.

At the close of a performance one light, at least, to the honor of those who had paid the expense, as in the case of a light to the crew members in the house, had to be displayed on the second balcony.

Jewish tradition explains the eight-days' situation of the lights, and the custom of displaying lights, by the assertion that Jews found only one small trace of consecrated oil, but that it lasted for eight days instead of only for one.

The probability is that the illumination, like the chubrit and other features of the feast, was taken over from the feast of tabernacles and referred to the re-lighting of the golden candlestick (cf. Matt. 13: 10; 23: 35; Luke 11: 14).

[illegible]

The proper Psalm for the Feast of the Dedication is Ps. 30, hence its inscription, $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\sigma\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ τῆς ἑορτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Dedication song of the house (temple).

[illegible][illegible]

kindly *ḥām* was feminine, note the phrase $\text{חַמָּה} \text{חַמָּה}$, 7:14; Ex. 31 to Am. 7:4 Ps. 20:7 and the plur. ending *ḥā* also Gen. 16:5 (ḥayy *ḥayyot* *ḥayyot*) Gen. 31:34 Ex. 31:43. At first apparently with the plur. form, the original *ḥām* is to be disregarded, and *ḥām* treated as a synonym of *ḥay*, Ex. 15:1 [macro] [3] *ḥay* Ps. 77:107 *ḥay*. See also Ex. 16:24 Hb. 3:2 Ps. 124 [not 104, but up Bn.] Job 2:14. Ex. 8:7 see Kdm. Syn. 467).

ABYSS, DRAGON, and

EEER. FALLOW (יחזקאל). In 115 I K 423 [503]
see R. 115 I K 423 [503]

FILE, DEFILEMENT (822), Lev. 18:24f. See
MON. and cp CLEAN, #14.

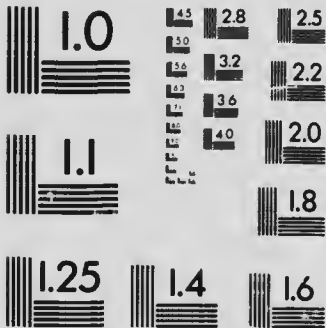
GREEK occurs in a passage of some interest with reference to early church offices. What is the 'good' (AV) or rather, 'good standing' (RV) which is ascribed to those who have 'served well as deacons'? *εὖ καλὸς* is the phrase. According to Hort (*Chr. Ecol.*) it means the vantage-ground of influence and moral integrity won by the excellent discharge of official duties. Joret, de Wette, etc., however, find a reference to divine reward at the great judgment; whilst Jerome, Fathers, Baur, Holtzmann, and von Soden it is pronounced in the episcopate that is intended, and that the qualities required of an *ἐπίσκοπος* in the one are analogous to those required in the other.

songs of degrees' (a purely conventional rendering) see
s; on the 'degrees' of 2 K. 209 (= 1s, 3ss), see DIAL.



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DEHAVITES

DEHAVITES. RV Dehaites (דְּהַיִּטִּים, Kt., but דְּהַיִּטִּים, Kr.; דְּהַיִּטִּים [A], -הַיִּטִּים [L], but A omits 'Elanites'), generally regarded as one of the peoples represented in Samaria among the colonists of ASSUPPER (Ezra 4.9). They stand apparently between the Susanchites (Susani) and the Elanites. No plausible identification has yet been offered (see Schr. A 17²⁰ 376, 610).

The reason is plain, as soon as it is mentioned. If we point, with G. Hoffmann (Z 1254), דְּהַיִּטִּים, and take this with the following word דְּהַיִּטִּים, we shall get the phrase 'that is, Elanites' (דְּהַיִּטִּים already has or עֵשֶׂה דְּהַיִּטִּים), which is an explanatory gloss on the preceding word 'Susanchites.' So Marti, *Gram. der Bib.*, *Leam. Sp.*, 45.

DEKAR (דְּקָר), 1 K. 4.9. AV; RV BEN-DEKAR, AV¹⁰ BEN-DEKAR (דְּקָר).

DELAIAH (דְּלַיָּהּ, דְּלַיָּהּ, perhaps 'God hath drawn out,' § 30; דְּלַיָּהּ, -אֶל [BQL], some compare דְּלַיָּהּ in Jos. c. 1. 118, which is more correctly given by Niese as ΔΕΛΑΙΑΡΟΣ).

1. Son of Shemai, a prince of Jehoiakim's court; Jer. 36 (5. 43) 12, דְּלַיָּהּ [N], -אֶל [A]; 25 (-אֶל [A] [Rec. sup.], γοδολίας [BA]).
2. Head of one of the priestly courses; 1 Ch. 24. 13 (דְּלַיָּהּ [L], δαλαϊα [L] 17 [B]).
3. (AV ΔΕΛΑΙΑΡΟΣ), a descendant of Zerubbabel (-אֶל [A] [L], -אֶל [L], 1 Ch. 3. 24).
4. The line Delaiah were a post-exilic family who were unable to prove their pedigree; Ezra 2. 60 (דְּלַיָּהּ [L], δαλαϊα [L]) = Neh. 7. 2 (-אֶל [B], -אֶל [A], 1 Esd. 5. 17 (אֶל [B], δαλαַי [A]).
5. Father of Shemai (אֶל [B], -אֶל [A] [L], Neh. 11. 10).

DELILAH (דְּלִילָה, 'delicate?' § 67; דְּלִילָה [BAL]; دَلِيلَا, *DALILAH*), Judg. 16. 4-20. Whether the name has, like SAMSON [p. 7], any mythological connection we cannot at present say. Delilah dwelt in the vale of SOREK (p. 7), and we may presume that the tradition regarded her as a Philistine. Her temporary relation to the Philistine princes hardly warrants us in calling her a 'political agent' (Smith's *DB*² s.v.). See SAMSON.

DELIVERER, THE (Ο ΠΥΘΗΝΟΣ [Ti. WH]) Rom. 11. 26. Is. 59. 20 (דְּלִילָה); see GOEL.

DELUGE. Postponing the various interesting questions, as well of comparative folk-lore (§§ 18-20) as of biblical theology (§§ 10 ff. 17), which are connected with the title of this article, let us confine ourselves at present to the relation between the Hebrew Flood-story and that of Babylonia.

1. Babylonian Flood-story. Of all the parallel traditions of a deluge the Babylonian is undeniably the most important, because the points of contact between it and the Hebrew story are so striking that the view of the dependence of one of the two on the other is directly suggested even to the most cautious of students. The account in the Berossian excerpts will be referred to below (see § 16); but we may state here that the genuine Babylonian character of the Berossian story has, since 1872, been raised above all doubt by George Smith's discovery, in the remains of the library of Ashur-bani-pal, of a copy of a very ancient cuneiform Deluge-story derived, it would seem, from the city of Šurippak in Babylonia, and by a more recent discovery by Scheil (see § 6). The former story fills the first four columns of the eleventh tablet of the epic of Gilgamesh,¹ a cycle of legends to which, in studying the early narratives of Genesis, we have so frequently to refer (see, e.g., CAINITES, § 6).

A paraphrase of its contents is all that we can give here: translations of recent date and critical in character will be found in K. 17²⁰ 55 ff. (by Paul Haupt); Jensen's *Kosm.* 367 ff.; A. Jeremias's *Isidubar-Nimrod*, 32 ff.; Muss-Arnolt's essay in *Bibl. World*, 3. 109 ff. ('94);

¹ The exploits of this hero are celebrated in the twelve chants or lays of the epic. The text of the Deluge-story was published in 4 R (1st ed. 50 ff., 2d ed. 43 ff.) and most recently by Haupt, *Das Bab. Nimrodespos*, 95-150 (91).

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and Gunkel's *Schiff*, 423 ff. (by H. Zimmern).¹ gods, more especially Bel, wrath at the sins of men determine to bring upon them a judgment consisting in a great all-destroying flood. One of the gods, however, namely Ea, selects a favoured man, named Pār-nāpīstī,² of the city of Šurippak, for deliverance. This is the Xisuthrus of Berossus, and he it observed that the name Xisuthrus is found, in all probability, by transcribing the two component parts of Atra-hasis—i.e., 'very wise,' or, still better perhaps (so Haupt), 'the v. pious'—one designation of the hero of the cuneiform account. Pār(?)-nāpīstī is in a dream acquainted by the purpose of the gods, and commanded to build a ship (*šippa*, cp Aram. שִׁפָּה), the form of which prescribed, as a means of saving his life, and to take with him into it 'seeds of life of all kinds' (L. 2). Accordingly, the ship is built; its dimensions³ are given with great precision by the poet, who mentions that it was coated within and without with bitumen (*kuṣra*), and that cells were made in it. Into this vessel Pār(?)-nāpīstī brings gold and silver and 'seeds of life of all kinds,' besides his family and servants, beasts of the field, and wild beasts of the field (L. 84 ff.). Shortly before the Flood, the beginning of which is made known to him by a special sign, Pār(?)-nāpīstī himself enters the ship and bars the door, while his steersman, named Puzur-Bel, takes over the direction of the vessel (L. 94). Upon this the deluge begins: it is thought of as a loosening of all the elemental powers, torrents of rain, storm and tempest, together with thick darkness. The waters rise higher and higher, till the whole land becomes a sea; all men and animals, except those in the ship, perish. Six days and nights the flood rages; on the seventh day a calm sets in. Then Pār(?)-nāpīstī opens the air-hole (L. 136; *nāpāšu* = *nāpāšu*, cp עֲשֵׂה), and sees the widespread ruin. At the same time land emerges, and the ship grounds on the mountain of Nisir (L. 141).⁴ After seven days more Pār(?)-nāpīstī sends out successively a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The dove and the swallow, finding no place of rest, return to the ship; but the raven is seen no more. Upon this Pār(?)-nāpīstī clears the ship and offers a sacrifice on the summit of the mountain. 'The gods smelt the savour, the gods smelt the sweet savour. The gods gathered like flies about the sacrificer' (L. 160-162). As for Bel, however, he is at first displeased at the deliverance of Pār(?)-nāpīstī and his household; but on the representations of Ea,⁵ who points out the rashness of his act in causing a universal deluge, and recommends the sending of wild animals, famine, and pestilence, as a more fitting mode of punishing humankind, Bel becomes reconciled to the escape of Pār(?)-nāpīstī, and even gives him and his wife a share of the divine nature, and causes them to dwell 'afar off, at the mouth of the rivers' (L. 199-205).

Before attempting to explain this Deluge-story, and comparing it with the corresponding Hebrew account, we must consider the position which it occupies in Babylonian literature. It stands at present, as we have seen, in close connection with other traditional stories, and particularly with the cycle of Gilgamesh-legends. The hero, Gilgamesh, who, after his various adventures, is visited with a sore disease, sets out on the way to his

¹ The references here given to lines of the Deluge-story accord with Zimmern's numeration.

² Cp § 15 d. The reading of the first part of the name is uncertain; Pār-nāpīstī ('proud, or offspring, of life'), Šit-nāpīstī ('the escaped one'), Šamaš-nāpīstī ('sun of life'), Ūm-nāpīstī ('day of life'), and Nūh-nāpīstī (see NOAH) have found their respective supporters.

³ See Haupt, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* 9. 419 ff.

⁴ On the land and mountains of Nisir, cp *Annals of Ashur-nir-pal*, 2. 33-39 (RP² 2. 150 ff.). They were situated between the Tigris and the Lower Zab, between 35° and 36° N. lat. (Del. *Par.* 105).

⁵ Jastrow sees here traces of a collision between the cultus of Bel and that of Ea.

⁶ See below § 15 (end), and, for a legendary parallel § 14.

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ancestors Par(?)-napišti, whose dwelling is remote from that of all other men, beyond the river of death (cp. CANTILLAS, § 6; ENOCH, § 2). From this fortunate possessor of eternal life, Gilgamesh hopes to learn how to obtain, not only the cure of his disease, but also the same supreme felicity. Par(?)-napišti answers by a detailed description of the Deluge, in which he was himself so prominent a figure, and at the end of which he was admitted to the life of the gods. Obviously, the present connection of the Deluge-story with the Gilgamesh-tradition is secondary in character, and it becomes all the more reasonable to maintain that the Hebrew Deluge-story too has only an artificial connection with the framework in which it now stands. Noah may originally have had no more connection with Nimrod than Par(?)-napišti with Gilgamesh (see NIMROD, NOAH).

The secondary character of the present connection of the Babylonian Deluge-story being granted, can we venture to indicate a more original connection? According to Berosus,¹ Xisuthrus (the hero of the Deluge) was the last of the ten primitive Babylonian kings, whose immensely long lives so forcibly remind us of those ascribed to the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis, and, as has been repeatedly pointed out,² are closely related to the theory of an artificially-calculated cosmic year. The Berosian cosmic year had the enormous duration of 518,400 ordinary years, and each of its twelve months consisted of 12 sari—i.e., (12 × 3600), 43,200 ordinary years. According to this system, ten cosmic months are equivalent to 432,000 years, and this is exactly the number of the years assigned by Berosus to the ten antediluvian Babylonian kings (cp. CHRONOLOGY, § 4, end). The theory of the Babylonians appears to have been that these ten primitive kings reigned during the first ten cosmic months of the great cosmic year (each king for a cosmic month), and that the Deluge fell at the end of the tenth month. Now, the eleventh month was for the Babylonians (who began the year with the vernal equinox) the time from the middle of January to the middle of February—in other words, the middle of the rainy or winter season.

It is also to the winter season that the position of the Deluge-narrative in the Gilgamesh-epic points—more particularly to the eleventh month Šebāt (Jan.-Feb.). For, as Sir Henry Rawlinson saw, the twelve tablets of the adventures of Gilgamesh stand in relation to the passage of the sun-god through the twelve months of the year, and the principal event on every tablet has its analogue in the corresponding one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, which, as is now certainly known, had their origin in Babylonia. Now, it is the eleventh tablet that contains the Deluge-story, and the eleventh zodiacal sign is Aquarius. The conclusion is obvious. Lastly, it is also probable that the Assyrian name of the eleventh month, Šabātū (probably 'destruction'), and its ideographic designation as '(month of the) curse of rain,' both have reference to the Deluge. Clearly the connection of the Deluge-story with the story of the ten primitive kings is much more close and original than its present connection with the Gilgamesh-legends. The fixing of the great catastrophe in the eleventh month is a fact of importance with reference to the question, which will shortly (§ 8) claim to be answered: Has the Deluge-story a historical kernel, or is it simply and entirely a nature-myth?

The elaborate account in the Gilgamesh-epic is not the only cuneiform record of the Babylonian Deluge-story. Peiser has published (Z. 14 190 f.) [80] a mythological text, with a map, giving a primitive picture of Babylonia at the time of the Deluge under

¹ For the Berosian story, see below, § 10.

² See especially Marcus v. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assyrs und Babyls* (57), 237 ff.

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Par(?)-napišti. The text is very fragmentary; but as far as it can, with the help of the map, be understood, this is the notion of the Flood which it suggests.

—The Persian Gulf was conceived of as encompassing Babylonia, and round about this ocean lay seven islands. The mountain of the Deluge was due north of Babylon, but still within the tract enclosed by the ocean. It is noteworthy that the time of the Deluge is apparently designated in this text—'the year of the great serpent.'

[Further, among the tablets in the Constantinople museum Scheil has recently discovered a mutilated fragment of a new Deluge-story, containing

6. Scheil's fragment. part of column 1 f. 7 f. In the twelfth line occurs the word *šubūt* ('refined'), which, according to Scheil, suggests that our tablet is but a copy of a much older original which had been injured. The date of the tablet itself, however, is sufficiently ancient: 'month of Šebāt, day 28, the year in which Ammu-zaduga built the fortress of Ammu-zaduga at the mouth of the Euphrates'—not much later than 2150 B.C. By whom the story is told, is not evident. The complaints of mankind are spoken of first; the god Kammur appears to be angry with them. Thereupon a god pronounces sentence upon mankind; reference is made to a destroying rain-storm. In the seventh column the god En speaks. He expostulates with the other god for wishing to destroy men. 'Some men at least, En will save; let them come into [the vessel] . . . the ear (?) . . . let him come . . . let him bring . . . let him . . .'. That the great Deluge is referred to is now clear: the occurrence of the word *abubu* must dispel all doubt. In the eighth column only two lines are complete; but these contain a reference to Atra-hasis (Xisuthrus), who is introduced speaking 'to his lord'—i.e., to the god who has proved himself a friend to the human race. The name of the scribe suggests to Scheil that this version of the Deluge-story is that which was current in the city of Sippar¹ (see § 10).]

We have also a list of royal names which bears the inscription, 'These are the post-diluvian kings of Babylonia,' thus implicitly confirming the Berosian distinction between kings before and kings after the Deluge (cp. COT 160).

7. Other references. The word here used for Deluge is *abubu* (cp. below, § 13), which elsewhere is of frequent occurrence,² the Deluge being referred to as an event of hoary antiquity—i.e., when it is said of old inscriptions that they go back to the time before the Deluge (*abubu*). See TRILAH.

We have now to take up the question, What was probably the true origin of this Babylonian Deluge-story, looking at it by itself, without comparing the Hebrew records? The first thing that strikes us is the harmony between the narrative and the local conditions of Babylonia, which justifies us in regarding that country as the native place of the story. It is more difficult to determine whether any real historical event lies at the foundation of the narrative, or whether we have to do with a mere myth. In itself it would, of course, not be inconceivable that in days of yore an unusually extensive flood from the Persian Gulf, combined with continuous rain, burst upon the Babylonian lowlands, and destroyed countless human lives; that a dim tradition of this event was preserved; and that the Babylonian Deluge-story was a last deposit produced by this genuine occurrence. Judging, however, from what is known of the growth of myths and legends, especially among the Babylonians,

¹ The reason is that one element in the name of the scribe is Aya (Aok). Now it was chiefly at Sippar that the goddess Aya was honoured in conjunction with Samas (the sun-god); her name was borne by the inhabitants. Scheil, 'Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes. Tirage à part du *Kennel de travaux*,' etc., vol. xx, C. 7.

² [*abubu*, 'storm,' is also used as a title for the god Marduk's weapon in the Creation-story, Tab. iv. 49, and King Hammur-rabi calls himself *abū tukumatim*, 'tempest of battles,' *KB* 3a 115.]

we think that this is far from probable. The entire character of the narrative, and the connection with other myths indicated above, are much more favourable to the view that we have to do, not with a legend based upon facts, but with a myth which has assumed the form of a history (cp below, col. 1063, note 3). The colouring may have been partly supplied by the cyclones which, in an alluvial country like Babylonia, frequently make their appearance from the sea; but the origin of this myth will have to be sought in quite another direction. We noticed above that the great catastrophe is placed by the Babylonians in the middle of the winter season, in the eleventh month¹ (Sabit=Jan.-Feb.), which was regarded as specially the time of storms, and had for its patron the rain-god and storm god Ramman. To the present writer it seems most probable that the Deluge-story was originally a nature-myth, representing the phenomena of winter, which in Babylonia especially is a time of rain. The hero rescued in the ship must originally have been the sun-god.² Thus, the Deluge and the deliverance of Par(?)-napišti are ultimately but a variant to the Babylonian Creation-myth (see CREATION, § 2 f.). Now we can understand the very peculiar designation of the Deluge-period mentioned already. The 'great serpent' is no other than the personified ocean, which on the old Babylonian map (see above, § 5) encircles Babylonia, just as 'Leviathan the wreathed serpent' (Is. 27:1) is the world-encircling ocean personified as a serpent;³ it is the same monster that is a central figure in the Creation-story.

The question as to the relation of the Babylonian to the Hebrew Deluge-story can now be satisfactorily answered. If, as we believe, the former had its origin in Babylonia, and is fundamentally a myth of winter and the sun-god, the Hebrew story must have been borrowed from the Babylonian. In this case, Dillmann's theory of a common Semitic tradition, which developed among the Hebrews in one way, and among the Babylonians in another, is once more put out of count (see CREATION, § 4).

The Israelitish story of the submergence of the earth (i.e., of the part known to the narrators) by a Deluge is found in the Book of Genesis (6:5-9:10) in two forms, belonging respectively to J₂ and to P, which have been welded together (see GENESIS, § 8). There are also allusions to the story (all late) in Ezek. 14:14-20, Is. 54:9, Ps. 29:10, Is. 21:15, Job 22:15 f. (2). It remains to be seen, however, whether the two forms of the tradition in Genesis are really independent; it may be that, as in the case of the Creation-story (see CREATION, § 12), P has only given a somewhat different setting to data which he has derived from J₂. It is no objection to this view that P's account is longer and in some respects less fragmentary than that of J₂. The editor (or editors) naturally preferred the former, because P's work was systematically adopted as the framework of the combined historical narrative. The three principal points in which P is fuller than J₂ are (1) the announcement of the coming deluge to Noah, and the command to build an ark (or chest), the measurements of which are prescribed; (2) the notice of the place where the ark grounded; and (3) the appointment of the rainbow as the sign of the covenant between God and man. On all these points, we may

¹ The fragments of Berosus mention Daisius (May-June) as the month of the Deluge. This notice is suspicious on several grounds. The writer who excerpted Berosus probably identified the eighth Babylonian month Arad-samma (Marheswan (Oct.-Nov.) with the eighth Syro-Macedonian month Daisius. The biblical revision also makes the Deluge begin in Marheswan. On this view, both Berosus and the OT placed the beginning of the Deluge early in the winter, instead of in the middle of that season—an easily intelligible variant.

² [The same view is given in Che's art. 'Deluge,' *EB* 90. See below.]

³ Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 46. See BHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, § 3 (C), SERPENT, § 3 (C).

safely presume, information was given in J₂. To suppose that the latter began with 'And Yahwe said to Noah, Go thou with a into the ark,' would be absurd, and Budde is right in supposing that the measurements in Gen. 7:15 come from J₂, who on his side derived them from some form of the Babylonian (cp GÖRNER-WOOD). Budde has also made that J₂ gave a statement as to the resting-place of the ark, which he placed among the mountains Kasdim. P knew that there were higher than these in the N., and transferred the ARARAT (Z. IV, § 3); though it is probable the support of the later Babylonian tradition (Berosus).

Nor need we doubt that the episode of J₂ also was told by J₂ to whose delicate imagination it would be in a high degree congenial.

11. Rainbow episode. It is true, there is nothing like the Deluge-story given in the Gilgamesh, but we do not know all the variants of the myth. Most probably, however, J₂ may honour of having invented this exquisite covenant. The covenant is distinctly Israelitish; the sign should be Israelitish too. A probable contact for the rainbow episode is suggested by words of the Babylonian poet (*II*, 92-102): 'A dark cloud came up from the foundation of Ramman (the storm-god) thundered therein, noise of Ramman penetrated to heaven; its brightness into obscurity.' The flashes of lightning, the storm-god's arrows (Is. 66:15) [41 7843] and when the storm ceases, the god lays aside (this is said, e.g., of the god Ishtar, after his the demons). If the Hebrew story in its origin referred to the thundering of Yahwe, we believe that when J₂ appended the account, he said to himself that the bow which had laid aside could be no other than the rainbow. There is, at any rate, no exact mythic parallel to the use made of the rainbow in Gen. 9:12-13.

There are also other points of difference between J₂ and P. (2) The latter is without the vivid

12. P's deviations. the sending out of the birds (Gen. 8:1-12); such a prosaic writer would think these superfluous. (3) The important point is P's non-recognition of the difference between clean and unclean animals (Gen. 7:2-3). His not mentioning the sacrifice which, according to Gen. 8:20, Noah offered after leaving the ark, is a cause of these deviations of P is obvious. His theory of the origin of the cultus imposed on him the necessity of harmonising the tradition with it.

(4) Not less remarkable is the difference between J₂ and P as to the duration of the Deluge. According to J₂, seven days elapsed after the command to enter the ark; then the rain-storm¹ came, and it rained forty days and forty nights; then in three days the waters disappeared. The computation gives more occasion to debate.

It is stated in MT (7:11) that the deluge began on the seventh of the second month, and that on the twenty-second of the second month the following year the earth was dried. If this is correct, the flood lasted 1 year 11 days 17 hours. This is a lunar year form the basis of the computation, 354 days, which make a solar year. This looks very much like a correction; the flood really lasted a lunar year. As it reads in 7:11 'twenty-seventh' (EADL) instead of 'seventh' (MT), the solar year would be meant,² and the deluge (365 days) would be the same as that of Noah (365 years). We also learn that 'the water on the earth 150 days' (7:24 cp 8:3). This ought to be

¹ Cp Ps. 29:10. P (7:11) ascribes the deluge partly to the breaking up of the 'fountains of the great deep' (i.e., of the waters under the earth, cp Gen. 49:1), and approaches more nearly to the Babylonian account, which speaks of the sea as being driven on the land by a storm. Possibly J₂ in its original form, made some reference to the subterranean waters.

² On P's year cp also YEAR.

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five months (711 84). But 150 days are more than five lunar months; it is clear that solar months must be meant (see, however, Di. Gen. 129 f., and his dissertation on the Calendar, *Monatsher der Hebr. Akad.*, 1881, pp. 90 f.; Bacon, 'Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P¹ Hebrewa, 8 (92) 79-88; Nowak, *II.1* 2230).

We are thus enabled to some extent to reconstruct the Deluge-story of J₂. No doubt some archaic incidents have been lost, but P has preserved three of the most important details which were found in the earlier narrative, though he has moved the Mountain of the Ark northwards. He has also retained שָׁפָן (κατακλυσμός), J₂'s term for the Deluge; ¹ outside of J₂ and P in the Deluge-story, the term occurs only in Ps. 29.10 (post-exilic), and in Gen. 6.17 7.6 an editor has glossed it by the word מַיִם 'waters'; also שָׁפָן, 'chest' ² (κιβωτός, Vg. arca), used elsewhere only of Moses' ark of Nile-reeds (Ex. 23.5, θηλοῖς [BAF] θηλοῖν [1.]), and we may presume that the words נָח (see GOMER-WOOD) and בִּתְּוִן ³ 'bitumen,' both occurring in 6.14 and nowhere else, were retained from the lost narrative of J₂.

But what of J₁? Did his narrative of the origin of man contain any Deluge-story? No—at any rate, if the theory ably propounded by Budde be accepted. J₁'s narrative contained Gen. 2.4-5 3.1-24 6.1-4 9.1-27 (but on 27 see JAPHET III) 11.1-8; it included no Deluge-story. In this record Noah appears as the first agriculturist, and the inventor of wine. A corruption of the text, and perhaps editorial convenience, led to his identification with the hero of the Deluge, who (it is held) had originally the name of Enoch, but had now to take that of Noah in exchange (see NOAH). We need not, however, suppose that the Deluge-myth was unknown to the Israelites before J₂ wrote. It is in reality a pendant to the Creation-story: we should naturally have expected both stories to reach the Israelites at the same time. We have, indeed, no direct evidence of this; but the expression שָׁפָן has a very archaic appearance. At one time שָׁפָן must have had a meaning in Hebrew, and that time must have been long anterior to J₂. But the Deluge-myth, like the companion-story which underlies Gen. 1, did not, it seems, take a firm hold on the Israelitish people: when J₂, or (more probably) the earlier writer from whom he draws, shaped his story, the Deluge-myth had passed out of mind, and needed to be revived by the help of some one acquainted with cuneiform documents (cp CREATION, § 11 f.).

14. J₁ had no Deluge-story. Of the earliest Israelitish Deluge-myth and of its Canaanitish original we know nothing. (a) Lucian (100 A.D.), laughing in his sleeve, gives the Syrian Flood-story of his day; ⁴ but it has been partly Hellenised, and probably Judaised (a 'great box or chest,' ξάπρανξ, is spoken of), and we can lay no stress upon it. Its origin was no doubt Babylonian. 'Most people,' says Lucian, 'relate that the founder of the temple (of Hierapolis) was Deucalion-Sisythos.' (c) The Phœnician version of the myth, if there ever was one, has perished. ⁵ (d) The ¹ שָׁפָן, 'destruction': hence 'deluge' from Bab.-ass. nabāhu, 'to destroy'; cp שָׁפָן, שָׁפָן, a softened form of שָׁפָן, Gen. 6.4 Nu. 13.33. The word was chosen probably as a synonym for Bab.-ass. abāhu (deluge), on account of the assonance, when the Bab. Deluge-myth first became naturalised in Canaan. On the etym. cp Frd. Del. *Par.* 156; Haupt, in *KAT* 60; Cheyne, *Psalmist*, 320, *Hebrewa*, 3.175; Jensen, *Eph. Times*, 9. (e) ² שָׁפָן (derives from שָׁפָן, 'to rain' (against which see Del. *Gen. 11* [87] 172, and cp König, *Lehrb.* 2.153). On the form of the Syriac loan-word *minimū*, cp König, 1.495. Such a notable mythological word as *abāhu* was certain to be naturalised in Canaan in some form (cp DELIAL).

³ שָׁפָן may be of Egyptian, but can scarcely be of Bab. origin, as Jensen (*II.1* 427 f.) represents. The word *tebtim* in the phrase *ina elippi tebtim* is most naturally connected with שָׁפָן.

⁴ Cp *Apri* in the parallel passage in the Gilgames-epic.

⁵ *Dea Syria*, chap. 12 f.; cp Jos. *Ant.* 1.30.

⁶ Gruppe's opposite view (*ZAFH* 9.135 ff. [89]) is unsatisfactory.

DELUGE

Arabs, like the Egyptians, ¹ certainly never had any, though the legendary el-Hidr (see col. 1062, n. 1), who in the Alexander legend conducts the hero to the waters of life, and in the Koran, according to the commentators (*Sar.* 1830), is found by Moses 'at the confluence of two seas (rivers?)' may be a reflection of Par-nipasti, or rather Hasis-sara from a shortened form of which el-Hidr may be derived.

Outside of Babylonia, therefore, the only extant Semitic tradition is that of J₂ and P. This is obviously based on the Babylonian myth, for the substitution of a 'chest' for a 'ship' is due either to reflection, or to a confusion between two Babylonian words, and in any case not to independent tradition. J₂'s account is the typical one; P's statements as to the length of Enoch's life and the duration of the Deluge seem to rest on Jewish Aggada.

The typical Babylonian myth is that in the Gilgames-epic (see above), which appears to be the local tradition of the city of Surippak (see Frd. Del. *Par.* 224; Jensen, *Komol.* 387); but the variant discovered by Poser ² (§ 5), and the much fuller one transmitted by Berossus, ³ also are valuable. The Babylonian king, Xisuthrus, is the hero of the Berossian Deluge-story; in this way Berossus disguised the name of Atrahasis, transposing the two parts of the name or title. ⁴ Xisuthrus, he says, was accompanied on board the ship (σάφρος, πλοῖον, παῖς) by wife, children, friends, and steersman, and took with him quadrupeds and fowls. He was ordered to turn the course of his vessel 'towards the gods.' How long the flood lasted we are not told. When it went down, he sent out birds three times; the third time the birds did not return. Then he discovered that the ship had grounded 'on a certain mountain.' With wife, daughter, and steersman, he disembarked, erected an altar, sacrificed, and then passed out of sight with his companions. Those who remained heard a voice which announced that Xisuthrus had been taken to be with the gods as a reward for his piety; also that the land in which they were was Armenia (cp Gen. 8.4 f.). They were, further, commanded to dig up the sacred books which Xisuthrus, before embarking, had buried at Surippak to transmit them to mankind. This form of the story was, therefore, the local tradition of the ancient city of Surippak, on the left bank of the Euphrates (the *Abu Hira* of to-day). We may plausibly assume that the fragment discovered by Scheil (see § 6) also belonged to the story current at Surippak. Here, however, we find, only Atrahasis as the name of the hero of the Deluge. This name, however, is perhaps to be regarded rather as a title than as a personal name.

The epic narrative fills up the lacuna in the Berossian story. It presupposes a division of the period of the Deluge into an (at present) uncertain number of weeks. The same predilection for the number seven is visible in J₂'s account (see Gen. 7.24 8 [6] 10.12). Similarly the epic agrees more definitely than Berossus with J₂ in its notice respecting the birds. Seven days after the calming of the waters, Par-nipasti sends out first a dove, then a swallow, then a raven. J₂ less naturally puts the raven before the dove; probably he did not draw directly from a Babylonian source (see above, § 11, end; § 14, end). The other details of the Deluge have been simplified by J₂ (or his predecessor).

17. The Epic, J₂, and Gen. 5.23.

¹ There is no Egyptian Flood-myth. It is hardly allowable to quote the myth of the Destruction of Man (see Maspero, *Pa. n. of Civ.* 164-165) as a 'dry deluge-myth,' for the story has a ritual purpose.

² Cp Jeremias, *Israhel-Nimrod*, 36 f.

³ See Müller, *Fragm. Histor. Græc.* 2.601 (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, 1.19 f.), and cp Eus. *Prep. Ev.* 9.12 (Abydenus) where the hero's name is Sisythos. Lucian (see above, § 13 (b)) had heard the name Sisythos.

⁴ Probably, according to Haupt, the adverbial accusative *atra* was affixed in the later period of the language (*Proc. of Amer. Or. Soc.*, March 1894).

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his wife; the stars, human beings—the clouds too were of 'Tangaloa' (the god itself was called so at Hawaii, somewhere in the South Sea) (so at Tahiti). Theological characters of the gods in New Zealand, etc.

Enoch too must be a righteously and intelligible, Morose-goddess Sabitu (the eun say to Gilgamesh is the mighty (*i.e.*) Sabites (2) Samas, who 'sees' in the epic is not) it was hardly this was taken.

from heaven to earth
a virtual duplication
myth.³ This points
to a probable explanation
of the raven, the
Usonian account, and
the Hebrew account. An
allusion to the descrip-
tion of the face of the
CREATION, § 104,
connects the emergence
of man with the descent
according to Brinton
with the agency of
however, the mask-
and finding a portion
of primitive Babylonian
and whether raven or
eagle in the process of

ice spoken of was a
l to the early mon
tion of the world
f things. How the
ult to explain satis
re current; but it
rle once destroyed
rse of time, syste
me resemblance to
to them as if the
in his experiments
e materials. Thus
ar antecedent ages,
present being the
admirable forms,
ultra-basalts, the very
sun-god. The same
in the myth of Kana
tr. *zur.* 158, 2444).
kana-myō and Pā-
with magical plants,
whom Guyard and
with Hasi-atra, was
On this interesting
363 f. and 352 ff.
Archiv. 32 388 ff.

enias, *Isid. Vinmod.*, due slight affinity to
commemoration of the
relative, *Isid. 71*. Frequent
think that it was 'in
mark, the New Year's
941, n. 1.
204; cp Macdonell,

thentic form' on the
it appears that the
ished in the Deluge.
om a previous ether-
largely represented.
114.

is still prevalent throughout the American Indian tribes. The Zoroastrians believed in six ages of the world, with a final catastrophe issuing in a renovation. The six ages are of Life origin (see CREATION, § 91), but the renovation, as Darmesteter admits, goes back to the Achaemenian period. Not without stimulus from Zoroastrianism, the Jews in later times advanced to the same belief.¹ They were assured that the present world would be destroyed and that a new heaven and earth would take its place (Is. 24:1-25; 51:9-52:1; Mt. 19:28-2 Pet. 3:12; 1. John 15:1; Apoc. Bar. 32:9); in harmony with Gen. 1:5 fire was to be the destroying agency (2 Pet. 3:10). These beliefs were naturally fostered by the moral idealism of the best men, as we see, not only from the biblical writings (e.g., Gen. 1:5-11 2 Pet. 25; *καὶ ὅρα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐ*, 37), and from the Babylonian story, but also from an American (Quiché) story, which says, 'They did not think or speak of the Creator who had created them, and who had caused their birth.'² The intense moral fervour of the ancient Zoroastrian hope of world-renovation is well known (see PERSIA).

If it were possible to believe in a primitive tradition respecting early human history, and to accept all mythic narratives as independent traditions, we should have a weary waste of Deluge-myths.

20. Other Deluge-myths.

There are, however, only three more such accounts which have any special interest from our present point of view. (a) The Indian Deluge-story is the first.⁴ This can hardly be a genuine Aryan myth, for there is no clear reference to it in the *Rig Veda*.

The *Satapatha Brahmana*, where it first occurs, was written (Weber) in the late 6th or the 5th century B.C. Another version, in which the names of the deities are filled up, is given in the *Mahabharata*; but this poem, which existed in part before the Christian era, did not assume its present form till long afterwards. A third version, still more recent, is of Indian character, but with some significant resemblances to the *Shukra* accounts, is given in the *Bhagavata Purana*; but the earliest possible date of this work is the twelfth century A.D., which deprives its account of the deluge of all claim to originality.

The principal characteristic of the older Flood-story is the part assigned to the fish which warns Mann of the Deluge, and ultimately saves him by drawing his ship to a northern mountain. This is surely out of character with Aryan mythology. The horned fish, in which Brahma appears, reminds us strongly of the Babylonian fish-god Ea. It was Ea who gave notice of the coming Deluge to Pär-napisti, Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 101), Jensen, (*Kosmol.* 497) and Oldenberg (*Rel. des Veds.* 276) consider the Babylonian origin of the Indian Flood-story to be certain; but on the other hand cp Usener, *Untersuch.* 329-244.

(6) The second account is a Zoroastrian myth in the Avesta (*Vendidad*, 2.46 ff.). In its present form (even after the prosaic additions have been removed; see Goldner, in Usener, 3.209 ff.) it seems to have been influenced by the Hebrew Deluge-story.

The Var, a square enclosure constructed by Yima (Yama, the Vedic god of the dead), had a door and perhaps a window,⁵ like Noah's Ark, and it was designed to preserve men, women, and animals. Apart from this, it reminds us of the biblical Eden, and the calamity which was to be averted was, not a flood, but a terrible winter's frost, connected, however, with the end of the world.⁶ The myth seems to be a recast of elements from more than one source.

(c) The third is a Phrygian myth. Possibly there was a primitive native Deluge-story; but, if so, it was vitalised from a Jewish source, some time during the third or the second century, B.C., when (as Ramsay has

¹ Che, *OPs*, 404 ff.

² Is. 51.10 is a late mosaic of phrases, and irrelevant (see Du. *ad loc.*).

³ Brinton, *op. cit.* 207 f. This is of course a later addition, as in one of the forms of the Tahitian myth (Wainz-Gerland, II 271).

⁴ See Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, 1 196-201; Burnouf, *Bhagavad-gītā*, 2 191; Weber, *Indische Studien*, 2 196.

³ The Zend word rendered 'window,' however, is said to be as obscure as the Hebrew (חַלּוֹן, Gen. 6 16; see LATTICE).

⁶ Cp. Kohut, *JQR*, 1890, pp. 225-227.

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pounded out) many thousands of Jews from Babylonia were settled as colonists in the areas which the Seleucid kings had ruled. This was the period of the intermingling of religions, when Judaism too made conquests, especially in Asia Minor. Even those who were not otherwise judged were influenced by Jewish legends of *SCHOLIM* AND *GOIM*—*ANGELS*. Important cities exhibited their own consubstantial symbols, and harmonised their old traditions with biblical narratives.¹

This Apama (formerly Kolumba) adopted the Noolde legend; Lomung, that of Luch, whose name was connected with the Phrygian name of Naraxos or Narong. This king (of such tradition made him) was said to have lived more than 300 years, to have announced the coming of Lucretia, and to have prayed for his people. The mountain here of Apama was said to be that on which Noolde's ark grounded; the city therefore assumed the title Kolumba (Ark).

21. Appendix on Lenormant. The references already given are almost sufficient (they may be supplemented from Bullman's *Germanica*); but at least a brief mention is due to Lenormant's study in *Les origines*.

21. Appendix on Lenormant

arrived at is that of Franz Delitzsch and Dillmann, that the Deluge is no 'myth,' but a historical fact. Lenormant, at any rate, holds that the three great civilised races of the ancient world preserved a dim recollection of it. This implies a self-propagating power in tradition, which the researches of experts in popular traditions do not justify. Lenormant died, a martyr of patriotism, in 1884. Would he have changed his mind had he lived? At any rate, he would have respected the honesty of those who regard the Deluge-story as a precious record of the myth-forming imagination which has been made subservient to a high moral idealism. — See ADAM AND EVE.

Lastly, the writer would call attention to Jastrow's two articles on Schell's Deluge-story (86) in the *Acta*

22. And on
Jastrow's
theory.

22. And on Jastrow's theory. The Deluge-story is of the *Assyrian* type, 10th and 17th Feb. 1898 (cp his *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* 502-509). It is here maintained that a local tradition of a rain-storm which submerged a single city has been combined in the Gilgamesh-epic with a myth of the destruction of mankind based upon the annual phenomenon of the overflow of the Euphrates. Pir-napisti or Pir-napisti (as Haupt in *KLZ*³⁴) and Jastrow prefer to read the name) is the hero of the local tradition, while Hasis-adra (= חַסִּידָא אֲדָרָא, Gen. ix), according to Jastrow) is the hero of the larger nature-myth. The present writer admits that the version in the epic is of composite origin, and that the names Pir-napisti and Hasis-adra may perhaps come from different sources; but he holds that all the Babylonian deluge-stories, whether simple or composite, have a mythic basis. Moreover, he does not recognise that the simplicity of the oldest Hebrew version of the Deluge-story heightens the probability that the Hebrews carried that story with them when they left their Euphratean settlements. The account given above of the origin and development of the Hebrew story has surely not lost any of its probability in consequence of Scheil's discovery.

[Sec. in addition to works already cited, Noldeke, 'Der Mythos von der Sundfluth,' *Im neuen Reich* [72], pp. 247-259; R. Andree, *Die Flatsagen; ethnographisch betrachtet* (91); H. Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuchungen*, pt. 3 (99), especially § 7, 'Ergebnisse'; M. Jastrow, 'Adram-leth and Parnapsium,' *Z.A.S.* 1899, pp. 288-301. On the chief questions arising out of the Babylonian Deluge-story, cp Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.* (98), pp. 493-508, which, as also Usener's work, appeared after this article had been written.]

It. 4. §§ 1-5, 7-9; T. K. C. §§ 6, 10-22.

DELUS, RV DELOS (ΔΗΛΟΣ [ANV], *Delus*), the

¹ See Babelon, 'La Trad. phryz. du Déluge,' *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* (21), pp. 174 ff.; Usener, *op. cit.*, 48-50; and, on Apamea-Kelainai, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, chaps. 11, 12.

DEMAS

smallest of the Cyclades, regarded by the ancients as the centre of the group—a confusion of the geographical and religious points of view (cp Str. 485). Delos was both a shrine and a commercial centre, and 'her whole destiny is explained by her religious traditions and her geographical situation.' Though nominally free, the island was really subject to the dominant power for the time being in the Aegean. It was a free port as early as 168 B.C., and attracted a great part of the Rhodian trade (Polyb. 317). After 146 B.C. it entered upon the heritage of Corinth (Str. 486). The acquisition of the province of Asia by the Romans in 133 B.C. added greatly to the wealth and importance of Delos. Now began the most brilliant epoch of its history: the inscriptions show that its commercial relations were with the Levant, chiefly Syria and Egypt. So Pausanias calls the island *τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐμπόριον* (viii. 332). For long it was the chief emporium of merchandise from the E. to the W., so that the fine bronze or copper wares of Greece were called indifferently Corinthian, or Delian, from the place of export (Pl. *IV* xxiv. 29; Cic. *Terr.* ii. 27). The island became especially a great slave mart, where the Asiatic slave dealers disposed of their human cargoes to Italian speculators; as many as ten thousand were landed and sold in a day (Str. 668). Naturally such a spot attracted large numbers of Jews (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 102; Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* 39; cp 1 Macc. 152). According to a Greek inscription, a company of Tyrian merchants was settled there as early as the second century B.C. (IG 2271). At the altar of Delos Antiochus Epiphanes set up statues (Polyb. 261), and an inscription to Herod Antipater has been discovered in the island (cp Schür. *GIL* 135). In 88 B.C. 20,000 men, mostly Italians, were massacred in the island by Archelaus, admiral of the Pontic fleet of Mithridates, a blow from which it partially recovered, only to be finally ruined about a twenty years later by the systematic and wholesale destruction wrought by the pirate Athenodorus. The resurrection of the island was rendered impossible by the rapid growth of Puteoli and the revival of Corinth (for its decay, cp Paus. viii. 332 ix. 346).

See the articles by M. Homolle in the *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, especially *Les Romains à Delos*, op. cit. 875 ff. A good account in Diehl's *Excursions in Greece*, E.T. 128 ff. W. J. W.

DEMAS (ΔΗΜΑΣ [Ti. WH]) is enumerated by the apostle Paul as among his 'fellow-workers' at the time of his (first) Roman captivity (Phil. 24; see also Col. 414). In 2 Tim. 410 he is thus alluded to: 'Demas forsook me, having loved this present world, and went to Thessalonien.' Nothing is known of him beyond what may be inferred or conjectured from these allusions.

He is enumerated in the 'list of the seventy disciples of our Lord' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre (*Chr. Pasch.*, Bonn ed., 212) and is stated to have become a priest of idols in Thessalonica. Along with Hermogenes, he figures prominently in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as a hypocritical companion of the former, and to Hermogenes and Demas is assigned the particular heresy about the resurrection which in 2 Tim. 217 is attributed to Hymeneus and Philetus.

DEMETRIUS (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ [ANV]—i.e., of, or belonging to, Demeter, a proper name of very common occurrence among the Greeks).

1. Demetrius I., surnamed Soter,¹ king of Syria, son of Seleucus IV. Philopator, was sent in his early youth to Rome as a hostage, the throne meanwhile being occupied by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes (see ANTIOCHUS, 2). After some time he effected his escape to Tripolis (chiefly through the aid of the historian Polybius), and thence proceeded to Antioch where he proclaimed himself king, securing his position by putting to death his cousin Antiochus Eupator (ANTIOCHUS, 3), and LYSIAS (1 Macc. 7: 162 B.C.). He lost no time in pleasing the Hellenizing party by sending Bacchides to instal Alcimus as high-

¹ He received this honorary designation on account of his delivering the Babylonians from the satrap Heraclides.

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priest (see BACCHIDES, ALCIMUS). The dis- caused by the latter need not here be described. SYRIAN general Nicator [J.V.] was de- Capharsalama (726 ff.), and at Adisa (726 ff.) warning was sent from Rome to Demetrius interfere with the Jews; but it was too late than two months after the fall of Nicator invasion under Bacchides took place; the power was seriously crippled (chap. 9, 160 ff.) further BACCHIDES. Seven years later D. disputing the sovereignty with Alexander endeavoured, though in vain, to secure the support of the Maccabean party (chap. 10), and after hostilities died fighting his rival (175, 497; 175 ff. See MACCABEES, § 5).

2. Demetrius II., Nicator, son of the above, had been living in exile in Crete, came to Cilicia to avenge his father's ill success in Syria, and secured a powerful follower in the person of APOLLONIUS (J.V., 2). An engagement took place at Ashdod, and Apollonius was decisively beaten (107 ff.). Shortly afterwards, however, his hands were unexpectedly strengthened by the secession of VI. Philometor (see PROLEMY, 1), who transferred to him his daughter Cleopatra, the wife of Antiochus Balas (see ALEXANDER, 2). Alexander was slain and Demetrius became king in 145 B.C. A treaty by which Jonathan obtained favourable concessions was concluded (MACCABEES, § 8). Demetrius, believing his position secure, took the wise step of discharging his regular troops, and once went over to Tryphon, the guardian of the person of Alexander Balas (113 ff.; see TRYPHON). Profiting by the approach of a disturbance, he obtained fresh concessions from Demetrius, understanding that Tryphon's rebellion in Judaea should be put down. This was successfully accomplished; but when Jonathan saw that Demetrius no signs of carrying out his promises he was persuaded to transfer his allegiance to Tryphon. Demetrius' princes entered Judaea and after a temporary success were routed in the neighbourhood of Bethsai (116 ff.). Another invasion was mediated in 144, but was successfully ward off by Jonathan's skilful generalship (122 ff.). The scene was changed when Tryphon usurped the throne of Syria and endeavoured, with some success, to reduce Judaea. Jonathan was dead and Simon busied himself strengthening the defences. An embassy was sent to Demetrius II., who, to obtain Simon's support, granted all the Jewish demands including complete immunity from taxation (131 ff.). Demetrius continued the struggle against Tryphon. Demetrius marched to Persia, partly for coin, partly to acquire auxiliaries; but he was captured by Nithridates I. (see PERSIA) and imprisoned in place in Syria being taken by his younger brother Antiochus Sidetes (1 Macc. 141 ff.; see ANTIOCHUS). From non-biblical sources we know that, at the expiration of ten years, he resumed the throne (128 ff.) quarrelled with Ptolemy Physkon and his son Alexander Zabinas, and was finally conquered by Damascus, after fleeing from which place he was murdered at Tyre in 125 B.C. (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9).

3. A silversmith of Ephesus, who was the chief instigator of the tumult in the interests of his craft which brought about the mission in that city to a close (Acts 1924 ff.). See DIAKONOS.

The conjecture that he figures again in the Acts as a convert to Christianity, precarious at best, is singularly so when the commonness of the name is considered.

4. A Christian mentioned with commendation in 1 John. That he was the bearer of the epistle is sometimes inferred.

¹ If we follow RV (after A8, etc.) and read 'the 2 Alexander fled,' it would seem that 25, 45 and 750 must be two different accounts. See more fully Jos. *Ant.* xiii. cp *Camb. Bible*, ad loc.

² This independence gained by the Jews was marked introduction of a new era; cp Chronology, § 1.

read 'the army of
7:50 must belong
Jos. Ant. xiii. 24 and
was marked by the

¹ [In the age of the Gospels and of Josephus the spirits of the (wicked) dead were certainly described as *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια* = *daimon*. While the worship of dead ancestors was at its height, however, the wicked dead were disregarded, and the spirits of the good were honoured as *εὐδήμι* (1 S. 28 13; cp. Is. 83 6). It is best therefore to treat necromancy separately; see DIVINATION, § 4.]

On the philosophic basis of the Platonic *Ideai* or *Forms*, and the Stoic *Logos* or *Reasons*, combined with the Hebrew conception of angels, Philo had bridged over his dualistic gulf between God and the world with intermediate beings, some 'blessed' and others 'profane'; the incorporeal souls being pure

² An article by the present writer on 'St. Paul's view of the Greek Gods.'

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'The effects of dæmonic possession which are constantly

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'unclean spirit' (*πνεῦμα ἀκαθάρτον*) is figurative Mt. 12:43. Accommodation is just admissible in

1 Gebhardt and Harnack, *Texte*, viii, last part, 107.
2 The plant which gave rise to the fable of Baaras was probably a strange-looking crucifer described by Tristrani, *Landmark*, who found it near Callirhoe.
3 One instance, that of the Gerasene demoniac, Jesus appears to have found it advisable to follow the precedent of Jewish exorcists (Jos. Ant. viii, 2, 5) and give the demoniac visible proof of his deliverance, though in a way not suggested by them. It may be observed, in passing, that the word *exorcism* is never applied to Jesus' method of expulsion, though the Jews in Acts 19:13 are called *exorcists*.

² The plant which bears the fruit.

The plant which gave rise to the fable of Baaras was probably a strange-looking crucifer described by Tristram, *Land Moab*, who found it near Callirrhoe.

3 In one instance, that of the Gerasene demoniac, Jesus appears to have found it advisable to follow the precedent of Jewish exorcists (Jos. Ant. viii. 25) and give the demoniac visible proof of his deliverance, though in a way not suggested by them. It may be observed, in passing, that the word *exorcism* is never applied to Jesus' method of expulsion, though the Jews in Acts 19:15 are called *exorcists*.

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appearing occasionally (87, 106, 190),
local, and must be
one influence such
upon Judas in Jn. 13
a beating internal
which presupposes
in demons, is disc
not only from the
of Josephus respect
professional status
and Persians
Mk. 9:38 Mt. 12:27
17:22, as well
tion recorded in the
of *Lucas*, 17:36; xvi
mon's ring and the

hat, whilst at times
possession is not a
ral. The practice
quite uniform.

healings, agree in
k. (Mt. 10: Mk. 1:2
distinguishes them
y all likewise, in the
working of maladies
in (Mt. 9:27; 1 Lk.
maladies, which
in the six of these
is peculiar to them,
in the four remain
maladies, such as
es in which possess
se, dumbness, Lk.
Mt. 12:22; cure of
the cure of the
not of Mt. and Lk.
them but unknown

carry us to the
as associated, in
so Mk. 5:13 Lk.
the hints thrown
of all afflictions
the peculiar emi
given to the
s. (Mt. 10:1 and
e Seventy upon
subject unto us'
the ease with
8:4-6), dispus-
helplessness of
n of themselves
ance (Lk. 9:39),
nce was some-
Jesus never in
o have felt that
of the subjects
all these con-
disorder, which
forms.

any more than
accommodation
It is true that
torically in the
6:23) and that
figurative in
issible in the

ari, 107.
as was prohi-
stram, *Land of*

enoniac, Jesus
be precedent of
the demonic a
y not suggeste
the word *exor-*
tion, though the

commission to the disciples (Mt. 10: 3, in Lk.'s exalta-
tion at their success, Lk. 10:17), and his report of
their failure (Mt. 17: 1), or the phylactery may possi-
bly have been alone. The belief of the writers (as
also in Mk. 1: 4, where the knowledge of the demon is
described as supernatural). Acceptance of the demon
belief is only at the basis of Lk.'s argument in the
Pharisees in Lk. 11:19, however, and this is open to
Koran as much as the evidence. On the other hand, the
indefinite multiplication of spirits, and the grotesque
functions ascribed to them in contemporary and later
Jewish literature, and the whole belief in possession
in the second century A.D., and not only with Jesus or
his biographers or in NT literature generally. While
the existence of Satan's ministers is recognised, the
tendency is rather to concentrate the influence for evil
in Satan himself. Finally, that Lk. is believed in the
power of others besides himself and his disciples to
expel demons in some sense, at any rate, seems clear
in the presence of such passages as Mt. 12:28 Lk. 10:17,
where he attributes the power to the disciples of the
Pharisees, he recognises also the fact that similar suc-
cess was attained by some who used his name without
actually following him (Mk. 9:38), or without being more
than professed disciples (Mt. 7:22).

The chief foreign influence on Jewish demonology
was no doubt Babylonian. It was partly direct, partly
indirect. For though human superstition
had an internal principle of development,
it was only fertilised from Babylonian. For
instance, the seven devils or arch-demons of Zoroastrian-
ism are a reflection of the seven evil or destructive
spirits who play such a part in Babylonian mythology
(see Maspero, *Dawn of Civil.* 634-779), and who in a
famous incantation are called 'the Seven' (see Zimmern's
translation of the text, *Father, Sohn u. Enkel*, 7, 71,
1906), and the supposed capacity of the formula of the
Alma-varya to drive away the devils is but a sublimated
form of the Babylonian belief in the recitation
of the hymns to the gods. Hence, even when a Jewish
belief, such as the grouping of seven demons, char-
acteristic of Jewish popular superstition (Mt. 12:28 Lk.
11:25 Mk. 16:17 Lk. 8:2), appears to be shaped by Persian
influences (for names of demons of Persian origin
besides Asmodeus, q.v.; see Handarger, *RZ* 16, 1
291), it is very possible that Babylonian gave the first
impulse to Persia. The doctrine of 'disease-possession'
among the Jews may very well have been taught in pre-
exilic times,¹ but it is probable that it was when the
Jews were conscious of the displeasure of the God, and
when they became more and more exposed to foreign
influences, that this doctrine attained its full dimensions,
as we see it in the NT. It is not so much from Persia
as from Egypt and Babylon that the stimulus for its
development was derived. The Egyptian view described
in Orig. c. *Cels.* 8:53 (Schürer), that the human body
was divided into thirty-six members, and that with each
of these was connected a separate demon, by rebuking
whom a member could be cured of disease, is but a
more specialised form of the doctrine of the *Book of the Dead*.² The doctrine of disease among the
Babylonians was that the swarming demons could enter
a man's body and cause sickness. On a fragment of
a tablet Budge has found six evil spirits mentioned by
name. The first attacked the head; the second, the
lips; the third, the forehead; the fourth, the breast;
the fifth, the viscera; the sixth, the hand.³ It was the
duty of the exorcist to expel these demons by incanta-
tions, and the Zoroastrians believed that Zarathustra,

¹ [The sacrifices to the *avrim* 12 K. 239, as emended by
G. Hoffmann, *ZATW* 2:175 (22); Lev. 17:1 may have been in
part designed to avert diseases (cp the Arabian belief in *jinn*
described by We. *Ar. Herb.* 1:13, 2nd ed. 134; WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2
12). Cp also the rite of *Azar* 1:1.]

² For the ancient Egyptian belief, cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*
214.

³ *T&A* 1:4-1:71; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 634, 750.

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by retaining the formula called the *Alma-varya* (cp. Lk.
10:17) to drive away the devils, and to expel them
they have the certainty of a hope. The *Zoroastrian*
belief in the power of the demon is only at the basis of
Lk.'s argument in the Pharisees in Lk. 11:19, however,
and this is open to Koran as much as the evidence. On the
other hand, the indefinite multiplication of spirits, and the
grotesque functions ascribed to them in contemporary and
later Jewish literature, and the whole belief in possession
in the second century A.D., and not only with Jesus or
his biographers or in NT literature generally. While the
existence of Satan's ministers is recognised, the tendency
is rather to concentrate the influence for evil in Satan
himself. Finally, that Lk. is believed in the power of
others besides himself and his disciples to expel demons
in some sense, at any rate, seems clear in the presence of
such passages as Mt. 12:28 Lk. 10:17, where he attributes
the power to the disciples of the Pharisees, he recognises
also the fact that similar success was attained by some
who used his name without actually following him (Mk.
9:38), or without being more than professed disciples
(Mt. 7:22).

On this subject see L. Noyes, *Pagan Persia, Past and
Present*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1901), 1:101, 1:104, 1:109,
1:110, 1:111, 1:112, 1:113, 1:114, 1:115, 1:116, 1:117,
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$\Delta H_{\text{f}}^{\circ}(\text{kJ/mol})$: C_2H_2 226.73, C_2H_4 52.26, C_2H_6 84.68, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2$ 118.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_4$ 106.7, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Br}_2$ 132.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Br}_4$ 120.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{I}_2$ 145.7, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{I}_4$ 133.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{F}_2$ 152.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{F}_4$ 140.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{ClF}$ 129.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}$ 116.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}$ 129.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}$ 141.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_2$ 134.7, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_2$ 146.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_2$ 159.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_3$ 147.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_3$ 160.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_3$ 172.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_4$ 155.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_4$ 167.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_4$ 179.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_5$ 162.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_5$ 175.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_5$ 187.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_6$ 170.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_6$ 182.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_6$ 194.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_7$ 177.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_7$ 190.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_7$ 202.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_8$ 185.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_8$ 197.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_8$ 209.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_9$ 192.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_9$ 205.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_9$ 217.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{10}$ 200.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{10}$ 212.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{10}$ 224.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{11}$ 207.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{11}$ 220.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{11}$ 232.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{12}$ 215.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{12}$ 227.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{12}$ 239.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{13}$ 222.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{13}$ 234.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{13}$ 246.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{14}$ 230.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{14}$ 241.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{14}$ 253.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{15}$ 237.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{15}$ 248.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{15}$ 260.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{16}$ 245.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{16}$ 255.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{16}$ 267.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{17}$ 252.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{17}$ 262.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{17}$ 274.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{18}$ 260.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{18}$ 269.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{18}$ 281.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{19}$ 267.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{19}$ 276.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{19}$ 288.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{20}$ 275.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{20}$ 283.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{20}$ 295.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{21}$ 282.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{21}$ 290.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{21}$ 302.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{22}$ 290.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{22}$ 297.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{22}$ 309.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{23}$ 297.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{23}$ 304.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{23}$ 316.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{24}$ 305.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{24}$ 311.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{24}$ 323.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{25}$ 312.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{25}$ 318.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{25}$ 330.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{26}$ 320.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{26}$ 325.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{26}$ 337.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{27}$ 327.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{27}$ 332.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{27}$ 344.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{28}$ 335.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{28}$ 339.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{28}$ 351.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{29}$ 342.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{29}$ 346.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{29}$ 358.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{30}$ 350.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{30}$ 353.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{30}$ 365.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{31}$ 357.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{31}$ 360.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{31}$ 372.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{32}$ 365.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{32}$ 367.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{32}$ 379.5, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{33}$ 372.9, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{33}$ 374.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{I}_{33}$ 386.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{F}_{34}$ 380.1, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{Br}_{34}$ 381.3, $\text{C}_2\text{H}_2\text{Cl}_2\text{$

DERBE (A)

[illegible]

From St. John, B.C., we learn that the town was called also *Δ'Αβελ*, 'with an *h*.' I have not been able to

1. Site.

ministry department. The Soviet, who put it between Basser and Zerkov, told us, "Two miles apart (11.5 km) (Fig. 24). "Evidently, however, only that the ruins of Basser and Zerkov are at S'ukh Khim, while those at Zerk have already been transported thither from some other site. The great site of the district is the mound of Gobilissin in the plain about 3 m. NW. of Zerk, and 48 m. S. of Komu. (Commenced at the foot of the M. S'ukh Dagh. The mound is of the class called by Strabo (537) 'mounds of Scythians,' which are largely artificial, and of Oriental origin. It contains numerous traces of Komu occupation. The earliest city of Derbe must be sought in the mountains to the south. This situation

This similarity agrees with the names in Strabo. After discussing the ten Strategia of Cappadocia, he adds that in the first century *ad*, there was an eleventh Strategia, consisting of parts of Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia (Στ. εβ, 22). Kappadokien und Kappadokiene (the *Artemiou tou Antiochi* (Στ. εβ, 23)) refers to the same district (εβ) as the additional (Στ. εβ, 24) Strategia. Derbe is further described as lying on the river of Isauria (Στ. εβ, 25) *Ἰσaurίας ὀρίων ὁρμητικῆς κατὰ τοὺς ὀρίους τῆς* (the immediate) *ἑλλάδας* (the fact that it was also on the frontier of the eleventh Strategia, the extended allusion to Cappadocia as above described). It is clear that Strabo's eleventh Strategia is identical with Ptolemy's 'Strategia Antiochiense,' in which he enumerates Derbe

2. History. *Δελφίνας*. When, however, King Amyntas slew Antipater, he added the town to his own Lynceum and Gylarion dominions (260-27 B.C.). On the death of Amyntas, king of Macedonia,

his kingdom was made by the Romans into the province Galatia; but apparently Herbe, along with Cilicia Trachea (*etc.*, the eleventh *Strategia*), was given to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (*ibid.* 20 *line*). When Archelaus died in 17 A.D. the Cappadocian part of his kingdom was taken over by the Romans; but the Lycian part was left to his son Archelaus II, who

¹ Whence Gr. *Σωγίαις* (Gen. Lex. (13)). On its relation to
see TREASURER, 2.

1075

DESERT

[illegible]

Thus we can understand how at the time of the (first or 4th A.D.) Decree could be correctly directed to the Roman Catholics. For so it was the positive voice of general or the majority. Furthermore, Decree belonged to the province of the law and it was called by law that in the final point of address, its imitating its must have been *Legis* (Gen. 1:1), not *Aradoret*, which little signified the population of the non-Roman. Law not *Aradoret*, however, *Legis* *Aradoret*. W

DESERT.

There is a striking similarity between the vegetation

1. General

meaning the Samaritan. It is said that the Hebrew words, "No desert," kind was known to Israel either before or after creation at Eden. The deserts to which the "lost" is ascribed in IV are, at the present, largely covered with vegetation, and were probably more populous in the past (see more fully under the phrase "desert of the wilderness," for which the Hebrew terms are found in Lev. 25, a somewhat better rendering it is not always adequate). It will be convenient to record the Hebrew words, and to indicate other related words among

[illegible]

2. Hebrew
terms.

formerly inhabited, but now lying waste ruins of an war or conflict; e.g. 14.2, 'the ruins of a former home dwell therein'; hence in 10.20 at 10.25, or in promises (with שָׁרֵי בָּרִי)—more with reference to the wilderness of wanderings (Is. 51.2).

(-) $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$, $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ($\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ 'the desolate'; for cognate Hebrew, $\gamma\alpha\lambda$ [גל] $\alpha\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$, used of a district riverless and inhospitable (Is. 43:10; L.V. 'desert' = $\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$) of the wilderness wanderings (Lu. 9:21; L.V. 'wilderness'; Ps. 78:1; L.V. 'wilderness'))

see FILED JUSHIMORI, JUSHIMORI.

(3) $\frac{\text{עֲרֵבָה}}$, *maḥsir* (עֲרֵבָה, etc.; once [Is. 41:19] ἀνέσποντος Ἀν' 'desert,' RV 'wilderness'; but in Gen. 14:6, etc., EV 'waste'; once, Ps. 102:17), EV 'south' [RVmg. 'walled-in the mountains' ¹]. The idea of 'desert' is totally foreign; this word got its derivation see CANTAB. § 5). *Maḥsir* = district possessing pastures (Lev. 25:11).

the wilderness of wanderings, which itself is a mountain region, not without pasture grounds, and so devoid of that the one tract which forms an exception has the characteristic name *Dēb* or *er-Ramhāh*, 'plain of sand', spelled *deh*.

(4) $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$, *ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ* (*ἡ ἡ ἡ ἡ* [*ἡ πρὸς δυσμαῖς*, Josh. 11 16, cf. a poetical literature often occurs in parallelism with *μηδὲ*], Gen. 13 10) 40; 41 19, 1:V 'desert'. In Jer. 30 10 approximates more closely to the above.

so, 351 Jer. 51:47; § 3.2.2); but in historical writings (early etc.) it is a geographical term (see § 3.2, below).

(5) 𐤒𐤕𐤕, *ṣūṣā* 'dry land' (so Ps. 63:1 (2), EV), Job 1:11 RVing, 'wilderness,' RV 'dry ground'; cp 𐤒𐤕𐤕𐤏, 'dry place' (25:32:2), used of the wilderness of wanderings, Ps. 77:34 RV 'wilderness,' RV 'land' (cf. 104:10).

wellers of the 'desert' (Is. 13:14 34:14; EV; also 23:13; A referring to wild beasts) or 'wilderness' (Is. 72:9 74:14; referring to human beings), see CAT, WILD PLANTS.

¹ The passage is obscure (see Bā., Del.), and, according to CH, deeply corrupt.

DEUEL

better to suppose that the 'monot which is on the east of Jerusalem' (1 K. 11) was anciently called, not only 'the mount of olives' (1 S. 16), and in a late psalm 'the mount of olives' (Zech. 14), but מוֹנֵת הַיְּשׁוּעָה ('monot of those who worship'), of which מוֹנֵת הַיְּשׁוּעָה would be a purely accidental corruption. (cp 1 S. 16.) And when David had come to the summit, where men are wont to worship the deity' (עַל הַיְּשׁוּעָה) whence comes near proving that this view is correct. Observe, too, that the Mt. of Olives appears to be so referred to as the 'hill of God' (1 S. 16) amended text. See Noy.

Brocardus (1283 A.D.) gives the name *Mont Olympe* (cp Vg.) to the most southern eminence of the Mt. of Olives, because Solomon set up there the image of Moloch; on the northern summit, afterwards called *Mont Scandale*, he placed the idol of Jehoshaphat. Guinness, however, in *the Pentateuch*, calls the southern ridge *Mount of Scandale*. Gratz, after a full discussion, pronounces in favour of the northern summit, i.e., the 'Am Gahar' (1871 f. 73, p. 97 ff.); so also Stanley (1871 f. 183, n. 2). No doubt, this view is correct; Solomon would certainly prefer in elevation already consecrated by tradition.

The phrase 'mount of destruction' is found also in 1 K. 15 as a symbolic term for Baalbek (RV 'destroying mountain').

E. K. C.

DEUEL (דְּעוּל), Nu. 11; see RUEL (3).

DEUTERONOMY. The name comes ultimately from the Greek translation of Dt. 17:1, in which the

words **דְּעוּל** הַחֹק, 'the duplicate (i.e., a copy) of this law,' are rendered *ἡ δευτερονόμος νόμος*.¹ As a title of the book, *Deuteronomion* (without the article) occurs first in Philo.² Philo takes the word to mean 'second or supplementary legislation,' and more than once cites the book as *Ἐπιδείξις*.³ Others, with Theodoret, explain the name, 'repetition, recapitulation of the law.' Criticism has shown that Deuteronomy is neither a supplement to the legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, nor a *renewal* of it; but to modern critics also it is the Second Legislation, an expansion and revision of older collections of laws such as are preserved in Ex. 21-23:31.

Deuteronomy contains the last injunctions and admonitions of Moses, delivered to Israel in the land of Moab, as they were about to cross the Jordan to the conquest of Canaan; and, with the exception of chaps. 27-31 and a few verses elsewhere, is all in the form of address. It is not, however, one continuous discourse, but consists of at least three distinct speeches (14:5-28, 29 f.; together with two poems recited by Moses in the hearing of the people (32 f.). The narrative chapters record doings and sayings of Moses in the last days of his life, and are more or less closely connected with the speeches. Besides this unity of situation and subject there is a certain unity of texture; the sources from which the other books of the Hexateuch are chiefly compiled (Ex. 1) are in Deuteronomy recognisable only in the narrative chapters; and in a few scattered fragments in the speeches; a strong and distinctive individuality of thought, diction, and style pervades the entire book.

It was observed by more than one of the fathers that Deuteronomy is the book the finding of which in the temple gave the impulse to the reforms

2. Book found in Temple.

of the eighteenth year of Josiah (622-604 B.C.).⁴ In conformity with the prescriptions of the newly discovered book, the king not only extirpated the various foreign religions which had been introduced in ancient or recent times, together with the rites and symbols of a heathenish worship of

¹ Cp. also Josh. 8:32.

² *Leg. Alleg.* 3, § 10; *Quod Deus immut.* § 10. See Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scriptures*, xlii f. The corresponding Hebrew title **דְּעוּל** is found occasionally in the Talmud and Midrashas well as in the Massora.

³ *Quæ rerum dicitur*, l. c., § 37. See Ryle, as above.

⁴ Cp. H. KATZ, *LAW LITERATURE*, I, 184 ff., § 37 f.

⁵ Athanasius, *City and*, Jerome.

DEUTERONOMY

Yahwe, but also destroyed the high places of Yahweh, and every altar in the land except that in the temple in Jerusalem (2 K. 22 f.). In Deuteronomy, there alone, all the laws thus enforced are found; inference is inevitable that Deuteronomy furnished the reforms with their new model. This is confirmed by the references to the book found in the temple as 'the law book' (2 K. 22:8 f.); cp 23:2 f. and 'the cover book' (23:2 f.).

The former of these names is found in the Pentateuch in the secondary parts of Dt. (28:6 f.; 30:10 f.; 34:1 f.), and the phrase 'this law' (18:27 f.; 29:20 f.), signifies Dt. or deuteronomion legislation exclusively; 'covenant book' is appropriate designation for a book in which the covenant of Yahweh with Israel (see Gen. xviii, § 9) is an often recurring theme (2:2 f.; 17:2 f.; 29:2 f.; 34:1 f.; 35:1 f.).

That the book read by Shaphan before Josiah's destruction (2 K. 22:8 f.), which seems to show that law was accompanied by such denunciations of the consequences of disobedience as are found especially in Dt.

The opinion, once very generally entertained, that the book found by Hilkiah was the whole Pentateuch, is longer tenable. In addition to arguments of more or less weight drawn from the narrative in Kings, that the whole Pentateuch would hardly be described as a 'book'; that a book as long as the Pentateuch could be read through twice in a single day (2 K. 22:8 f.) that with the entire legislation before him, the king would not have based his reforms on deuteronomion laws exclusively, recent investigation has proved that the priestly legislation in the Pentateuch was not in force with Deuteronomy till long after the time of Josiah. Modern critics are, therefore, almost unanimous in opinion that the law-book, the discovery and the introduction of which are related in 2 K. 22 f. (see next) is to be sought in Deuteronomy; and they are very generally agreed, further, that the book was written either in the earlier years of Josiah, or at least under one of his predecessors, Manasseh or Hezekiah (see § 10).

The soundness of these conclusions has recently been pugned by several French and German scholars (Genébrat, Hat, Talbot, Vernes, Horst), on the ground that the book is partly of sweeping doubts concerning the trustworthiness of 2 K. 22 f., partly of peculiar theories of the composition of Dt. The

3. Account in 2 K. 22 f.

theories cannot be discussed here; but the great importance of 2 K. 22 f. in the modern construction of the history of Hebrew literature and religion, makes it necessary to examine briefly the historical character of those chapters. It is generally agreed that the account of Josiah's reforms, as it lies before us, is the work of an author of the deuteronomion school, who wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem. If this author had depended upon oral tradition, he might well have derived his information from eye-witnesses of the events of 621; but it seems to denote a contemporary account of Josiah's reign, which was probably included in the post-exilic history of the kings. The narrative was brought over and enlarged by the exilic writer; partly also, the original response of Huldah, which was not referred by the event, was superseded, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., by a wholly different one, in which the judgment is represented as inevitable (22:15-20; cp 23:20 f.; 23:15-20, also, is generally recognised as a legendary addition, but, notwithstanding these changes, the outlines of the original account can be reconstructed with reasonable confidence, and appears to be in all respects deserving of credence. See Kline.

The historical evidence proves only that the law-book which was put into force by Josiah contained certain deuteronomion laws concerning religion, not that it comprised the whole of the present Book of Deuteronomy. A superficial examination of the book shows that the latter cannot have been the case.

Chaps. 30-31 are composite. Besides the two poems, 32:1-43, they contain the links which connect not only Dt. 1-18, 21-23, often called by modern scholars 'The Covenant Book' (see 2:7), cannot be meant, for, so far from putting in high places under the law, these laws assume the existence and legitimacy of many local sanctuaries (see 2:6-23:14 f.; c. 20-24).

See CANON, § 21 f., and the articles on the several books of the Pentateuch; also H. KATZ, *LAW LITERATURE*.

For the titles, see below, § 11 f.

See St. G. L. 1 f. 64 f.; Kue, *Out.* 147 f., cp 407.

Y

CP 402.

lands unchanged. Not only have the exhortations and

In the Hebrew legislation three strata are to be recognised: the collections of laws incorporated in JE (Ex. 21-23, often called the Book of the Covenant; Ex. 34); the Law of Holiness, contained in a priestly recension in Lev. 17-26 and cognate passages (14); and the rest of the laws in Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Numbers, predominantly liturgical, ceremonial, and sacerdotal, which, though not all of the same age or origin, may now be treated as forming a single body of priestly law (P). The result of modern criticism has been to establish more and more conclusively that P, as a whole, is later than Deuteronomy.¹ On the other hand, it is

and the rest of the laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, predominantly liturgical, ceremonial, and sacerdotal, which, though not all of the same age or origin, may have been treated as forming a single body of priestly law (P). The result of modern criticism has been to establish more and more conclusively that P, as a whole, is later than Deuteronomy.⁴ On the other hand, it is

The Deuteronomy of 621 B.C. has not come into our

⁴ See *Id.* 24-25. Chapters 13 and 27 were the introduction and conclusion, respectively, of another edition.

DEUTERONOMY

agreed by all that the little collections of laws in JE are older than Deuteronomy. The most convincing proof of this is given, of course, by the Deuteronomic laws restricting the worship of Yahweh to the one temple at Jerusalem. It may confidently be inferred also from the prominence given throughout Deuteronomy to motives of humanity, and the way in which old religious customs, like the triennial tithes, are transformed into sacred charities, as well as from the constant appeal to the memory of God's goodness as a motive for goodness to fellow-men. Where the provisions of Deuteronomy differ from those of the Book of the Covenant, they sometimes appear to be adapted to a more advanced stage of society; as when the old agricultural fallow-year is replaced by an experiment in the septennial remission of debts. The many laws dealing with contracts of one kind or another also are to be noted.

Most recent critics are of the opinion, further, that the author of the Deuteronomic law-book was not only acquainted with Ex. 21-23, but also made this code the basis of his own work; Deuteronomy, it is said, is a revised and enlarged Covenant Book, adapted to some extent to new conditions, but with only one change of far-reaching effect, the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem. It may be questioned, however, whether the evidence will sustain so strong a statement of the dependence of Deuteronomy on the Book of the Covenant.

Verbally identical clauses are very few, and in some instances, at least, have probably arisen from subsequent conformation. There is no trace of the influence of the Covenant Book either in the general arrangement of Dt. 12-26 or in the sequence of particular laws. To fully one-half of the Covenant Book (after the subtraction of the religious precepts), viz. the title Assurances and Injuries, Ex. 21:13-22:17, there is no parallel in Dt.; while the subject of Authorities in Dt. 16:18-18 has no counterpart in Ex. 21:23; of thirty-five laws in Dt. 21:10-23:16 only seven have parallels in the older code. Finally, in the corresponding laws the coincidences are hardly more frequent or more nearly exact than we should expect in two collections originating at no great distance in place or time, and based upon the same religious customs and consuetudinary law; the evidence of literary dependence is much less abundant and convincing than it must be if Dt. were merely a revised and enlarged Book of the Covenant.²

Certain laws in Deuteronomy have parallels also in JE; but, whilst the provisions of these laws are often closely similar, the formulation and phraseology are throughout entirely different.³ In some points JE seems to be a stage beyond Dt.; but the differences are not of a kind to imply a considerable interval of time so much as a diversity of dominant interest, such as distinguishes Ezekiel from Jeremiah.

Dt. 14:21, compared with Lev. 11, has been thought to prove that Dt. is dependent upon JE; but the truth seems rather to be that both are based on a common original, a piece of priestly Torah, which each reproduces and modifies in its own way.⁴

References to the history of Israel are much fewer in Dt. 12-26 than in 1-3:1; they are of a more incidental and allusive character, and the author exercises some freedom in the use of his material; but, as far as they can be certainly traced, they appear to be all derived from JE, or from the cycle of tradition represented by that work. That the author did not have before him JE united with P is proved by his reference to the fate of Dathan and Abiram (11:6); if he had read Nu. 16 in its present form, in which the story of Dathan and Abiram (JE) is almost inextricably entangled with that of Korah (P), he could hardly have failed to name the latter, who is the central figure of the composite narrative (cp Nu. 26:10 f. 27:1 Jude 11, and see KORAH and DATHAN AND

ABIRAM). But even if he had possessed P separate it would be almost inexplicable that he so uniformly follows the representation of JE where it differs from P or conflicts with it. The instances which have been adduced to prove that he was acquainted with P are few and uncertain to sustain the conclusion; moreover they are all found in the long digression, 9:1-10:11, which probably was no part of the primitive Deuteronomy.

The traditional opinion among Jews and Christians that Deuteronomy was written by Moses shortly before his death, though resting on the testimony of the book itself (31:9 ff. 24:2), is contradicted by both the internal and the external evidence; the contents of the book and the entire religious history of Israel prove that Deuteronomy is the product of a much later time. The legislation of JE in the main, doubtless, merely the booking of an ancient consuetudinary law is without exception the law of a settled people, engaged in husbandry. Deuteronomy reflects a still more advanced stage of culture and must be ascribed to a time when Israel had long been established in Palestine. The fundamental law for the Hebrew monarchy, Dt. 17:14-20, presumes not only the existence of the kingdom, but also considerable experience of its evils. Solomon appears to have for the portrait of the king as he ought not to be.⁵

The prohibition of the multiplication of horses and treasure we may recognise the influence of the prophets to whom the political and military ambition of the king seemed apostasy (see, e.g., Is. 27). The constitution of the high court in Jerusalem (Dt. 17:8-13, cp 19:17) is thought to be modelled after the tribunal which Jehoshaphat (middle of 9th century B.C.) established (2 Ch. 19:8-11).

More convincing than the arguments derived from these special laws are the ruling ideas and motives of the whole book. The thing upon which Deuteronomy insists with urgent and unwearied iteration is that Yahweh should be worshipped only at one place, which he himself should choose, where alone sacrifices may be offered and the annual festivals celebrated. Although no place is named there can be no doubt, as there was none in the mind of Josiah and his counselors, that Jerusalem is meant.

Jerusalem was not one of the ancient holy places of Israel. It owed its religious importance to the fact that in it was the royal temple of the Judæan kings; but this was far from putting upon an equality with the venerable sanctuaries of Bethel and Shechem, Gilgal and Beersheba. The actual pre-eminence of Jerusalem, without which the attempt to assert for it an exclusive sanctity is inconceivable, was the result of the historical events of the eighth century.

The fall of the kingdom of Israel (721 B.C.) left Judah the only 'people of Yahweh'. The holy places of Israel were profaned by the conquerors—proof that Yahweh repudiated the worship offered to him there, as the prophets had declared. A quarter of a century later Sennacherib invaded Judah, ravaged the land, destroyed its cities, and carried off their inhabitants; the capital itself was at the last extremity (see HEZEKIAH, ISRAEL, § 33 f.). The deliverance of the city from this peril seemed to be a direct interposition of Yahweh, and Jerusalem and its temple must have gained greatly in prestige through this token of God's signal favour.

This of itself, however, would not give rise to the idea that Yahweh was to be worshipped in Jerusalem alone. The genesis of this idea must be sought in the monotheism of the prophets. At a time when monotheism had not yet become conscious of its own universalism, men could hardly fail to reason that if there was but one true God, he was to be worshipped in but one place. And this place, in the light of history and prophecy, could only be Jerusalem. The way in which Dt. attempts to carry

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12. Date: not pre-monarchic. many of the book itself (31:9 ff. 24:2), is contradicted by both the internal and the external evidence; the contents of the book and the entire religious history of Israel prove that Deuteronomy is the product of a much later time. The legislation of JE in the main, doubtless, merely the booking of an ancient consuetudinary law is without exception the law of a settled people, engaged in husbandry. Deuteronomy reflects a still more advanced stage of culture and must be ascribed to a time when Israel had long been established in Palestine. The fundamental law for the Hebrew monarchy, Dt. 17:14-20, presumes not only the existence of the kingdom, but also considerable experience of its evils. Solomon appears to have for the portrait of the king as he ought not to be.²

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1 See Dt. 10:16-22; and, on these passages, Kue. *Th.* 9:53 f. 1:75; Dr. *Deut.* p. xvi. On 9:10-11 cp also below § 13 (small type).

2 Cp Dt. 17:14 f. with 1 K. 4:26 10:26 28:11 11:1-19 23:10 14:1 ff.

3 A critical examination of the history of the reign of Jehoshaphat in 2 Ch. 17 ff. does not, however, inspire us with much confidence in the account of his judicial reforms.

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out this principle, by simply transferring to Jerusalem the cultus of the local sanctuaries with their priesthoods, was only practicable within narrow territorial limits, such as those of the kingdom of Judah in the seventh century.

We have the explicit testimony of the Books of Kings that there was no attempt to suppress the old local sanctuaries in Judah until the reign of Hezekiah; the most godly kings left the high-places unmolested (1 K. 15:14-22; 2 K. 12:14; 13:15-17). The deuteronomic author of Kings, to whom the temple in Jerusalem was, from the moment when Yahwe took up his abode in it (1 K. 8:10 f.), the only legitimate place of sacrifice, condemns this remissness as a great sin; but there is no evidence that the religious leaders of Israel down to the end of the eighth century so regarded it. Ehad is in despair over the sacrilege which threw down the altars of Yahwe; when he goes to meet God face to face, it is not to Jerusalem, but to Horeb, the old holy mountain in the distant S., that he turns his steps. Amos and Hosea inveigh against the worship at the holy places of the Northern Kingdom because it is morally corrupt and religiously false, not because its seats are illegitimate; nor is their repudiation of the worship on the high-places more unqualified than Isaiah's rejection of the cultus in Jerusalem (Is. 1:15 ff.). The older law-books, far from forbidding sacrifice at altars other than that in Jerusalem, formally sanction the erection of such altars, and promise that at every recognised place of worship Yahwe will visit his worshippers and bless them (Ex. 20:24).

According to 2 K. 18:22-23, Hezekiah removed the high-places, demolished the standing stones, heaved down the sacred posts.¹ The false tenses prove, however, that 184 has been interpolated by a very late hand; the original text said only that Hezekiah removed the bronze serpent which was worshipped in the temple (see N. in SH. 183); nor can much greater reliance be put upon the reference in the speech of the Rabshakeh (Is. 37:36). It may well be that Hezekiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib, took vigorous measures to suppress the idolatry against which Isaiah thundered in both his earlier and his later prophecies (28:18-20; 30:22-31:7), perhaps including the sacred trees and other survivals of rude natural religion (Is. 1:40).² In any case, the reaction of the following reign swept away all traces of his work. (Cp. H. Z. KRAH, *Die Propheten*, 3, § 15.)

Another very distinct indication of the age in which Dt. was written is found in the foreign religions which it combats. 'The worship of "the whole host of heaven"' (Dt. 17:1 cp. 18), an

Assyrian cult frequently condemned by the prophets of the seventh century (Jer. 8:2; 19:13; 22:2; Zeph. 1:5),³ but not mentioned by any earlier writer, was probably introduced by Manassah, during whose reign Assyrian influence was at its height in Judah. The sacrifice of children, 'sending them through the fire' to the King God (Dt. 18:10-12), also belongs to the seventh century (see MOORE); neither Isaiah nor any of the other prophets of the eighth century alludes to these rites.

A relatively late date has been inferred also from the laws against the erection of steles and sacred poles (*mizbe'oth and dshirim*) by the altars of Yahwe (Dt. 16:17 f.).

The older laws only enjoin the destruction of the Canaanite holy-places with all their appurtenances (Ex. 34:13-23; cp. Dt. 12:3). The prophets of the eighth century, especially Hosea and Isaiah, assailed the idols of Yahwe, but not the more primitive standing stones and posts; the polemic against the latter begins with Jeremiah.

The age of Dt. may be determined also by its relation to other works of known date. From the time of Jeremiah, the influence of Dt. is unmistakably to be recognised in the whole prophetic and historical literature, whilst we look in vain for any trace of this influence in

15. D and other writers.

¹ Cp the much more extended account of these reforms in 2 K. 23:1.

² If it were established that Hezekiah put down the high-places, it would not follow that Dt. is older than Hezekiah; the more probable hypothesis, in view of all the testimony of the prophets and the historical books, would be that the Deuteronomic law was in the line of the measures adopted by the king.

³ Cp also the worship of the Queen of Heaven, Jer. 7:18-19. See QUEEN OF HEAVEN.

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the prophets of the eighth century; neither the impressive ideas nor the haunting phrases of Dt. have left their mark there.⁴ The inference that Dt. was unknown to the religious leaders of Israel before the seventh century is hardly to be avoided.

On the other hand, in all its ruling ideas, Dt. is dependent upon the prophecy of the eighth century. We have already seen that the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib prepared the way for the belief that the temple on Mt. Zion was the only sanctuary at which Yahwe should be worshipped, and that the monotheism of the prophets was the theological basis of the same belief. The Unity of God of Dt., which exalts Yahwe, not only in negation and contrast, but also in righteousness, goodness, and truth, is the moral transformation of the old conception of 'holiness' (see CHAV. § 1). It is of the same origin, whilst the central idea of the book, that the essence and end of true religion is the mutual love of God and his people, is derived from Hosea. In general, the theology of Dt. is an advance upon that of the prophets of the eighth century, whose teaching it first assimilated, and approximates to that of Jeremiah and Isaiah (10:5).

To the same result we are led by the literary character of Dt. Its style is more copious and flowing than that of earlier writers; but it lacks the terse vigour, and is not free from the faults of looseness, prolixity, and repetition, into which a facile pen so easily glides. In these respects it exhibits the tendencies which mark the literature of the seventh century and the Bible. The diction, also, is distinctly that of the same period, closely resembling that of Jeremiah.⁵

Evidence of every kind thus conspires to prove that the primitive Dt. was a product of the seventh century.

16. Result as to date of D.

The fact that it combats foreign cults which were introduced by Manassah must be against the opinion entertained by some scholars, that it had its origin in the last years of Hezekiah, perhaps in connection with the reforms of that king. A hypothesis which commends itself to many critics is that Dt. was composed in the reign of Manassah as a protest against the calls of the time and as a programme of reform. Its authors dealt without being able to accomplish their object, and the book was lost, until, many years after, it was accidentally discovered in the temple by Hilkiah. To others it seems more probable that Dt. was written under Josiah, shortly before it was brought to light, by men who thought the time ripe for an attempt to introduce the reforms by which alone, they believed, Judah could be saved, and had intelligently planned the way in which this should be effected.⁶

Everything points to Jerusalem as the place where Dt. was written; a work whose aim was to exalt the

17. Place. temple to the position of the sole sanctuary of Yahwe can hardly have originated anywhere else. The Torah of the priests is throughout so intimately mingled with the religious teachings of the prophets that we are constrained to believe that both priests and prophets were associated in its production, or at least that its priestly authors were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the prophets. Who these authors were cannot be more definitely determined.⁷

That the authors of the primitive Dt. freely used older collections of laws has been generally recognised.

17a. Sources of D.

Beside Ex. 21-23 (on which see above, § 6), remains of another collection are found in Dt. 22-25. Stark and Steuernagel have recently undertaken to show by minute

¹ This is equally true of the older historians; but their works have been preserved only in deuteronomic recensions.

² On the diction of Dt., see the commentaries of Kn. and Di. Kleinert, *Deut.* 214 ff.; Kue. *Deut.* § 7, p. 4; Holz. *Deut.* 222 ff.; Dr. *Deut.* p. lxxviii ff. On the style, Di. 611; Holz. 225 ff.; Dr. p. lxxvi ff.

³ So De Wette, Reuss, Graf, Kue., We., St., Che., and others.

⁴ The suggestion that Jeremiah was the author of Dt. (von Bohlen, Colenso) is for various reasons untenable.

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analysis that both the hortatory and the legislative parts of Dt. are in a stricter sense composite.

According to Steuernagel, the book discovered in the temple in the eighteenth year of Josiah (Dt. 34:22) was the work of a redactor, who combined with considerable skill—although basically, and without substantial aid from two older works of like character, each consisting of a hortatory introduction and a body of laws. One of them (S₂) is marked by the direct address to Israel in the second person singular; the other (P₁) uses the plural. The older of these works (S₂) is assigned to the early years of Manasse's reign (shortly after 700 B.C.), the other (P₁) was composed about 675. The union of the two by the redactor (D₁) falls in the middle of the century, twenty-five years or more before the discovery of the book in the temple. Both S₂ and P₁ made use of older collections of laws, and these sources can still in part be recognised. One of the chief sources of S₂ (the 'Grundannahme') was put out in support of Hezekiah's reforms, probably not long after 722 B.C.

Chaps. 1-3, in the form of an address of Moses to Israel, contain a review of the principal events of the migration, from the departure of the tribes, 1-3, which he is speaking to them.¹ This retrospect throughout follows the history

of JE, from which its material is drawn and many phrases and whole clauses are borrowed.² Upon closer examination it appears that the chief source of the chapters is E, which the author had before him separately; whether he made use of J is doubtful; of dependence on P there is no trace.

The retrospect begins abruptly with the command to remove the altar at Horeb (1:10), and it has been conjectured that 9:10-11 (cp. 10:1-11), which recites the transgression at Horeb, belongs to the narrative to the precise point where it is taken up in 1, once stood before 17. More probably, however, 9:10-11 is not a misplaced fragment of the retrospect, but the product of successive editorial amplifications.³ The review ends as abruptly as it begins; the words, 'And we abode in the valley in front of Beth-peor' (3:20), must originally have been followed by an account of the sin at Beth-peor (Nu. 25:1-5; cp. Dt. 4:16).

The chapters (1-3) are not by the author of 5-26. The resemblance in language and style is unquestionably very close, though there are some noticeable differences; but the diversity of historical representation is decisive; cp. 2:29 with 23:3-6 7 f., 1:35 ff. 2:14-16 with 11:2 ff. 5:2 f. The opinion of some critics, that 1-1 was prefixed to the primitive Dt. to connect it with the history in Ex. and Nu., is improbable; for such a purpose a recapitulation of the history was more than superfluous. Others, with better reason, suppose that the historical résumé was intended as the introduction to a separate edition of Dt. The way in which it begins and ends (see above, small type) suggests that it was not composed for the purpose, but was extracted and adapted by the editor from some older source. Conclusive marks of the age of the chapters, further than their dependence upon E and the general affinity to the deuteronomistic school, are hardly to be discovered.

Chap. 4:1-40 has generally been taken with 1-3, as a hortatory close to the historical introduction.

19. Chap. 4 There is, however, neither a formal nor a material connection between them.

The historical allusions in the exhortation are to events related, not in 1-3, but in 5 ff.; 4:10 f. 32-33 differ from the retrospect (1:39 f. etc.) and agree with 5:2 f. 11:2 ff. 29:2 ff., in making the speaker's audience witnesses of the scenes at Horeb; the greater part of 4 is only a homiletical enlargement on 5:25 ff.

In other points 4 goes beyond 5-11; its monotheism takes a loftier tone, like that of Is. 40:5-55 (see 4:35-39 15:10-16). In 4:25-31 deportation and dispersion are inevitable; the prediction that in the far country Israel will return to Yahvé and find forgiveness takes the central place which it has in the exile prophets.

The language resembles 5-11 more closely than 1-3, but has peculiarities of its own: 4:17 f. are full of words and phrases which remind us of Ezekiel, 11, and P (cp.

1. Chap. 1:1-5, which now forms the introduction to the speech, is not homogeneous, and glosses have been pointed out in the discourse itself.

2. See particularly Dr. D₁ on these chapters, where the relationship is well exhibited.

3. Cp. above, § 11.

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also 32); 28 seems to be directly dependent on Jeremiah (16:11; cp. 28). Chap. 4 thus appears as a secondary addition to Dt., composed in the closely akin to 29, if not by the same hand.

Chap. 4:1-11, the designation by 'Moses' of the twelve cities east of the Jordan, has 10:11 as its basis.

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other below, § 23.
331, on 31:24-29.

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introduction is not deuteronomie, as the language proves; it is
equally clear that it is not by the author of 14:7-20. The
question of the source of the verses will recur in connection with
the age of the poem itself (next §, second par.). 17:6-13,
relating how the law was committed to writing and preserved,
form an appropriate conclusion to the account of the giving of
the law, and are by many critics connected with 5:26-28. The
preservation of the law is the subject of 24:27, which the
repetition and the different motive prove to be by another hand;
25:1 seems to be a preparation for the recitation of the 'Song'
(31), and is as much out of place after 19:22 as 24:27 after 19:13;
the whole passage, 24-26 (30), is, therefore, ascribed to a later hand.
Dillmann conjectures that 22 *ff.* (in substance) originally constituted
the introduction, not to the Song of Moses, but to a speech
the close of which is to be found in 32:43-47. This speech,
containing the last exhortations and admonitions of Moses, was
removed from its place after 31:13 to make room for the Song,
and is preserved, though worked over and extensively inter-
polated, in 42:9. For reasons which have already been indicated,
we should not, however, with Dillmann, attribute this speech to
the author of 5:26-28, but to a later deuteronomistic writer.

Chap. 32:1-43; *The Song of Moses*.¹—The theme of
the Ode is the goodness of Yahwe, the sin of Israel in
rejecting him, and the ruin which this
apostasy entails. The poem contains no
definite allusions to historical events by
which its age may be exactly determined. The conquest
of Canaan evidently lies for the writer in a remote past
(7 *ff.*); and he has had ample experience of the pros-
perity of Israel to adopt foreign religions, and of the
national calamities in which the prophets saw the
judgments of Yahwe upon this defection. The language
has been thought to indicate that the author was a
native of the North; and many scholars believe that
the situation reflected in the poem is that of the kingdom
of Israel in the reign of Jehoash (767-783 B.C.) or the
early years of Jehoahaz II. (782-743 B.C.), when, after the
long and disastrous Syrian wars, Israel was beginning
to recover its former power and prosperity.² Others,
understanding by the 'no people' (32:18), the 'foolish
nation' (32:21-23), the Assyrians, to whom such terms
would be applied more naturally than they could be to
the Syrians (cp Is. 33:10, 5:26 *ff.*), ascribe the poem to the
latter half of the eighth century. The words may, how-
ever, with even greater probability, be interpreted of the
Babylonians (cp Jer. 5:15 *ff.*, 5:22 *ff.*, especially Hab. 1:6 *ff.*,
Dt. 28:19 *ff.*). In the vocabulary of the Song there are
several words which are not found in writers of the eighth
century, but are common in the literature of the seventh
and sixth; the Aramaisms in word and form which
have been looked upon as evidence of Ephraimite origin
may equally well be marks of a later age. The poem
contains many reminiscences of the older prophets,
especially of Hosea and Isaiah; but in its whole spirit
and tone, as well as in particular expressions, it is much
more closely akin to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Is. 40:35.
It has a strong resemblance, also, to the exilic additions
to Dt. (12:9 *ff.*); its theology is that of these chapters
and of Is. 40 *ff.*; its affinities to the Psalms and the
products of Jewish Wisdom are to be noted.³ It is,
in fact, a didactic poem, embodying in lofty verse the
prophetic interpretation of Israel's history from beginning
to end. Kuenen and others ascribe the Song to the
end of the seventh century (say 630-600 B.C.); but the
considerations last adduced, and others which might be
mentioned, point rather to an exilic or post-exilic date.

It has commonly been assumed that the introduction
to the Song (31:16-22) is pre-deuteronomie (J or E);⁴
not so much, however, upon internal evidence as in
consequence of general theories about the age of the
poem and the composition of the last chapters of Dt.
It is intrinsically at least equally probable that the

¹ On the Song of Moses see Ew. *JBH* 8 41-63 [55];
Kamph. *Das Lied Moses*, 1862; Klo. 'Das Lied Moses u.
das Dent', *St. Kr.* 41 249 *ff.* [71]; 45 230 *ff.* 450 *ff.* [72];
reprinted in *Der Pent.* 223-267 [92]; St. *Z. LIT* 5 267-300
[78]. For the older literature see Di. *Comm.* 395; Reuss,
G. LIT. § 226.

² See 2 K. 13:22-23 14:25-27.

³ This verse is, however, probably not from the Assyrian
period.

⁴ See 1 *ff.* 3 *ff.* 6 28 *ff.*, etc.

⁵ Kue. attributes it to K'e.

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introduction is post-deuteronomie; and this hypothesis
is strongly commended by the fact that the Song itself
has apparently been put in the place of the last discourse
of Moses (29:7), who is itself a product of the 'exile.'

Chap. 32:1 is the closing note to the poem, cor-
responding to 31 at its beginning. Verses 43-47
are the close of the speech, answering to 31:27 *ff.*¹
they contain no allusion to the Song; their literary
affinities are to 31:1 *ff.*, not to 31:16-22 or 32:1-43. Chap.
32:1-52 belongs to the priestly stratum; the same
command is given somewhat more fully in Num.
27:12-14 (P).

Chap. 33: 'The Blessing wherewith Moses the man
of God blessed the Israelites before he died.' Beyond

25. Blessing. this superscription, no attempt is made to
connect the poem with the history of
Moses' last days; in which it may be inferred that it
was not introduced by a deuteronomie editor. The
opening verses (1-8), which are very obscure, in part
through corruption of the text, describe the coming of
Yahwe from Sinai, the giving of the Law, the acquisition
of the territory of Jacob (9), and the rise of the kingdom
in Israel.² Thereupon come, without any transition,
Blessings on eleven tribes, following a geographical
order from south to north, and differing greatly in
length and in character.

The Blessing of Moses is a composition of the same
kind as the so-called Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:1-27),
though not a mere imitation of it. The

26. Its date. historical situation reflected in the Blessings
of the several tribes in Dt. is that of a time considerably
later than that in Gen.; cp particularly Levi (Gen.
49:5-7 Dt. 33:8-11) and Judah (Gen. 49:8-12 Dt. 33:7). On
the other hand, the situation is entirely different from that
represented in the Song of Moses, Dt. 32. While in
the latter, apostasy has drawn upon Israel the consuming
anger of Yahwe, and the very existence of the people is
threatened, the Blessing breathes from end to end a
national spirit exalted by power and prosperity and
unbroken by disaster. The author was a member of
one of the northern tribes, or a Levite at one of the
northern sanctuaries. The blessing of Joseph (11-17)
was written at a time when the kingdom of Israel, in
the pride of its power, and perhaps flushed with victory,
was thinking of foreign conquests (17). Recent critics
have generally followed Graf in ascribing the poem to
the time of Jehoahaz II. (782-743 B.C.), when for a
brief space Israel seemed to have regained all its ancient
power and glory; so is then referred to the recovery
of the territories of which Gad had been stripped by
the Syrians of Damascus in the disastrous period which
preceded.

The prayer in 7, 'Hear, O Yahwe, the voice of Judah, and
bring him to his people,' has been understood as the wish of the
Ephraimite poet that Judah might be reunited to Israel, and is
thought by many to point to a time soon after the division of the
kingdom, when the desire for the restoration of the national unity
was still strong. This obscure verse, however, cannot be allowed
to outweigh the clearer testimony of other parts of the chapter.
The Blessing of Levi (8-11) describes the privileges and offices
of the priesthood, and the fidelity of Levi to its sacred trust.
There is nothing to indicate that the author was a priest of the
temple in Jerusalem; the priests of other temples also were
Levites; nor any cogent reason for thinking that 9-11 are
Jewish interpolations. Verse 11, however, is hardly a blessing
for the priesthood, and would unquestionably be more appropri-
ate to one of the other tribes; but that it was the original sequel
of 7, as has been conjectured, is not evident.

On the whole, the age of Jehoahaz II. seems best to
satisfy the implications of the Blessings. Verses 2-5,

¹ See above, § 23.

² On the Blessing see Hoffm. in Keil and Tschirner's *An-
leitung* (1829), iv. 21-62 continued in a series of *Jena Pro-
grams*, 1 23-184; Graf. *Der Segen Moses*, 1857; Volck. *Der
Segen Moses*, 1871; A van der Meer, *Pent.* 33, 1865; Ball,
'The Blessing of Moses,' *PSR* 18 115-137 [26]. See also
St. *G. LIT.* 1 130 *ff.* The older literature in Di. *Comm.* 416,
Reuss, *G. LIT.* § 216.

³ The meaning of these verses is much disputed.

⁴ In 12 it is not certain that Jerusalem is meant (cp Bt.-
JAHN, § 8).

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26-29, have no connection with the Blessings, and it is not improbable that they are fragments of another poem. Whether the Blessing of Moses was contained in J or E is a question which we have no means of answering; neither the short introduction, nor the titles of the several Blessings (which alone can be attributed to an editorial hand), offer anything distinctive; nor do the reminiscences of the earlier history.

Chap. 31. The story of the death of Moses is highly composite, elements from JE and P, as well as the hand of more than one editor, being recognisable in it.

Deuteronomy is the prophetic law-book, an attempt to embody the ideal of the prophets in institutions and laws by which the whole religious, social, and civil life of the people should be governed. We recognise this aim in the treatment of the older right and custom of Israel, and more clearly in those provisions which are peculiar to Deuteronomy, above all in the fundamental law, chap. 5 ff. It seeks, not to regulate conduct by outward rule, but to form morality from within by the power of a supreme principle.

The dominant idea of Deuteronomy is monotheism.

27. Religious character of Dt.

The first sentence of the older Decalogue,¹ repeated in 5:6 ff., expresses, indeed, only a relative deuteronomy law, 'Yahwe our God is one Yahwe' (6:4 ff.), declares, not only that there are not many Yahwes, as there are many Baals, but also that there is no other who shares with him the attributes of supreme godhead which are connoted by his name. He is 'the God of gods and the Lord of lords, the great, mighty, and awful God' (10:17), to whom belong 'the heavens above and the earth beneath, the earth and all that therein is' (10:14). 'The [only] God in the heavens above or in the earth beneath; there is no other' (4:39, cp 35).² The unapproachable majesty of Yahwe (5:1 ff., 22 ff., 19 ff.), his constancy to his purpose, and his faithfulness to his word are often recurring themes (7:8-10, 12 ff., 35, etc.). He is a God who requites his enemies to the full (7:10); yet a compassionate and forgiving God to those who under his judgments turn to him again (4:29-31, 39 ff.).

Idolatry is strictly forbidden. The images and emblems of the Canaanite gods are to be totally destroyed (12:1 ff., 7:5-25). The Decalogue prohibits the making of images of Yahwe in the likeness of any object in heaven, or on the earth, or in the sea; and in 4:15 ff., where this prohibition is emphatically repeated, Israel is reminded that at Horeb, when Yahwe spoke to them out of the midst of the fire, they saw no form—lesson to them not to image him in any form. The more primitive standing stones and sacred poles are included in the prohibition (16:21 ff., 12:3 ff.). All kinds of divination, sorcery, and necromancy are condemned as heathenish (18:9-14); Yahwe's will and purpose are made known, not by such signs as are interpreted by the magic art, but by the mouth of his prophet (18:15 ff.).

Yahwe is to be worshipped, not at many sanctuaries, but at one only, in the place which he chooses to fix his name there (12:5-16, 14:23, 15:20, 16:2, etc.). The unity of the sanctuary is a consequence of the unity of God. The suppression of the high-places, which is so strenuously insisted on in Dt., was primarily dictated, not by practical considerations, but by the instinctive feeling that their existence was incompatible with monotheism; as long as there were many altars there were as many local Yahwes. It is doubtless true that, for the religious consciousness of the great mass of worshippers, the Yahwe of Dan was no just the same as the Yahwe

of Bethel or of Beersheba. But the great doctrine of Dt. is, 'Yahwe thy God is one Yahwe.' The principle, 'Thou shalt have no other gods' is strongly reaffirmed (6:12-15, 10:20-22, 11:16 ff., 28:14-15, 32:17-18, 34:16-17, 35:1-3, 39:1-3, 40:1-3, 41:1-3, 42:1-3, 43:1-3, 44:1-3, 45:1-3, 46:1-3, 47:1-3, 48:1-3, 49:1-3, 50:1-3, 51:1-3, 52:1-3, 53:1-3, 54:1-3, 55:1-3, 56:1-3, 57:1-3, 58:1-3, 59:1-3, 60:1-3, 61:1-3, 62:1-3, 63:1-3, 64:1-3, 65:1-3, 66:1-3, 67:1-3, 68:1-3, 69:1-3, 70:1-3, 71:1-3, 72:1-3, 73:1-3, 74:1-3, 75:1-3, 76:1-3, 77:1-3, 78:1-3, 79:1-3, 80:1-3, 81:1-3, 82:1-3, 83:1-3, 84:1-3, 85:1-3, 86:1-3, 87:1-3, 88:1-3, 89:1-3, 90:1-3, 91:1-3, 92:1-3, 93:1-3, 94:1-3, 95:1-3, 96:1-3, 97:1-3, 98:1-3, 99:1-3, 100:1-3). The apostasy of the nation by nature (6:14 ff., 7:4-8, 10 ff., 12:30-31, 32-33, 34-35, 36-37, 38-39, 40-41, 42-43, 44-45, 46-47, 48-49, 50-51, 52-53, 54-55, 56-57, 58-59, 60-61, 62-63, 64-65, 66-67, 68-69, 70-71, 72-73, 74-75, 76-77, 78-79, 80-81, 82-83, 84-85, 86-87, 88-89, 90-91, 92-93, 94-95, 96-97, 98-99, 100-101). Not only in Israel, but also in Canaan, which is to be obliterated. Every trace of religions of Palestine is to be obliterated. The cities themselves must be exterminated, lest, in intimate with them, Israel be infected with their religion (16:9 ff., cp 12:30 ff., 20:16 ff.).¹ Alliance and intermarriage with the heathen are stringently prohibited (7:1 ff., and many special laws are directed against heathen customs and rites; see, e.g., 22:5, 23:17 ff.). No less warnings are given against the religions of other peoples (13:6 ff.).

The essence of the religious relation to Yahwe and his people is love. He has loved from the beginning (10:15, 7:7 ff.), and if they keep his commandments he will love and bless them in the future (7:13, cp 4:7 ff.). They are the children of their God (14:1); his discipline and his care are paternal (5:13). All good things are from him; his signal proofs of his love to Israel are the deliverance from Egypt (*Exodus*, e.g., 8:14 ff.), and the law which has given them (4:5-8, 32 ff.). The love of Yahwe people demands, as it should inspire, their love: 'Thou shalt love Yahwe thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (6:5) is the commandment of the law, the first principle of religion (10:12 ff., 11:13-22, 13:4, 19:9, 30:6-16, 20). Love to God strains to do his will; to love God and to keep his commandments are inseparable. His commandments are not remote or incomprehensible; they are in the hearts and on their lips (30:11-14, cp Jer. 31:33-34). They are they difficult and burdensome (10:12 ff., cp Mic. 6:8). To keep them is for man's own good (6:24, 10:11). The religion of the heart, not of outward observance of formal legality. Observances are not rejected, religion without worship and distinctive ceremonial is not contemplated; but festivals and sacrifices are the expression of religious feeling—above all, of love and joyful gratitude for God's love and goodness.

The relation of Yahwe to Israel is not a natural, indissoluble relation, such as subsists between a tree and its fruit; it is a moral relation, which has its origin in his choice of Israel to be his people. He chose it, for any good in it (7:7, 9:4 ff.), but because he loved his forefathers (10:15); and love and faithfulness bind him to their descendants (7:8, 9:5). The election by which Israel alone of all the nations of the earth is made the people of Yahwe is Israel's glorious distinction; but it imposes the greatest obligation. Sin, in this light, is more heinous, judgment more necessary and more severe; but in God's constancy to his purpose and promise faith finds the assurance that the severest judgment will not be utter destruction.

The bond between Yahwe and Israel is the covenant which he made with them at Horeb (5:2 ff.) and renewed on the plains of Moab (29:1 [28:6]). The deuteronomy law sets forth the obligations imposed by Yahwe accepted by Israel (17:2); strict observance of the law is the condition of the fulfilment of the promises of Yahwe the obligations which he voluntarily took upon himself in the pact (7:9-13, 11:22 ff., etc.).

Israel is to be a holy people (7:6, 14:21, 26:19)—that is, one set apart to Yahwe in all its life. The stringency of the laws which are to preserve the purity of the

¹ At the time when Dt. was written this sanguinary prospect of the native population can hardly have had much practical significance.

² On the various forms of this code see DECALOGUE.

³ See also 32:37 ff., 32 ff. It has been observed above that the theology of 4:1-40 approximates more nearly to that of 15, 40 ff.

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31. Principle of love.

The relation of Yahwe to Israel is not a natural, indissoluble relation, such as subsists between a tree and its fruit; it is a moral relation, which has its origin in his choice of Israel to be his people. He chose it, for any good in it (7:7, 9:4 ff.), but because he loved his forefathers (10:15); and love and faithfulness bind him to their descendants (7:8, 9:5). The election by which Israel alone of all the nations of the earth is made the people of Yahwe is Israel's glorious distinction; but it imposes the greatest obligation. Sin, in this light, is more heinous, judgment more necessary and more severe; but in God's constancy to his purpose and promise faith finds the assurance that the severest judgment will not be utter destruction.

32. Moral basis.

The bond between Yahwe and Israel is the covenant which he made with them at Horeb (5:2 ff.) and renewed on the plains of Moab (29:1 [28:6]). The deuteronomy law sets forth the obligations imposed by Yahwe accepted by Israel (17:2); strict observance of the law is the condition of the fulfilment of the promises of Yahwe the obligations which he voluntarily took upon himself in the pact (7:9-13, 11:22 ff., etc.).

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ve. 'The exclusive
for gods beside me,'
1116 f. 28, etc.);
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people and the land from false religion and immorality is thus explained and justified: 'Thou shalt exterminate the evil from the community' (1135 and *pass.*; see 22 13-19 21-21 1919-21 etc.).

Notwithstanding the sanguinary thoroughness with which it demands the extirpation of heathenism and the severity of many of the special laws, the distinctive note of the deuteronomie legislation is humanity, philanthropy, charity. Regard not only for the rights, but also for the needs of the widow, the orphan, the landless Levite, the foreign denizen, is urged at every turn.¹ The interests of debtors (231-241-11 151-11), slaves (514 1512-13), and hired labourers (214 f.) are carefully guarded. Various provisions protect the rights of the wife or the female slave (214 221-11 211-11 15-17). Nor are the animals forgotten (251 226 f.). The spirit of the legislation is seen not least clearly in the laws which appear to us altogether utopian, such as 20 (cp 215 1714-20 151-16).

In conformity with its prophetic character, Dt. presents itself not merely as a law-book, but also as a book of religious instruction. Its lessons are to be diligently remembered, and not forgotten in times of prosperity (66-12 811-13 etc.). Its fundamental precepts are to be repeated daily, to be worn as amulets, to be inscribed in public places (67-9 111-21). They are to be taught to children, that each succeeding generation may be brought up in the knowledge of Yahwé's will (67-20-25 111-49); and every seven years the whole law is to be publicly read in the hearing of the assembled people (310-11).

Taken all in all, Dt. will ever stand as one of the noblest monuments of the religion of Israel, and as one of the most noteworthy attempts in history to regulate the whole life of a people by its highest religious principles.

1. *Commentaries.*—Of the older works, Drusus (1617), Gerhard (1657), and Clericus (1656) may often be consulted with profit. The principal modern commentaries are Vater, *Pent.*, iii, 1805; M. Baugarten, 1843, 1844; F. W. Schmidt, 1859; Köh, 1861; Schroeder, 1866 (*Lange's Biblework*), ET with additions by Gossman, 1879; Keil, 1862, 2nd ed. 1870, ET 1871; Lospin, 1871 (*Syntheser Comm.*); Di, 1866; Monti, *Le Deut.*, 1861; Oetli, 1863; Dr., 1865; Steiner, in Nowack's *HK*, 1878.

2. *Crecheim.*—Vater, *Comment. über den Pent. mit. Entf.*, 3, 'Abhandlung über Moses und den Verfasser des Pentateuchs', 301 ff.; De Wette, *Ursach. crit. crit.*, (1806); *Beitr.*, 2, *Entf.*, in d. *AT*, 1 (1805), 103 ff. 205 ff., 2 (1817), 85 ff.; J. F. I. George, *Die alt. jud. Texte* (35); W. Vanke, *Das Buch d. AT*, 304 ff. (35); *Entf.*, 334 ff. (30); E. Riehm, *Die Gesetzgeb. Mos.*, etc. (54); *St. Kr.*, 105-200 (73) (review of Kleiner); Golewin, *Pent. and Josh.*, Pt. 3 (63), cp pp. 7 App. 85-110; Graf, *Die Gesch. Buch d. AT* (60); Koster, *Die historisch-biblische von den Deuteronomist* (60); Klo., 'Das Lied Moses u. d. Deut. St. Kr. (71, 72); 'Beitrage zur Entstehungsgesch. des Pent. Neue Kirche, *Das Deut. u. d. Deuteronomiker* (72); Reiske, 'Ueber das unter dem Könige Josia aufgefundenen Gesetzbuch', *Beitr. zur Exkl. d. AT* 8 (72), 131-180; Kayser, *Das pentateuch. Buch der Gesch. Isr. u. seine Erweiterungen* (74); J. Hollenberg, 'Die deut. Bestandtheile d. Buches Josua', *St. Kr.*, 1874, pp. 462-506; We. *Cl.*, *JDF*, 1379, 1377; reprinted separately, under the same title, 1885, and with Nachträge, *Die Comp. des Hex. u. d. hist. Bücher des AT* (85); *GI* (75), 2nd ed. called *Prot.*, 2, *GI* (84), 4th ed. 1895, ET, *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel* (83); S. J. Curiss, *The Levitical Priests* (77); WRS, *Additional Answer to the Libel* (75), *Answer to the Am. and Libel* (79); OTIC (71); 2nd ed. (76); E. Reuss, *1 hist. sainte et la loi*, 1151 ff. (70); *Die hist. Gesch. u. d. Gesetz*, 106 ff. (69); (Das *AT*, Bd. 2); Sieinthal, 'Das fünfte Buch Moses, St. für Völkerpsych. u. Sprachwissens., 1870, pp. 1-18; 'Die erzählenden Stücke in fünften Buche Moses', d. 1870, pp. 231-254, also separately (Berlin, '80); Valentin, *Theol. Stud.*, 5 (70), pp. 167-206, 201-311; 6 (80), pp. 133-174, 303-300; 7 (81), pp. 79-55, 205-223; F. Del., 'Pentateuchkritische Studien', *ZKH* 1, 1 (80), 445 ff. 503 ff. 550 ff.; Castelli, *La legge del popolo ebreo nel suo svolgimento storico*, 207-220 (84); Cheyne, *Jeremiah, his life and times* (83), chaps. 37; Baudissin, *Gesch. des AT Priestertums* (80); A. Westphal, *Les sources du Pent.*, 2 32 ff. (69); Stark, *Das Deut. sein Inhalt u. seine literarische Form* (74); Steiner, *Der Rahmen des Deut.* (70); *Entsteh. des deut. Gesetzes* (76); Haven, *Le Christanisme*

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and, but for the shock to our associations, 'night mist' would be a preferable rendering to 'dew'.

This explanation clears up certain otherwise obscure passages. It also enables us to identify with considerable probability the season to which any important passage mentioning *ḥal* refers. The miracle of Gideon's fleece, e.g., was presumably placed by the writer in the summer. At the same time, when perfectly general language is used respecting *ḥal* ('dew'), it may be open to us to suppose that a confusion exists in the writer's mind between the genuine 'dew' of winter (spring and autumn) and the 'night mist' of summer, which is not, in our sense of the word, dew at all, since the vapour becomes condensed in the air before it reaches the ground.

In illustration, see Lane's *Arabic L. Lexicon*, s.v. *ḥalā*. One example given is: 'The sky rain-dew (ḥalāl) upon the earth.' *ḥalāl* is defined as 'night or weak (i.e., drizzling) rain, or the light and weather' or dew that descends from the sky in cloudless weather.' (Cf. also *Koran*, Sur. 2:27, 'And if no heavy shower (ḥalāl) falls on it, the mist (ḥalāl) does'.)

(1) *Where the 'dew' comes from.*—Job 38:28 is, probably enough, a scribe's insertion (Hb., Dahm); but, if so, the scribe gives an invaluable early summary of what precedes. He states that what is said of the rain in 37:25-27 refers not only to the winter rains or to the occasional thunderstorms but also to the 'night mist'.

Has the rain a father?
Or who has begotten the streams? (not 'drops') of 'dew'?
To this question a wise man replies (Prov. 3:20),
By his (God's) knowledge the depths were opened (i.e., at creation),
And the sky drops down 'dew'.

So Gen. 27:23 Dt. 33:28 Hag. 1:10 Zech. 8:12; cp. also Judg. 5:4 (S) and Theod. 1:2. A more complete answer is given in Enchiridion, where the 'treasuries' of snow and hail (Job 38:22) and also of dew and rain are described. If Job did not 'come to these treasures' Enchiridion did, according to the current legend. The statements are important: 'The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds, and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one passes over into the other' (60:20, Charles).

In chap. 54 the twelve portals of the winds are described. From eight of them dew and rain are said to proceed; the winds are not, however, always beneficial. The author is by no means a good observer, and his statement is of value only as confirming the statement of 10:20 that 'dew' and 'rain' are connected.

(2) *Price-values of 'dew'.*—The land of Israel is called 'a land of corn and wine; yea, his heavens drop down dew' (Dt. 33:28). The blessing of Jacob says: 'God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the land' (Gen. 27:28; contrast 7:39, RVmg.). Yahuwe himself resembles 'dew'; 'I will be as the dew for Israel' (parched up, desolate Israel, Hos. 11:5 [n]). The preciousness of the 'dew' is shown by its effects, which are next described.

Perhaps, however, *ḥal* here includes rain. Dew is an emblem of resurrection: 'A dew of light is thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades' (Is. 26:19, *SVOT*). 'I rom the world of perfect light where Yahuwe dwells a supernatural 'dew' will descend on the dead Israelites. 'The dew of resurrection' (צֶמֶח חַיִּים) is a Talmudic phrase based on this prophecy. In the *Koran*, also (e.g., Sur. 41:39), rain is referred to as a sign of the resurrection, too. Micah 5:7 [n] also should be mentioned here. The traditional, as it stands, is unintelligible. The 'coming of Jacob' among the nations cannot be at the same time like showers of night mist on the earth and like a lion. The upright lion (Pasek) placed after 'And shall be' (יִהְיֶה) warns us (as so often) that there is something doubtful in the text. Possibly *ḥal*, 'upon' has dropped out. The passage

¹ This is the first rendering of *ḥal* in RDB. It had been adopted by Che. in his *Prophecies of Isaiah and Book of Psalms*, who followed Neil, *op. cit.*, 140.

² MT reads *ḥal*, generally rendered 'drops' (S *ḥalōn*). 'Reservoirs' would be more defensible; but this does not suit 'begotten.' The obvious emendation is *ḥal*. Rain is called

ḥal in Ps. 65:10. The scribe is thinking of the 'channel' (נַחַל) in 7:23.

³ Heb. text has only 'dropped'.

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then reads thus, 'And there shall be on the remnant of the world as it were "dew" from Yahuwe . . . which carries rain, etc. . . *ḥal*, which is independent of human effort. Rain may be due to deviate from an unquestioned truth, but it is necessary to do so, when even the same Word admits that the point of the comparison in the present is unattainable to him.

(3) *Other illustrative passages.*—The dew (night) like the rain, comes by the word of a prophet (1 K. 18:41). It falls suddenly (2 S. 17:12), and gently, like perfect eloquence (Dt. 32:2); it has all night (Job 29:4), early disappears like superficial goodness (Hb. 12:17). Such a night mist is to be expected in the early stages of the settled hot weather of harvest (Is. 18:4; text, see VINT., § 1). It has a healing effect on vegetation (2 Chr. 18:16, 13:22); but for a man to be cured it is a trying experience (1 ant. 5:2). It is all-pervasive. Hence Gideon asks, as a sign of his divine mission, that the fleece which he has put on the threshing-floor may be wet with a night mist (*ḥal*) when the floor is dry, and next, that the fleece may be dry when the floor is wet. So abundant is the moisture of the mist that in the morning after the first exposure Gideon is able to wring out of the fleece a whole tub of water (Judg. 6:36-40).

(4) *Two doubtful passages.*—In Ps. 110:1, if the scribe correctly transmitted the text, there is a condensed account of a king's youthful army to the countless drops of a highly poetic figure, adopted by Milton in speaking of the hosts. The words, however, 'thou hast the dew of thy crown' is not attested by the LXX, though the other translators all have *ἀπὸ τοῦ*, are probably corrupt (see *Psalm* 2).

The other passage (Ps. 133:3) appears to be that it is the dew of Hermon that comes down on the fountains of Zion. Some (so Del.) have thought that a plowman on Hermon might be the result of the abundance of rain on Hermon; others (so Barth.), that 'dew of Hermon' is a proverbial expression for a plentiful dew. Robertson (*OT* 1:25:2) suggests that the expressions may be hyperbolic, the gathering of pious pilgrims from all parts at the great Jerusalem was 'as if the fertilising dews of great Hermon were all concentrated on the little hill of Zion'; but the passage as it stands, is incapable of a natural interpretation. It came into the editor's hand in an imperfect condition. If an *ḥal* can be by no possibility be brought into connection here or in the equally corrupt passage, Ps. 42:6 [7]. 1. K.

DIADEM. Strictly *δίαδημα* (*diadēma*), to bind round is no more than a rich fillet or head-band. It is worn around the Persian royal hat (see MITRE) and, as distinguished from *στέφανος* (see CROWN), badge of royalty; cp. 1 Mac. 19:615 8:14 etc., 12:13 13:1 19:12 (RV, 'crown', and so 1 V in 1:4 4:9). It is probable that fillets of a more or less of character are referred to in the Heb. *ḥal*, *ḥal* (CROWN) and *ḥal* (see MITRE).

1. *Δίαδημα* is used by S to render 772, *kether*, Esth. 8:15, *mitre*, 2 S. 1:10 [11, Syn. Theod.] (see CROWN, § 2), *ḥal*, Esth. 8:15 (see MANTLE), and 772, *ḥal*, 1 S. 6:2 (see 1:7); see 1 below.

2. *ḥal*, Bar. 5:2 (1 V, in Judith 10:3 10:8, 1 V, 'mitre', 'mitre').

3. *ḥal*, *miqnepheth*, Ezek. 21:26 [31] AV; see MITRE.

4. *ḥal*, *ḥal*, 1 S. 6:23 RV, Zech. 3:5 RVmg. (EV 'mitre' Job 20:14 RV (RVmg. 'mitre'); see TURNAN, 2.

5. *ḥal*, *ḥal* (properly 'a plain'; 'to weave'), 1 S. 6:23 RVmg. (EV 'mitre').

(6) *ḥal*, *ḥal* or *ḥal*, etc. (RVmg.), *ḥal*. The *ḥal*, *ḥal* (Syn. B. In Ezek. 7:7 10 (RV 'dew'), cp. Co., *ḥal* means 'crown' (cp. RVmg. 'crowning' in text perhaps faulty, see Co., Bertholet).

DIAL AND SUN-DIAL (*ḥal*), literally 'stone' *ἀναβαθμοί*; *ḥal*, 'hour-stone'; Syn. 1 S. 388 *ὠρολογιον*; *horologium*, 2 K. 20:11, 1 S. 388. The term occurs in the account of Hezekiah's illness.

In point of fact, however, the narrator says nothing of a 'dial' and of 'degrees' but only of 'steps'; where AV says, 'The returned ten degrees', RV more correctly says, 'The sun returned ten steps', though immediately afterwards it uses the incorrect 'dial' (with a marginal note, 'Heb. steps'). Hence in AV and in RV the count is more obscure than it need be. It is true, the *ḥal* accounts in 2 K. 20 and 1 S. 388 which produces some difficulty.

¹ For the meaning of this word in connection with the Annulian system, see Ramsay, *Hist. Surg.*, 196.

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'swarm' (so Curtius, *Epheac*, 361); but it is perhaps wrong to follow Lightfoot (*Coloss.*, *Intro.* p. 141) in denying all connection with the name of the Jewish sect of the Essenes. These priests were the connecting link between the hierarchy and civic life—e.g., they cast the lot which determined the Thousand and Fifth of a newly created citizen (Hicks, *Lev.*, loc. 447, etc.). Neither their number nor the mode of their appointment is known, but they held office only for a year and superintended the feasts at the Artemesium following the sacrifices at the Artemesia, or annual Festival (Paus. *Ant.* 134). For minor sacred duties see Hicks, *Lev.* 85 f.

The analogous establishments of the goddess Ma in the temple E. of Asi Minor, at the two Komatas (Cappadocia, Str. 535; Paus. *Ant.* 137), shows the system in a more thorough-going form. Strabo's words (*ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀρτεμίδεσσιν ἐπὶ δὲ ἡρώεσσιν*) imply that the grosser features of the cult had been got rid of at Ephesus. In the eastern shrines we have a presiding priest, aided in blood to the reigning family, and second only to him in honour, ruling the temple and the attendant *τεμενοκόμοι* (*ἐκ τῶν κληρῶν*), and enjoying the vast revenues of the sacred estates.

The cultus-statue was thoroughly oriental in form, being a nude, surmounted by a bust covered with breasts (Her. *Prod. Eph.*).

2. The image. Like the most ancient image of Athena at Athens (Paus. *Ant.* 266) and the statue of Artemis at Tauris (Her. *Prod.* 1, 977), and that of the allied Cybele of Pessinus, it 'fell down from Jupiter' (so AV and RV in Acts 19:15: τοῦ διωπετοῦς, 'that fell from heaven'). Such was her form wherever she was worshipped as Ephesian Artemis; but on the coins we find mostly the purely Hellenic type. The 'silver shrines' (Acts 19:24 *αὐαὶ*) were offered by the rich in the temple; poorer worshippers would dedicate shrines of marble or terra-cotta.

Numerous examples in marble, and some in terra-cotta, are extant (*Athen. Mitth.* 24, *Arch. Zeit.* 1850); the series shows continuous development from the earliest known representation of the Mother-goddess (the so-called 'Niobe' at Magnesia near Mt. Sipylus) to such as that figured in Harrison, *Mith. and Min. of Athens*, 43 (cp Rams. in *HB*, 1832, p. 45). Such shrines were perhaps also kept in private houses (Paus. *Ant.* 31 *ἀνδρῶν τὰς οἰκίας*); in fact, they constituted an important part of ancient ritual (cp *Her. Prod.* 1, 9 *συνάδοι παρτεῖς, θεοῦργοι καὶ ἐσθλοὶ*; *Mith. Mitth.* 179; *εἰδωλὰ διὰ χειρὸς ἐκτελεῖται* in the festival called *καταγυμνασία*; *Dion. Hal.* *Ant.* 3 n. 171, referring to the thirty gold and silver ἀντικεινόμενα presented by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 A.D.).

In the manufacture of these shrines many hands and much capital were employed (Acts 19:24 *παρεῖχτο τοῖς τεχνίταις οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐργασίαν*).

The characteristic formula of invocation was *μεγάλη Ἀρτεμῖς* (whence we must accept the reading of D as against the *μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμῖς* of the other MSS). The epithet is applied in inscriptions (*IG* 2963 C, τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος; *ib.* 6797, Ἐφέσου Ἀνασσα). Its use in invocation has been detected at other centres of the allied cults.

This was the case, for example, at the shrine of Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairhenos at Dionysopolis (Rams. *HB*, *Phryg.* 1151, n. 4); *μεγάλη Ἀπόλλω Λαίρηνος*, see *J. Hell. Stud.* 1889, p. 216 f.; cp *HB*, *Phryg.* 135, n. 53, *εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Ἀρτῶν καὶ Ἀδωνάτων δυνάτῃ ποτεῖ*. In an inscription from the Limnai (mod. *Agios Geras* and *Hoban G.*), where Artemis of the lakes was revered, we have the formula *Μεγάλη Ἀρτεμῖς* (Rams. *HB*, *Grec. of Asia*, 410). The Artemis of Therma in Lesbos is invoked by the phrase 'Great Artemis of Therma' which appears on a stone still standing by the road between Therma and Mytilene (*Revue de Corr. Hell.* 1880, p. 430). The Artemis of Perga also affords a parallel (Rams. *Church in R.* *Emp.* 133; cp also *HB*, *Grec. of Asia*, 292).

All these examples show that the power of the goddess was a prominent idea in the cult, and give point to the reiteration of the formula by the mob (Acts 19:11). Cp Ken. Eph. 1.11, *δυνάμει τῇ σου τὴν πᾶν τὴν ἡμῶν θεῶν, τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφέσιον Ἀρτεμῖν*.

One of the secrets of the popularity of the temple was its right of asylum. Whatever the fate of the town, the temple and all within the precinct were safe (Paus. *Ant.* 28 *τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οἰκοδομὴ δῖμα ἦν οὐδὲν*. Cp also Herod. 126; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 13; Strabo, 641).

3. The temple. The peribolos-area was several times enlarged—by Alexander the Great who extended

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it to a radius of a stade from the temple, and Mithridates. Antony doubled it, taking in *μνηστῆρας*—i.e., part of the salubres. This extension in favour of the criminal classes (Strabo, *Lev.* 360), so that Augustus in 6 B.C. narrowed the area, and surrounded it with a wall (Hicks, 522 f.). There was a further revision by P. 22 A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* 361). Connected with this was the use of the place as a national and provincial deposit (Dion Chrys. *Rhod. Or.* 595; see *Her. Prod.* 341 f.; Strabo, 640). From the loans were issued to individuals or communities (*Manual Gr. Hist. Ins.* no. 205).

It is noteworthy that the opposition to Paul originate among the priests (see Epist. 18). The energies of the priests of the great shrines have been largely directed to the absorption of elements in the new cults with which they came in contact, or at any rate to the harmonising of the rival worship. In this they were assisted by the tendency of the Greeks to see in foreign deities figures of their own pantheon. That very deity were taken in Ephesus to avoid conflict with the Apollo is proved by the localisation there of the place of Apollo and Artemis (Str. 639, Tac. *Ann.* 11 *Pauli's Religion*, 137). The teaching of Paul seems but another imputation from the E. effect a revival redounding to the advantage of the temple. This blindness of the priesthood to tendencies of the new teaching is well illustrated by the priest of Zeus Propoileos in 1 A.D. in doing honour to Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:13). Not until a later period was this attitude exorcised of hostility; the earliest pagan opposition was on lower grounds than those of religion (Rams. in *R. Emp.* 131, 200). [See especially Zimmern, *Ephesus im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874.]

DIBLAH (דִּבְלָהָ), ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ], EA RV. See RUBAH.

DIBLAIM (דִּבְלָיִם), Hos. 13; see GOMER (2).

DIBLATH (דִּבְלָתָה) in MT; the statement of true Palestinian reading is 'ר' is weakly attested ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BAQ], Ezek. 6:14 AV (RV DIBLAIM) the 'toward' of RV demands an emended text RUBAH.

DIBLATHAIM (דִּבְלָתַיִם), Nu. 33:45; see DIBLATHAIM.

DIBON (דִּבּוֹן), so thrice [Ba. ad Is. 15:2] where in OT and on Moabite stone דִּבּוֹן, ΔΑΙΒΩΝ [BAF].—whence the true pronunciation, probably Dailon, Meyer, *Z. H.* 1128, n. 2—Josh. 13:17 ΔΑΙΒΩΝ [V], ΔΕΒΩΝ [L].

1. A city of Moab (Is. 15:2, *Δηβων* [BN], *Δαϊβηδων* [S*], *Δαϊβ* [Q], Jer. 48:18 *δεβων* [α] *δαβων* [Q]), the modern *Dibbin*, about 3 miles from Aroer and 4 from the Arnon. A fragment of an ancient song preserved by JE in Nu. 21:16 commemorates the conquests of the Amorite king Sihon over 'from Heshbon to Dibon' (v. 13). According to 32:34 [E] it was 'built' by the Gadites, and it is so to as **Dibon-Gad** in Nu. 33:45 f. [P]. Josh. 13:18 gives it to the Reubenites. In Is. 15:2 the name is written DIBON [P]. It was at Dibon that the famous stone of King Mesha was discovered in 1868. 2. In list of Judahite villages (Ezek. ii. § 5 [D] [1] d), Neh. 11:25 *Δαβων* [S*+mg], om. BA; cp the DIBONAU [P] of Josh. 15:22.

DIBRI (דִּבְרִי), ΔΑΒΡΙ[ε] [BAV], ZAMBRIP. *DAVRI*, father of SHELOMITH [P], no. 1; Lev. 24:10 P's story of the son of Shelomith who blasphemes Name of YHWH bears a close family likeness to the incident

1 So MT. The original text no doubt had 'Tahvee.

DIDYMUS

Nr. 2514. There the name of Zimri is more or less identical with a Mande sister-tribe used southward here the other side of the Sahara. Zimri belongs to the tribe of Senni which according to Gmelin had Cameroonian origin prior to their flight into the tube of Darfur. See DAN 2011. In both stories the prevailing principle is the necessity of cutting off Israel from all sources of help. See also Nchira 1376 and see Bartholet, *Sahelien*, I, p. 147.

DIDYMUS (*Διδυμος* [*L. WHIP*], *Jm. 11* 10 11; see THOMAS.

DIKLAH (דִּיקְלָה; ΔΕΚΛΑ [M], in Ch. ΔΕΚΛΑΝ [M]; om. B; *dekla*, son of Jotham (Is. 54:1 Ch. 1:1). The name is obscure; it has been supposed by Bochart and others to designate a palm-bearing district' (cp Ar. *deklā*, a sort of palm tree, and so forth). Hommel connects it with the name of the Paradise river. Hnd. *dekl* (see PARADISE).

DILEAN, RV *Dilan* (𐎢𐎠𐎡𐎢; 𐎢𐎠𐎡𐎢 [B]; -𐎠𐎡𐎢 [A], -𐎠𐎡𐎢 [L], *Dish*, 𐎢𐎠𐎡𐎢, an unidentified city in the Shephelah of Judah (Dish 15). It occurs with Mizpeh of Tell es-Satweh in a group, apparently N. of the group comprising Lachish and El-Gh.

DILL (TO ANHOUN), Mt. 2824, R.V. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 8

DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה; ΔΑΜΝΑ [VL]; ΔΑΜΝΑ [B]), one of the cities of Zebulun theoretically assigned to the Levites (Josh. 21 and Ps. . It is mentioned together with **NAMAL** (נַמַּל). The form, however, seems incorrect; we would rather read **KIMMONAH**, with D^h, Barth, Dematt. Cp. **Kimmona** (c Ch. 602 [77]), and see **KIMMON**, ii, 3.

DIMON (דִּמְיוֹן ; $\Delta\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$ [B twice]; $\rho\epsilon\mu\omega\nu$ Neuch.^{ch} twice; $A\Gamma$ once, Q^o once); $\Delta\epsilon\omega\omega\nu$ [once M^t , sp. ras N^o]; $\delta\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ [N^o fort]; $\Delta\epsilon\omega\nu$ [once C^{mg}]; $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omega\alpha\tilde{o}$ [once S^o].) a town of Moab mentioned only in Is. 15^g (twice). According to the p_{ms} it is a corruption of דִּימוֹר NINRIM [y :]; it is no objection to this view that Ninrim has already been mentioned in v. 6; $\Delta\epsilon\omega\omega\nu$ in Jer. 48² is still more plainly a corruption of Ninrim. Those who adhere to the traditional text suppose that Dimon=Dibon, the former without being chosen on account of the association with $d\acute{\imath}\nu\alpha$, 'blood,' or else that some unknown place is referred to according to Dibon, on the border of Edom; cp 14ⁱ and see K. 322). The former view is the more prevalent one. If Abana=Armana, may not Dimon be equivalent to Dibon? Jerome in his commentary says, "Usque ad indiciferentem et Dimon et Dibon hoc oppidum dicitur," and in the OT itself we find DIMONAH (דִּמְוָנָה) and Dibon (2) used for the same place. If Dibon be meant in Is. 15, 'the waters of Dimon' may, according to Hitzig and Dillmann, be a reservoir such as many cities probably possessed (cp Cant. 7^{4[5]}, but see LESHMON). The Arnon flowed too far off from the town to be meant. Still the text may be admitted to be doubtful.

DIMONAH (דִּמְוֹנָה) [פֶּדְמוֹנָה] [B], אִדְמוֹנָה [A.], Judahite city on the border of Edom (Josh. 15:2). Perhaps the **DIMON** (2) of Nch. 11:25 (cp Edom and Edom in Moab). Knobel and others suggest the modern *edh-Teirib* or *et-Teiribeh*, 2½ m. NW of Tell'Arad; it this is quite uncertain. Posh. אִדְמוֹנָה presupposes form דִּמְוֹנָה; cp the variation given under **DANNAH**.

DINAH (דִּינָה) [דִּינָה] [A.], 'daughter' of Leah (1) 'sister' of Simeon and Levi.

Whilst Ben-oni left behind it some memorials (see N-ONI), the disappearance of Dinah, to judge from the absence of all later traces, seems to **Gen. 34.** have been absolute. In Is story, how-

Note I's reading above. Zimri in old Ar. (Sah.) enters
and is *zimir* (see Zimm, i, 104) and for interchange of
and *m* cp ZABDI, n.

DINAH

[illegible]

Unfortunately, the story is incomplete. We are not told what the country chairman of S. S. C. saw in why the city was so bad. After the 1960 election, China not only the Tibetans were concerned and Communist, § 4, and then later the Communist to work, adopted to settle in Shoshone areas that have adopted the communist rule. I do not have to mention this.

I like the idea of a fish that on the high seas seems to have been condemned by its environment. It is used

2. **Motive.** For the 'motive' is the 'the good of health' (that it was better, and better for her) it was cured, but according to the chief reason of this difference was that the safety of Elizabeth had been imperilled. The judgment that overtook the perpetration of the deed is clearly indicated in the Bible; they should be divided and scattered. One collectively (vs. 11) does this 'judgment' stand related to the name *dejah*? Does one explain the other? and, if so, which?

The Dinah story may be regarded as an explanation of the 'judgment' either on the part of an Sumerian deity. It is also, however, fitted to serve as a popular explanation of the name Jacob, which it assigns to the immigrant people: Jacob was a wily people; and he had tricked an ignominious him. Stories are easily made to fit so as to explain several distinct points.

It was a common belief in the days of the monarchy that the Leath tribes had been in the highlands of

3. **Meaning.** I phrased before they settled in the south (see ISRM, § 7; LEVI, SIMON, DAN, 20). The point that concerns us here is whether some of them settled in Shechem. Unfortunately the oldest traditions that have come down to us belong to an age when there was no distinct memory of the real course of events. Every one knew that there was a time when peoples had planted themselves in the hill country that had not yet incorporated Shechem: the belief of later age, that it was the resting-place of the remains of Joseph, had not arisen, but as to how it became a tradition there were already various theories. One story told of deeds of sword and bow (Gen 35; Judg 9a); another made more of a treaty or contract of some kind (cannibals? circumcision? a sale of property? an alliance [盟約]? 31a, b). It might perhaps be suggested that the *rabbi* alliance with the Shechemites (Judg. 8a) points to a third story, a story of an Abiez-

Prof. Cheyne thinks that the disappearance of the tribe is really recorded in 25:1; that what I. wrote was not 'and he died Beth-el', but 'and there died Dinah'. Here are, finally, in his eyes, difficulties in the text as it stands: the meeting of a famous tree with — (nurse); the preservation of a name (Contrast Gen. 24:6, where moreover I read **וְהָיָה שֵׁם הָעֵץ** **וְהָיָה עֵץ הַיָּדָה** **וְהָיָה עֵץ הַיָּדָה**); the presence of the use in the train of Jacob; the whole Jacobian making a man (marrying over her); the geographical discrepancy (Gen. 35:8 and Judg. 43). He therefore proposes to read **וְהָיָה שֵׁם הָעֵץ** into **וְהָיָה שֵׁם הָעֵץ** and to read 'and Dinah, Jacob's eldest daughter, died, and was buried at the foot of the hill of Beth-el, and was buried under the tree; its name is called Amon-dikuth' (See APPENDIX 70). The destruction of a tribe would certainly fulfil **וְהָיָה שֵׁם הָעֵץ** (Gen. 35:8). Both J (Gen. 35:19) and P (Gen. 46:7) represent Jacob as having more than one daughter.

DINAITES

the settlement in Shechem. The idea of the covenant, however, may be simply a popular attempt to explain the name RAYAH-SHECHEM (cf. like the story connected with the name Jabbadib (see GUTHRIE)). The wife's story, though fairly, may have to be classed with others of the same type. It is possible settlement theory is historically the most probable; but it is hardly necessary to question the occurrence of a Duth raid less successful than the Rumble. See, further, RAYAH-SHECHEM.

DINAITES (𐎠𐎡𐎢) mentioned by the Aramaeans, Syrians, Parthians [?], and others, in the Aramaic letter from Rehob to Antiochus (117 B.C.). It is improbable that the word is an ethnic name (so 𐎠𐎡𐎢 *dinait* [Yg]), and we should rather point 𐎠𐎡𐎢 judges (so 𐎠𐎡𐎢 *al-pairan*). It is the Aramaic translation of the Persian title *dānabāhar*. Cf. Hoffmann, *Z. f. 1887*, p. 55; Schröder, *II/172a*; Andrews in *Mon. f. Iran. (rom. 5)*.

DINHABAH דִּנְהָבָה ΔΕΝΑΒΑ [AUF], the city of the Idumean king Bura (771, Gen 36¹²). Almost beyond a doubt דִּנְהָבָה is a corruption of דִּנְהָבָה (cp 771, 77). See Bura and cp Che. 127. My *op. cit.* It is a mere accident that several names can be quoted somewhat resembling Dinhabah. Thus in the Amurru tablets Dimp or Dimp is mentioned as in the land of Martu. Dimpur also occurs in the list of the N. Syrian places conquered by Thodmes III. (Lomkins *KPZ* 500). There was a Dandah in Palmyrene Syria (Ibid. v. 1504; Assmann, *RPZ* Op. 32, p. 505f. *ibid.*, quoted by Knib, and a Dandah in Babylonia (Zosim. *ibid.* 309). There was also a Dandah in N. Arabia (OS 114 ch. A. Tondah *RPZ* Empur Thombi Frstn) is to be found N.E. of Hoshan; the *RPZ* map calls it Hoshan of Tondah but the Honi Sakhir knew not Hoshan (Gray H. I. *RPZ* 180, p. 104). With this place Dinhabah is identified by a Russ. *Bibel-Atlas*, and Tomkin, *RPZ* Op. p. 227. T. K. C.

DINNER (APPROX.) 2:40 p.m. See MEALS.

DIONYSIA (DIONYCIA [V]), 2 Macc. 67 RVmg;
IN BACCHUS.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟC [n]
ἀρεοπαγίτης [n] Th. Will. 1, one of Paul's Athenian
converts; Acts 17:34. See DAMARIS.
Lucian (*De Symposio*, 14, 15).

1. Lucian (*WZ* 34 42) tells us in the authority of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, who flourished about 171 A.D., that Dionysius' tradition is sometimes confounded with St. Denis, the first apostle of France, a confusion which was greatly fostered by Aldobaldinus of St. Denis (14 A.D.) in his *Apocrypha*, which made large use of spurious documents. The important writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius-Areopagita, first mentioned in the sixth century, do not fall within the scope of a Dictionary of the Bible.

DIONYSUS (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ [V.A]), 2 Macc. 67 RVing;
EV BACCHUS.

DIOSCORINTHIUS (ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥ [V.V].

DIOSCURI (Διοσκόρπειοι, Th. Wilh.), Acts 28:38.
RVmg; AV: CASTOR AND POLLUX.

DIOTREPHES (Διοτρεφής [1: VII]) is the subject of unfavourable comment in 3 Jn. 9-10. Beyond what is there stated, nothing is known concerning him.

DIPHATH DEPT. 100, 101 AV^{ns} and RV; AV and RV^{ns} R^{ns} HATH.

DISCIPLE. One who learns (cf. Gk. *MAΘΗΤΗΣ*, from *MANHANO*), as opposed to one who teaches.

1. **OT usage** In each case this represents **לִמְדוֹת** 'those who are taught or trained.' A synonymous word from the same root is **לִמְדָּה**, common in late Jewish writings.

1. OT usage Each case this represents עֲמִי, 'those who are taught or trained.' A synonymous word from the same root is עָמִי, common in late Jewish writings

DISEASES

עֲלֵמֵי הַדָּרָב (‘disciples of the wise’) in
 1:14, 24, where the contrast between a non-
 adherent (for which see also Mt. 10:2) is ex-
 pressly ‘a well-known teacher in the school
 of Hillel’ (B.M., former part of the *traktat*
parabot of *traktat* 1:14). The opposite of a
 scholar, Mt. 23:23 (M.E. *ḥasid* *ḥasid*
ḥasid) is, most worthily, the pious (as rendered in
 ways, and certainly corrupt). In the LXX *ḥasid*
 in A for *ḥasid* ‘friends’ (as if from *ḥasid* ‘to
 be dear’, and in Jer. 39:17 where *ḥasid* in
 H. H. Ruppel, *Concordance*, is merely *ḥasid*
 ‘usually see *ḥasid*’).

In the NF $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ form $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\mu\alpha$, though limited to the Gospels and Acts, is

2. **NT usage.** occurrence. Here it sometimes with the usage in *Atta* (cp. Plato) and designates merely the pupil or taught by another (Mt 10: 1; Lk 6: 1). It is applied to the followers of a particular teacher as, for example, of Moses as regarded in 9: 1, of the Baptist (Mt 9: 14; Mk 2: 18), of Jesus teaching (Lk 10: 2) and others. As referring to followers of Jesus we find that *μαθηται* is applied widely, to all his adherents and followers (e.g. esp. in Acts 6: 7; etc.), only once following (arguing 9: 1), including even, those who had baptized only 'into John's baptism' (Acts 19: 4), in a more restricted manner, to denote the out of which the Twelve were chosen, who, therefore also called *μαθηται* in relation to the meaning of *ἀποστόλοι* (Lk 6: 13) compared with 1 Pet 1: 12; 2: 25; 4: 14; 5: 1, see Acts 11: 2).

3. **Later Christian usage.** Finally, in ecclesiastical language, the term *apostolus* is applied (in the plur.) more particularly to the twelve apostles, who were sent out by Jesus to preach the Gospel in the Kingdom of Heaven (Lk. 10:1-17). The number varies between seventy (s. Rev. 1:1, 8; Act. 13) and seventy-two (Mt. 28:19; s. also fully *Evangelium secundum Mattheum*). Lists of the names are extant in various forms and are ascribed to Dorotheos, Epiphanius,¹ and Sophronius. They compare well with the Acts and Pauline Epistles; but vary to be found in each list. (See *Epist. de apostol. nom. et apostol. ord.* I, pp. 226, 227.)

DISCUS (Δίσκος [VAP]), the Greek game pl., the palæstra introduced by Jason among the Jews of Jerusalem (2 Macc. 4:14); see HITTITES also CAR. It is mentioned alone, either as the c perhaps only as an example, of the games.

perhaps only as an example, of the games played
On the discs (a circular plate of stone or metal [cp.
see *Class. Phil.* s.v. 'Discus', 'Pentathlon']. The indi-
which the writer displays towards this Hellenizing im-
is paralleled in later times by the abhorrence the Jews
the introduction of the Greek game of 'dice' (cp. *Shabb.*
see *Shabb.* 23a and cp. Schür. *Gl. T.* 233, n. 154).

DISEASES. OT terms for disease are, as to be expected, vague (it is still a widespread practice the last to refer euphemistically to any illness, severe nature rather than to give it a name), a nosological explanations¹ which will presently be are but plausible or probable conjectures. We spend time on general terms such as **מַחְלָה**, **מַחְלָה** (rendered 'sickness, disease'), or on terms implying theological theory of disease, such as **מַחְלָה**, **מַחְלָה** (words which are often rendered 'plague,' but probably 'stroke,' cp Is. 53:4), we pass to special terms.

¹ Torrey's correction is plausible – to read ¹רַחֵם רַחֲמֵי 'to branch' (cp 3 to [11]).

¹ Torrey's correction is plausible – to read רָמְזָה 'ro-

⁴ For these we have to acknowledge obligations to I. Creighton.

DISEASES

[illegible]

anthropia. Acts 19:1.
 1. Acts is of frequent
 2. it sometimes asperly
 3. Attu (sp. especially
 4. a pupil, one who is
 5. taken. It is thus
 6. a teacher or so; i.
 7. and to lions (In
 8. 20:19) of the Phrygians
 9. used of leas and
 10. As referring to the
 11. *anthropia* is applied ear,
 12. followers (Mt 10:40,
 13. nice followed by *ra-*
 14. use who had been
 15. (Acts 19:1, and
 16. denotes the machis
 17. en, who, themselves,
 18. the more time) or
 19. with Mt 10:40,
 20. 19:14.

the term 'disciple', clearly to the Seventy Jesus to preach the Lk. 10:1-47). The seventy (so Text, 1 seventy-two) (Vg. *Arrianum Bible* and existant in various thes, Epiphanius, they compuse the les; but variations; sum, *Die Apostel*, 191:26).

k game played at
 among the Hellenistic
 HELLASISM, § 4;
 her as the chief, or
 games played.

metal [cp 'di.b']);
The indignation
ellenizing innovation
me the Jews felt at
line' (ק'צ'ק, ק'צ'ק):
154.

are, as might
spread practice in
any illness of a
a name), and the
presently be given

terms implying a
special terms for

דָּבָר, (ד') דָּבָר. (a)
properly 'death'), is
דָּבָר דָּבָר, 'root and

Mar. 4 24.
2452 ft.
Obligations to Dr. C.

used for a fatal sickness, such as the plague, in Job 1.6. 18. 19. 21. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851.

The following terms, which are of a more specific character, occur chiefly in the two meanings of Lev. 22

KA "hot" heat, may refer to some special fever, such as typhoid or relapsing fever.

2. $\mathbb{R}^n$ 上的点集 E 称为开集, 如果 E 中的每一点都是 E 的内点. 记作 $E = \text{int } E$.

4. 3331. *Phyca* (αμφήκη). In 2327, the mch. probably some
negative disease, such as the *Leishmaniosis*.

the Byzantine herpes,

9. אִשָּׁה , *isshah* (muppankai) 'a, 'one suffering from war' (see Jew. trad.), Lev. 21: 7; AV 'having a wife'; RVsg 'having some (infer.)', from אִשָּׁה 'a wife', then 'a superior person'; see translation of Lev. III 14/15 F.

Аналогично (аналогично), для $t = 1, 2, \dots, t_0$

Under the list of these *febrile zoonoses* may be included natural or intermittent fevers, which are met with in the Jordan valley, but are not specially noted.

Asia and Palestine, owing to the more specifically 'tropical' and the moderate variation of temperature. It was at Apameum (a place half-probably to indicate that Amos' wilderness was 'taken with a great fever', i.e. 1.81—an expression which is thought to indicate medical knowledge). Certainly Galen and Hippocrates use the phrase, as Weistman has pointed out. There are parallel cases in Acts 12.25-28 (see 9.6). According to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, cp I, 409-11, 1890), pp. 20-23) the 'thorn (stake) in the flesh' (taken of m. 2 Cor. 12) means the severe headache (like a hot bar) which follows an attack of the animal fever of Asia Minor.

7. **רָעָה**, *Kathepheth*, Lev. 20:16. Ht. 2822f. 'Assumptio,' rhaps to be understood as the wasting of marasmus, which may attend various sicknesses. Pulmonary consumption is not, however, frequent in Syria (Pruner, 283).

use such as *eczema*; a sense in which 'scurvy' and 'scurvy' were once used.

The list of these terms, 'dysentery,' occurs in Acts 28 where the combination of

According to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 11) the disease of the Galilaeans in A.D. 5 was dysentery.

Since in 1883 it was dysentery, a view which, if the literal Hebrew reading of the text may be accepted, is somewhat plausible. The more usual biblical expression for dysentery is the falling out of the bowels, implying either painful straining as if the bowels would cut out, or some shedding of the mucous membrane, or degree of prolapse, such as occurs normally in the case, jungle, etc.

There is a singular combination of the idea of bursting out with that of falling out in Acts 1:2; but the second of this passage will not bear the stress of critical treatment; the conventional fate of traitors in apocryphal legends that is signed to Judas. The statement must, if this view is not, be classed with the less historic portions of Acts. Cf. 1:16A.

σκοληκηδωματος ('eaten of worms') gives us the detail as to the disease by which Herod Agrippa I. was carried off (Acts 12:28). It reminds us, however, of the disease of which, acc. to Josephus (*Ant.* 18:113),

Velstein (1752) remarks, 'Lucas medicus moribus accuratus
libere soler.' Cf Hobart, *The Medical Language of* 83.
P. Biddle, 1831.

p. Ar. *jara*, a contagious eruption consisting of pustules.

DISPERSION

And Harold the car had one feature of which I was a strong admirer, and of that which a Munich friend of mine had called the death of Trotsky's father. As we proceeded to look at it in the department store, it was indeed as if a fate had fallen on its wheels. So R. Bennett sometimes put on the subject of his statement to me, saying, "I am a descendant of Harold Trotsky's death," and the fellow, by the way, was a Jew.

[illegible]

DISH. See Bowl (a, b, c). CHARACTER (a, b, c)
CROWN (a, b, c) and MOUNTS, &c)

[illegible][illegible]

In spite of her knowledge of the physical facts, she was actually
obsessed that to render a twin pregnancy safe, she would have to
deliver, like a normal woman, in a hospital. Her obstetrician, Dr. H. C.
Vanderpool, told her that the chances of a safe home birth were
fair and good. But WKS knew, the plain, simple, yet full

DISPL. *ἡ ἀποποδοσία* so rendered by RV of Mt. 127. *ἀποποδοσία* is a verb, and partly to include the process itself, the gradual distribution of riches among foreign lands, and partly as a collective term for the persons so displaced or for their surroundings. In the present article it is proposed to treat only the case of the Jewish Dispersion §§ 117-125, its standing § 150, and its inner and outer life §§ 126-129.

Asiophila occurs in G of Dn, Ss, Lr and U17 for Hb, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855,

1. Permanent settlements of Israelites in regions east of Canaan had their origin in one or other of two main factors: the search for pasture and the search for security.

Obviously it was only in the first of these cases the prisoners could by any possibility have formed the nucleus of a permanent Israelite community living and, but we know of no other instance on which happened.

the forced migrations arising out of the conquests of

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the Assyrian and the Babylonian kings were of a quite different character. The first was brought about in 734 by Tiglath-pileser III. (2 K. 15:29); at a later date Sargon deported 27,280 inhabitants of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media (2 K. 17:6). These large colonies seem to have become completely absorbed; history furnishes no clear trace of their continued separate existence. Still, there is no improbability in the supposition that many of the banished Israelites subsequently became united with the later exiles from Judah. These later exiles were transported by Nebuchadnezzar II. to Babylon in 597, 586, and 582,—according to Jer. 52:3-35 to the number of 4600 souls. They did not readily accommodate themselves to the arrangements made by the king in their behalf, having been led by their prophets to expect a speedy return to Jerusalem (Jer. 29: Ezek. 13). This view, as we know, was not shared by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and hence it is that the first-named prophet has left us a clear utterance with regard to that (for Israel) perplexing event—the 'exile.' For him the Babylonian Exile is a prolonged punishment from God. It must be submitted to with resignation and patience, and relief will come only to those in whom the chastisement has fulfilled its purpose. Hence he admonishes the exiles to settle quietly down in Babylonia, to think of the welfare of their families, and to seek their own good in that of the foreigners among whom their lot is cast (Jer. 29:4-7). On the other hand, in his view the intention of those men of Judah who were proposing of their own proper motion to forsake the land of Yahwé and remove to Egypt was against the will of God; it was the road to ruin (Jer. 42:1). This view of the prophet did not, however, turn them from their purpose (see JEREMIAH). Nor did the distinction made by the prophet between involuntary and voluntary exile, however obvious in itself, affect the theorists of a later age, whom we find expecting the return of the Israelites indiscriminately from all the lands of the dispersion (Is. 11:12-13:5).

Let us now seek to trace the subsequent history of the diaspora in the various lands of its abode. The Judahites deported to Babylonia constituted, alike in numbers and in worth, the very kernel of their people (2 K. 24:12-16 25:11 Jer. 52:15). They carried with them, accordingly, as we learn from the Book of Ezekiel, into their new home all the political and religious tendencies of the later period. In particular, there was in Babylonia no want of persons who cherished and developed the ideas of the prophets of the eighth and the seventh centuries. For proof we have only to look at the great zeal which was shown in preserving and adapting the older historical and legal literature, or to call to mind the many prophetic utterances belonging to this period. Those who cherished these ideals did not constitute any 'close' community; they mingled freely with those who were opposed to them, and the prophetic conception always had much to contend with. Still, there were certain centres for Israelitic piety at which fidelity to the Law and hope in the return of the exiles were sedulously and specially cherished. TEL-ABIB (Ezek. 3:15), the river CHEBAR (Ezek. 1:3), AHAVA (Ezra 8:15), and CASIPHIA (Ezra 8:17) are the only names of such places that have come down to us; but doubtless there were others. When we find Ezra fetching Levites from Casiphia we have evidence enough to mark the place as a centre of deuteronomistic legalism. The Babylonian Diaspora was by no means entirely deprived of these devoted religious workers in the sixth and fifth centuries. The return under Cyrus must not be construed exactly as we find it represented in Ezra 1-3 (see ISRAEL,

2. Tiglath-pileser and Nebuchadnezzar.

3. Feelings of Israelites.

4. Diaspora in Babylonia.

5. Few returned to Judah.

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§ 50 ff.; EZRA, ii; CYRUS). The command to rebuild the temple of Yahwé in Jerusalem mission of Sheshbazzar in 538 led to the return of a few families to the ancestral home; the restoration of the temple had been accomplished (519-515) led only to the sending of deputations of gifts to Jerusalem (Zech. 6:9 ff.); it was not until some 5000 or 6000 persons that Ezra came to Judaea about 430 B.C. All this abundant that the inclination to return was not very felt by the exiles.

For this there were various causes. Many exiles were indifferent in religious matters; in the interval adapted themselves too closely to new conditions in which they found themselves held the return to be premature, deeming that the times of fulfilment had not yet come. In a with prophecy, the last-mentioned were expected special divine interposition to put an end to the and to give the signal for the beginning of the nation of Israel (Jer. 32:46 ff. Ezek. 31:11 ff. 9 ff. Mic. 5:2). Just as, in Jerusalem, men hesitated as to whether they ought to return to the temple and not rather wait for Yahwé's manifestation of himself in glory (Hag. 1:2 ff.), so in Babylonia they hesitated as to whether they ought to return with and not rather await some special divine disposition. It is possible that a few additional may have migrated to Jerusalem after the community there had been reconstituted under Zerubbabel and Ezra (430 B.C.); but in any case it is clear that a very considerable body of Jews who still adhered to the law remained behind in Babylonia, and the same tendencies which had led to the great exodus in Jerusalem brought about through the help of Persian kings continued to be influential in Babylonia also. The Babylonian Diaspora received an impulse under the reign of Artaxerxes III. Ochus (358-338 B.C.) he transported Jews to Hyrcania and Babylonia (Syncell. ed. Dindorf, 1:486).

The Persian overlordship may be assumed to have helped to open the way for the Jews of Babylonia towards the E. and the N. (Tobias 1:17 Nehemiah [Neh. 1:3] is a clear evidence of the kind of thing that must have happened; compare also Tob. 1:17). Wherever a Jew had established himself in an advantageous position there were never wanting persons to press forward and follow this up for them. From Babylonia (and Hyrcania) the Jews advanced to Elam (Is. 48:14), Persia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia and the Black Sea. The relations which Herodotus had established with the princes of the Upper Euphrates were utilised, we may be sure, by the Jewish Diaspora. Their centre of radiation for the whole of these countries, however, continued always to be in Babylonia where the Euphrates and the Tigris begin to flow. Here was situated Nehardea (ܢܗܪܕܝܐ, Νααρδῶνα) the temple tax levied in these parts was collected (see below, § 16). In the same neighbourhood two Jews named Asinens and Anilans, in the time of Caligula, founded a sort of robber state, held its own for sixteen years (Jos. Ant. xv. 104). Another important focus of Judaism was the Nisibis (2:22), in the upper basin of the Tigris. The Jewish community in Babylonia could boast of the conversion of King Izates of Adiabene (2:77-78), the upper Tigris, along with his mother and the rest of his kindred, in the reign of Claudius (Jos. Ant. xx. 104). The development of the Diaspora in Egypt followed a quite different course from that which has just been sketched. Whilst the Judaism of Babylonia maintained its Oriental character with considerable strictness, in Egypt (to speak more precisely) in Alexandria, it entered into that remarkable alliance with Hellenism which

6. Babylonia a radiating centre.

7. Diaspora in Egypt.

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destined to have such important effects on the history of religion. Whether Psametik I. (663-609 B.C.) actually had Jewish mercenaries in his service (Letter of Aristaeas) may be left an open question. We know, however, that in 609 Necho II. condemned King Jehoiachaz to exile in Egypt, and that in 586 a body of Jews, including Jeremiah the prophet, under the leadership of Johanan b. Kareah, migrated to TAPUANITES (*Tell Deffenne*; cp Jer. 42 f.). According to Jer. 44b (an insertion dating from about the fifth century) Jews settled also in Migdol, Noph (Memphis), and Paturos (Upper Egypt). Their settlement in Alexandria is assigned by the Pseudo-Hecatæus, by Aristæus, and by Josephus to the period of Alexander the Great or Ptolemy I. It has been shown by H. Willrich,¹ however, that the statements of these writers must be taken with great caution. In his own view there was no considerable Jewish element in Alexandria until the second century B.C. Against this theory two objections can be urged. First, the statement of Apion that the Jews settled to the E. of the harbour of Alexandria (Jos. c. *Ap.* 24) can be understood only with reference to the time of the rise of the city. Secondly, the statement of Josephus (*ib.*; cp *RJ* ii. 187) that the Jews in Alexandria received the honorific name of Macedonian can hardly be doubted. Josephus indeed exaggerates; the Jews in Alexandria were in the first instance under the protection of the 'phyle' of the Macedonians, and the Jewish quarter formed a part of this 'phyle'; in the limited sense only came they to be called Macedonians. As the later Ptolemies, especially from the time of Ptolemy VI. Philometor onwards, favoured the Egyptian more than the Grecian element in Alexandria, it is not to be supposed that the Jews reached this privileged position so late as the second century.² This being so, they can have obtained it only under the first Ptolemies, and in that case it is very far indeed from improbable that Jews were included among the earliest inhabitants of Alexandria and thus acquired special privileges there. They had a separate quarter of their own, known as the Δ (Delta) quarter (Jos. *RJ* ii. 183). The repeated struggles between Ptolemies and Seleucids, and the preference of the Jews for the former dynasty, may be presumed to have led in succeeding generations to further Jewish migrations into Egypt, especially to Alexandria, partly even as prisoners of war (cp Jer. in Dan. 114).

We are told of Ptolemy II. Philadelphus (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 21) that, as a fitting prelude to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, he released some 120,000 Jewish prisoners of war. The story is doubtless a fiction; but it throws light on some of the circumstances which had to do with the increase of the Jewish population in Egypt. Ptolemy VI. Philometor (181-145) also is mentioned in history as a friend to the Jews; Ptolemy VII. (see Euergetes), as a relentless enemy. For the former see Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 31 f.; for the latter Jos. c. *Ap.* 2 c. We may take it that Euergetes for some years regarded the Jews as his political opponents, siding as they did with his rival Ptolemy Philometor; but we have evidence of papyri and inscriptions that he also showed them various marks of favour (Willrich, *op. cit.* 142 ff.).

In Philo's time (40 A.D.) the Jews in Alexandria were so many as to occupy two entire quarters, besides furnishing a sprinkling over the rest of the city (*in Flaccum*, 8, ed. Mangey, 2525).

An exceptional position was taken by the Onias colony in the nome of Heliopolis. The high priest ONIAS (7.7.), son of Simon the Just, had taken refuge from his adversaries, the children of Tobias, and from Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, in 173 or 170, by flight into Egypt. He was accompanied by a body of his adherents—among them DOSITHES (4), who is named in the subscription to the Greek version of the Book of Esther. From Ptolemy VI. Philometor he and his people received

8. Leonopolis.

permission to settle on the eastern border of the Nile delta in the nome of Heliopolis. Here Onias built a fortress, and within this a sanctuary (on the pattern of the temple of Jerusalem), in which he established a legal worship of Yahwe. Philometor endowed the temple with land (cp Jos. *RJ* i. 11; vi. 10; ff.; *Ant.* vi. 51; 97; xii. 31 ff.; also the recent discussions of the date of this exodus and the persons engaged in it in Willrich, *op. cit.* 14 ff. 125 ff.; Wellh. *GGI*, 1895, p. 947 ff.; also ISRAEL, § 7).

¹ *Juden u. Griechen vor d. makkabäischen Erhebung*, 143, 126 ff. 1951.
² Cp Lombroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani* [1951; Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 359 ff. 363 ff. 1951.

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The temple of Onias, however, did not receive universal recognition even in Egypt (not to speak of Palestine). It had, indeed, the legitimate high priest, of the family of Aaron; but it did not occupy the legitimate site. Thus the Diaspora in Egypt was brought to a state of schism, which is alluded to in a veiled manner in *Ant.* xiii. 34 and elsewhere, as Willrich (*op. cit.* 120 ff.) has conjectured, no doubt correctly. At the same time, the antagonism between Leontopolis (as the city of the Onias-temple was called) and Jerusalem does not seem to have been very intense; otherwise the allusion to the temple of Onias in Is. 19:13 (but cp HIRSH, *CIY OT*) would hardly have been allowed to pass. Moreover, national feeling appears on repeated occasions to have overridden religious or ecclesiastical differences (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 132; xiv. 81; *RJ* i. 94). Particularly noteworthy is the readiness for war and the ability for self-defence to which Josephus frequently calls attention in the followers of Onias (c. *Ap.* 25; *Ant.* xiii. 104; 131 f.; *RJ* i. 94; *Ant.* xiv. 81). The temple at Leontopolis was destroyed in 73 A.D. by Lupus and Paulinus by order of Vespasian (Jos. *RJ* vii. 102 ff.).

Jews penetrated also into Upper Egypt and Cush (Is. 11:11), as we learn from lately published papyri.

They were strongly represented in Cyrenaica also (c. *Ap.* 24; Jer. on Dan. 11:14). Strabo (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 72), writing of 85 B.C., divides the inhabitants of the city of Cyrene into four classes—citizens, peasants, settlers (metæci), and Jews. In the city of Berenice the inscriptions show a special *πολιτεία* of the Jews dating from 13 B.C. (cp *CI G* iii. no. 5361).

The Diaspora in Egypt did not owe its origin entirely—as, in the first instance, did that of Babylonia—to

9. Upper Egypt, etc.

external compulsion. It owed its growth and its reputable standing mainly to the great changes produced throughout the East generally by the conquests of Alexander. The greatly enlarged channels of commerce, especially by sea-routes, attracted many from the interior to the coasts. The newly-founded Grecian cities, rendered attractive by all the achievements of Greek art and civilisation, became favourite resorts. Henceforth trade relations, the desire to see the world, soon also political considerations and (we may well suppose) a certain conscious or unconscious craving for culture, became operative in promoting the dispersion of the Jews over the civilised world.

Such things seem to have been specially influential in bringing about the settlement of Jews in Syria. It is quite possible, indeed, that the old

10. Attractions of civilisation.

Israelite colony in Damascus (see above, § 1) may have maintained an uninterrupted existence and gradually developed into the Jewish community to the largeness of which Josephus bears witness (*RJ* ii. 202; vii. 87). In some of the Phœnician cities also, as, for example, in Tyre (cp Ezek 27) and Sidon, Israelites may have settled from a very early period; as at the main points on the great trade route between Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, such as Hamath (Is. 11:11). The Syria of the Seleucids, however, seems first to have become thoroughly accessible to Jews only after the reign of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes. It was his successors, for example, who first conceded to them the right of free settlement in Antioch (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 33). The later Seleucids had abundant occasion for showing

11. Diaspora in Syria.

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consideration to the resident Jews: in the frequent struggles for the crown, the support of the Maccabees became important (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 53). The opposite statement of Josephus that it was Seleucus I. (306-280 B.C.) who granted to the Jews the rights of citizenship in Antioch (c. *Ap.* 24), or even equal rights with Greeks in all the cities founded by him in Asia and Lower Syria (*Ant.* xii. 31), is probably to be understood only as meaning that the Jews ultimately received the rights of citizenship in all the places named. It is easy to understand how the astonishing increase in numbers, power, and influence, which the Jewish commonwealth gained under the rule of the Maccabees, should first have made itself felt in the neighbouring kingdom of the Seleucidae. The Maccabees had subjugated and converted the Idumaeans in the south as well as the Iturians in the north; Galilee and Peraea also became Judaised during their supremacy. What was the little community founded by Ezra and Nehemiah, either in extent or in numbers, in comparison with this? Jerusalem had become so strong that—reversing the prophetic prediction—it could lend to the Dispersion from the abundance of its own forces. From thence forward it was, we may plausibly conjecture, that the Diaspora in Syria became so strong as to exhibit the largest admixture of the Jewish element known anywhere (Jos. *BJ* vii. 33). Precise details regarding the individual localities are, however, lacking.

The immigration of Jews to Asia Minor and its islands was partly overland by way of Syria and Mesopotamia, and partly by sea from Egypt and Phoenicia, but for the most part not before the Grecian period. It is possible, however, that Jews may have been sold

12. In Asia Minor and the West.

as slaves into these regions at an earlier date (cp. Ezek. 27.13 Joel 3[4]7). It is interesting that Clearchus of Soli (c. 320 B.C.) speaks of a meeting between his master Aristotle and an already Hellenised Jew (Jos. c. *Ap.* i. 22). In the passage in question the Jews are represented as descendants of the Indian philosophers; which shows that at that time and place the Jew was looked upon with wonder as a new phenomenon—the educated Jew, at least. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 34) will have it that a colony of 2000 Jewish families was transported by Antiochus III. the Great (224-187) from Mesopotamia and Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia. The form and the substance of the statement alike arouse suspicion (Willrich, 39 ff.). Here again we are in ignorance as to the details of the migration. In any case, it was to the advantage of the Jewish Diaspora when Greece and Asia Minor in 146 and 130 B.C. became Roman provinces and the kings of Eastern Asia Minor accepted the supremacy of Rome. From the days of Simon, the Maccabees had been in friendly alliance with Rome, and the Jews very soon began to realise that under the Roman rule they enjoyed greater freedom in the exercise of their religious customs than they had found in the Grecian kingdoms (cp. Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 24, and below). Accordingly, as early as the first century B.C., we find them making use of their good relations with the Romans to secure any doubtful or disputed rights in the cities of Asia Minor and Syria by decisions of the supreme authority (cp. decrees and the names therein mentioned as given in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xiv. 123 ff., xvi. 23 ff., 62 ff.; for Cyprus, *Ant.* xiii. 104, Acts 134 ff.; for Crete, *BJ* ii. 71; also Acts 13-21 *passim*).

Jews arrived in Greece and Italy in the second century B.C. if not earlier. Between 170 and 156 we find an

emancipated Jewish slave named in a Delphi inscription (Willrich, 123 f.), and Valerius Maximus (I. 32) mentions that in 139 B.C. certain proselytising Jews were expelled from Rome. The fabulous assertion of kinship between the Jews and the Spartans (1 Macc. 12.21) presupposes for the time of its origin (see SPARTAN) a mutual

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acquaintance. Jewish inscriptions, moreover, in Greece, and the apostle Paul found firmly established communities there (Acts 17 f.). In 63 B.C. captives were brought to Rome by Pompey and slaves. Soon emancipated, they acquired the citizenship and founded the Jewish colony on the right bank of the Tiber (Philo, ed. Mangey). Caesar conferred upon the Jews many favours; the decree of the senate in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 85 immediately preceding narrative. Herod, who always interested himself in the welfare of the Diaspora (*Ant.* xvi. 22-5, 61-8), cultivated with Rome assiduously, and greatly promoted the settlements there. Thus in the course of the first century the Jews had already begun to establish themselves on the left bank of the Tiber, the Porta Capena (Juv. *Sat.* 3.12-16), and at what later date on the Campus Martius and even Subura. In connection with events in the year 70, Josephus (*BJ* ii. 61) speaks of a Jewish embassy to Rome as having been supported by more than 100,000 Jews there. Under the same year he mentions (*BJ* ii. 71) the existence of Jews in Dacia (Puteoli). The friendship of the two Agrippas with the imperial house, the relations of Josephus with the emperor Vespasian, and the loyalty of the Jews to the emperor Titus for Berenice, all testify to the fact which Judaism had made in the highest Roman circles, and no one will imagine the Jews of that day to have been so self-forgotten as not to utilise such favourable circumstances, as far as they possibly could, for their own advantage.

To complete the present survey, Arabia also must be mentioned as one of the fields of the Jewish Diaspora. From Acts 21 and Gal. 1.17 the inference that in the first century there were Jewish communities there is certain, but as to their origin we are left entirely to conjecture.

Philo (*in Flacc.* 6, ed. Mangey, 2523) estimates the number of Jews living in Egypt alone in the first century at a million. If to this we add the number of Jews in Caligula's time, we shall not be far wrong in putting the figure at three or four millions. The violent breaking-up of the Jewish population in Palestine in consequence of the war of 66-70 A.D. (Jos. *BJ* vi. 82, 93) raised this number still further, thus the expression of Dio Cassius (69.3) in speaking of the Jewish insurrection under Hadrian—that all the Jews were stirred up—is intelligible.

11. The legal standing of the communities of the Diaspora at first varied in the various lands. The chief factor in the Assyrio-Babylonian empire was the crown possessions, under royal protection (Ezra 4.14). The lands they till were granted from the king, on which they were free to settle in accordance with their own laws and customs (cp. *Gen.* 1.24 ff.). If the colonies flourished they gradually established their independence; if otherwise, they ultimately lapsed into a state of vassalage (cp. *Gen.* 47.13 ff.). In this respect it is not supposed that any considerable change came under Persian or Greek supremacy as long as the colonies continued to be members of the colony. In Egypt the same course was followed by the rulers or pharaohs (*Gen.* 47.13 ff. shows: to shepherds a pastoral region was assigned, and the pharaoh was their master (cp. *Gen.* 47.11). It must be borne in mind, however, that in the case of Israelites came into Egypt not only as prisoners but also as refugees.

15. Legal standing. Brighter prospects opened up before Israelites in foreign parts as Alexander and his successors founded new cities in the east. In Alexandria they received important privileges; they came into a fellowship of protection with the Macedonians—the 'phyle'—and were probably considered the foremost of all and therefore named after Dionysus (see above, § 7).

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14. Approximate numbers. To complete the present survey, Arabia also must be mentioned as one of the fields of the Jewish Diaspora. From Acts 21 and Gal. 1.17 the inference that in the first century there were Jewish communities there is certain, but as to their origin we are left entirely to conjecture. Philo (*in Flacc.* 6, ed. Mangey, 2523) estimates the number of Jews living in Egypt alone in the first century at a million. If to this we add the number of Jews in Caligula's time, we shall not be far wrong in putting the figure at three or four millions. The violent breaking-up of the Jewish population in Palestine in consequence of the war of 66-70 A.D. (Jos. *BJ* vi. 82, 93) raised this number still further, thus the expression of Dio Cassius (69.3) in speaking of the Jewish insurrection under Hadrian—that all the Jews were stirred up—is intelligible.

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who asserts that they had equal rights (*ισοπολιτεία*, *ισοπολιτεία*) with the Macedonians and even the right to bear this honorable name (c. *Ap.* 24; *BJ* ii. 187). As Alexandria never attained the characteristic constitution of a Greek city with a *βουλή*, but continued to be governed directly by royal officials, it is probable that the special administration and special jurisdiction in civil matters which the Jews enjoyed within the bounds of their own quarter of the city were of ancient standing. At a later period, as the Ptolemies came to take more account of the Egyptian population, it is possible that many of the Jewish privileges may have been curtailed (cp Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 70, 359 ff., 381 ff.; Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*, 1895, 140 ff.). In Strabo's time, however, they still had an administration of their own under the special jurisdiction of an ethnarch (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7.2). In any case, they again received full rights of citizenship in Alexandria from Caesar (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10.1; c. *Ap.* 24). In Cyrenaica also they enjoyed special privileges (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7.2). The Onias colony doubtless enjoyed the special protection of the sovereign (see above, § 8).

In the Greek cities properly so called the Jews were not so favourably situated. In these a group of foreigners could keep up the observance of its ancestral customs, especially its religious customs, only as a private society or club (*θλαστός*, *ἐπάρος*; cp E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, 1896). The Jews in this respect followed the lead of the Phoenicians in Athens and Beios. We do not possess definite evidence of the fact, though it is interesting to note that in the Roman decree preserved in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10.8 the Jewish communities without prejudice to their privileges are placed upon a level with *θασοί*. In particular cities, such as Ephesus and Sardis, they no doubt sooner or later acquired the rights of citizenship (Jos. c. *Ap.* 24; *Ant.* xiv. 10.24); but whether they already had it under the Seleucides, as Josephus asserts, or whether they first received it from the Romans, is not quite clear (see above, § 11). It frequently happened that their citizenship became in turn a source of embarrassment. In the Greek cities, by ancient custom, community of place was held to imply community of worship; in many places the fact of citizenship found its expression in some special cult, such as that of Dionysus. Hence a demand that the Jews should worship the local god—a demand which they were compelled by their creed to resist (Jos. c. *Ap.* 26). Even in Caesarea Palestina their *ισοπολιτεία* did not secure them full protection (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 879 *BJ* ii. 137 14.4-5 18.1).

It was not till the time of Julius Caesar and Augustus that the Jews of the Diaspora received a general recognition of their legal standing throughout the Roman Empire. Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 85 10 12.3-6 xvi. 62-7) quotes a series of enactments from 47 B.C. to 10 B.C. by which the Jews had secured to them the enjoyment of religious freedom, exemption from military service, special rights in the administration of property, and special jurisdiction (in civil matters). Nicolaus Damascenus, in his apology for the Jews before M. Vipsanius Agrippa in Lesbos, in 14 B.C., says: 'The happiness which all mankind do now enjoy by your means we estimate by this very thing, that on all hands we are allowed each one of us to live according to his conviction and to practise his religion' (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2.4). In Roman law the Jewish communities came under the category of *collegia licita* (Tertullian, *religio licita*). After 70 A.D. this held only for the Jewish religion, not for the Jewish nation. From cases covered by these general regulations we must distinguish those in which individual Jews had obtained for themselves the Roman citizenship (Acts 22.25-29; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10.16 17 f.). See GOVERNMENT, § 30 f.

III. The great difficulty of Jewish social life in the Diaspora lay in the fact that community of place and community of worship no longer coincided. The case

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had been quite otherwise in Palestine, and the Jewish laws in their original framing had contemplated Palestinian conditions alone. Communities of some sort, however, had to be formed abroad if Judaism was to maintain itself there at all. Thus the attempt to secure local separateness was abandoned. Attention was concentrated on the effort to maintain the bond of union by means of a separate, if restricted, jurisdiction, and administration of property; the sacrificial worship was given up; and the means for a new spiritual worship were sought in regularly recurring meetings for prayer, reading of the scriptures, and preaching (see *SYNAGOGUE*).

For the central sacrificial worship there remained the high honour of being the expression of the connection still subsisting between Jerusalem and the outside communities; every Jew of twenty years old or more had yearly to pay a half-shekel or didrachma to the temple for the maintenance of the sacrificial system still carried on there. This tax was collected yearly in the various districts, and transmitted to Jerusalem by the hands of persons of repute (Philo, *de Mon.* 23) under carefully framed regulations (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 91). Further, the pilgrimages to the three principal feasts, particularly that of Tabernacles, annually brought vast crowds of Jews of the Diaspora to the religious capital. Josephus (*BJ* vi. 9.3) gives the number of persons—natives and strangers together—present at the Passover, according to a census taken in the time of Cestius Gallus (63-66 A.D.), as having been 2,700,000. After the sacrificial system had been brought to an end in 70 A.D., it was by the bonds of religious fellowship which had been developed in the Diaspora that the continued existence of Judaism was rendered possible.

The individual community was called *ἐκκλησία* (lit. 'congregation'; *συναγωγή*). In towns with a large Jewish population (Alexandria, Antioch, Rome)

17. **Synagogues.** there were many synagogues. The heads of the communities are usually spoken of as *ἄρχοντες*.

In Alexandria an *ἐθνάρχης* was at the head of the entire Jewish community (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7.2); it may be added that he had nothing to do with the office of the *ἡγούμενος* or Archibarch (cp *ALEXANDRIA*, § 2). Under Augustus the direction of affairs was handed over to a *γερουσία* with *ἄρχοντες* at its head. In Rome each of the many synagogues had its own *γερουσία* with *ἄρχοντες* and a *γερουσιάρχης* over all. The building in which the meetings were held—on sabbaths and feast days especially—was called *ἡ ἐκκλησία*, in Gr. *συναγωγή* or *προσέτιχῃ*, less frequently *συναγωγίον*, *προσέτιχτιριον*, *σαββαταίον*. See, further, *SYNAGOGUE*.

The contact brought about by the Diaspora communities between Judaism and the Greco-Roman culture

18. **Contact with Hellenic world.** was of great consequence to the history of civilisation. Here again it is the Western Diaspora that principally claims our attention; the Eastern, in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, had little share in this movement, and indeed hardly comes under observation at all.

It was not until comparatively late in the day, it would seem, that the Greeks began to take any but the most superficial interest in Judaism and the Jews. Willrich (43-63) has collected all that Greek writers had to say about them down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and remarks (170): 'In the period before Antiochus Epiphanes the Greek regarded the Jew with feelings of mingled curiosity and wonder, astonishment and instinctive antipathy.' In these circumstances it is not surprising that, down to the date in question, the intellectual importance of the Diaspora was slight. Traders, freedmen, and prisoners of war constituted the majority of the Diaspora of these days; that such people should excite the interest and attention of educated Greeks was not to be expected. An educated Jew

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acquainted with Greek is spoken of as a rarity by Clearchus of Soli (c. *Ap.* 122).

The question of the rapidity or tardiness of the change in this respect that ultimately came depends on whether we date the production of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch from the reign of Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.), or, as has recently been done by Willrich (*ut sup.* 154 ff.), from that of Philometor (181-145 B.C.). Whatever its date, this attempt to make the Law speak in Greek conclusively shows that when it was made the Jews of Alexandria had already assimilated so much of what was Greek that they could no longer get on with Hebrew alone, either in their synagogues or in their courts. Their sojourn abroad made it imperative on Jews everywhere to complete their *rapprochement* with Hellenism. In the process many may well have become lost to Judaism altogether. The Greek version of the Pentateuch, however, evinces the fixed determination of the majority not to allow themselves to be robbed of the old faith by the new culture. As the influence of the Jews, on trade and public life generally, advanced—in Egypt and Syria in the first instance—it became increasingly necessary for the Greeks to decide definitely what their own attitude towards them was to be. This led to struggle, but also to friendly dealings.

Antipathy to Judaism manifested itself both in coarse and in refined ways. The uneducated masses scoffed at the Jews for their outlandish customs, plundered them at all hands, and occasionally gave expression to their hatred in massacres. Civic authorities tried to infringe Jewish privileges or to hinder the transmission of the temple money to Jerusalem (see the decree in *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 10). Roman emperors even more than once sanctioned measures that pressed hardly on the Jews. Tiberius in 19 A.D. expelled them from Rome, and forced 4000 of them upon military service to Sardinia (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 35; similarly *Tac. Ann.* 285 *Suet. Tib.* 36). They seem soon afterwards to have been restored to the enjoyment of their rights. Caligula gave free course to a bloody persecution of the Jews in Alexandria in 38 A.D. Petitions and embassies (Philo, Apion) to the emperor proved of no avail. It was not until Claudius had come to the throne that the old privileges were again restored to the victims of persecution (Philo, *in Flacc.* and *Leg. ad Caium*; *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 81 xix. 52). Later, Claudius intervened in Rome in a hostile sense (Acts 18 2 *Suet. Claud.* 25 Dio Cassius lx. 6). The Jews defended themselves as best they could, not so much by force as by money or writings, and by cultivating friendly relations with those in high places.

The controversy carried on with the pen is worthy of remark. Gentile writers made it a reproach that the Jews as a people had done nothing for civilisation and had produced no men

21. Literary controversy. of distinction (so Posidonius, Polybius, Strabo, Apion). These and similar charges the Jews answered in innumerable apologies—some of them (such as those of Nicolaus Damascenus and Philo) with a dignity and earnestness worthy of the cause, though others (such as that of Josephus in many cases) showed a disposition to confound the convenient with the true, and others did not hesitate to resort to misrepresentation and positive falsehood (Pseudo-Hecataeus, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristobolus, Aristaeus, etc.). The most incredible fables were gravely set forth.

Abraham was the founder of astronomy; Joseph the founder of geometry and the inventor of agriculture; Moses the author of the division of Egypt into nomes, and even of the Egyptian animal worship. Jews and Spartans exchanged salutations as descendants of Abraham (1 *Macc.* 12 20 ff.; cp. *Ant.* xiv. 10 22).

Such things could be written only by Jews who had become familiar with the activities and intellectual life of Hellenistic circles, by men for whom the Greco-Roman culture had become an indispensable element of

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everyday life. They were only unconsciously the respect which they themselves cherished for culture when they tried to trace the origin of their own forefathers. Such literary phenomena not be produced in Jerusalem, the home of Judaism, they prove that Judaism abroad, although still the garment of the Law, carried a very different under that old-fashioned vestment. It had no large range of activities which it shared with temporary humanity at large.

This struggle—its evidence of the process which the Judaism of the Diaspora had attained

22. Friendly contact. not exhaust the history. There are many points of friendly contact between Judaism and the outer world.

more educated circles of the Gentile world the Jews of the Diaspora had, in fact, a great attraction. Men felt themselves face to face with a power which developed new forces—unflinching self-sacrificing in the maintenance of religious customs which to the outsider meaningless—sabbath observance, circumcision, laws of purity. Through Judaism became acquainted with a conception of God strange in its severity, enlightened by its simplicity and attracted religious natures by its purity and sincerity. The popular polytheism of Greece and had been shattered by philosophy; in the Greco-religions, which at that time were advancing in the westward, the idea of a supreme God found supporters; Judaism in its monotheism presented an explicit conception for which so many were long inseparably connected with it was the thought of divine creation of the world, of the original one of the world and the human race, as well as that providential ordering of the world—thoughts promised to provide fixed formulae for the cosmological tendencies of the time, and were welcome on account. No one has set forth the contents of Judaism from this point of view more nobly than Philo, contemporary of Jesus in Alexandria. The content with which he handles these conceptions makes probable not only that he had literary predecessors in this style but also that an appeal to practical experience gave a powerful support to his teaching (cp. *Strabo* *Jos. Ant.* xiv. 7 2; also *Jos. c. Ap.* 122 236 39 41 52 κοσμική θρησκεία; also PROSELYTE, § 3). The Diaspora of the Mediterranean, and especially in Alexandria, thus not only led the way to the breaking narrow bonds of the Jewish Law, but also was the to make the heathen world acquainted with a spiritual conception of God and a spiritual worship presenting a positive religion, and thus paved the way for the coming of Christianity.

Schürer, *GGT* 2 493-548; O. Holtzmann, *Ende des Staatswesens u. Entsch. d. Christenthums* (1883) B. Stadt 2 270 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Nliche Zeit* (1895); H. Willrich, *Juden u. Griechen v. makkabäischer Erhebung*, 1895 (see also in *GGT* 1895, p. 447 ff. and Schürer in *FLZ*, 1896, no. 2) Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* 5 450 ff. 1781; Th. Reinach, *Les Juifs grecs et romains relatifs au Judaïsme, traduits, et annotés*, 1895; Cless, *Die Colonien Judaeorum, i. c.* (32); Schürer, *Die Alabarchen in Ägypten*, 1 147 ff.; P. 13 ff. (cp. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* 2, 1 447 ff.); Philo-Wissowa, *Real. Encycl. d. Alterthumswiss.* (1893), 'Arabarch'; Lambros, *L'Egitte Grec e dei Romani* (1893); Ricerche Alessandrine in *Accademia d. Scienza di Torino*, ser. II, t. 1734, sess. e filol. 237-245; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, 1895; *The Heliand Petrie Papyri*, ed. by J. P. Mahaffy and H. 1891, 1893; Ullr. Wilcken, 'Alexandrinische Gesellen vor Kaiser Claudius' in *Hermes*, 30 431 ff. (1895) Reinach, 'L'Empereur Claude et les anti-sémites Alexandrins d'après un nouveau Papyrus' in *REJ* 31 161 ff. (1895); Grenfell, *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, 1895; *Reverend Laws of Ptolemaic Philadelphus*, ed. by Grenfell, introd. J. P. Mahaffy, Schürer, *Die Verfassung der Juden in Rom in Kaiserzeit* in *Schriften dargestellt*, 1879; A. Verger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom von der ältesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart* (1895); Erich Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vernehmungs* (1895); Alf. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden den Fremden*, 1896; E. Schürer, 'Die Juden im bos-

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nischen Reich u. die Genossenschaften der *σεβόμενοι θεῶν*
ὁψίστατον ebendasselbst in *SB.H* 1397, p. 200 ff. II. G.

DISTAFF. See FLAX.

DISTRICT 1. (דִּשְׁטְרִיק; *περίχωρος*; *vici* [once
pagus 315]; Neh. 3:9 12:14-18† RV), the name given
to certain administrative divisions of Judea in
Nehemiah's time, each of which was under a 'ruler'
or 'chief' (רִשָׁה). These 'districts' comprise Jerusalem
and Keilah (each with two rulers), Beth-hacerem,
Beth-zur, and Mizpah (EKA om. [L. *pépos*; for Vg.
see above]). It is not impossible that the list was
originally much fuller. From the character of the
names of the 'rulers' Meyer (*Entst.* 106 ff.) has con-
cluded that they were Calebites (see CALLEB, § 4).
The organization of the Calebites in the genealogies
1 Ch. 2:4 suggests further that the *pelek* was a tribal
subdivision,² the head of which would correspond to
the *ἐθνάρχης* (in Gr. inser. from the Hasm.) of the
later Nabataean kingdom (cp 2 Cor. 11:32, and see
EPISTARCH).

2. 'District' in Acts 16:12 RV also translates *μετῆ*,
which here represents, apparently, the Latin *regio*.
See MACDONIA, PHILIPPI. S. A. C.

DITCHES (דִּשְׁתִּים), 2 K. 3:16, etc. See CONDUITS, §
1 (3, 5), and PIT.

DIVINATION. Men instinctively wish to know the
future, and among all peoples there have been those
who have, from certain omens, claimed
to be able to predict it. Such know-
ledge could only come from supernatural beings.
When beasts or birds, by their movements, or other-
wise, gave men intelligible signs, it was because they
were 'indwelt' by beings that were supernatural, or
because they were supernatural themselves. 'Omens
are not blind tokens; the animals know what they
tell to men' (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 443).

Neuromancy is a kind of divination, not a thing
distinct in itself (see below, § 3). It is difficult, if not
impossible, to indicate the boundary line between
divination and *prophecy*. In both the same general
principle obtains—intercourse of man with the spiritual
world in order to obtain special knowledge. In divi-
nation, this knowledge is usually got by observing
certain omens or signs; but this is by no means always
the case, since sometimes the beings consulted possessed
the soothsayer. Divination, as practised in this last
method, does not differ from prophecy of the lowest
kind—that of the ecstatic state—as distinguished from
that higher species of prophecy which in Riehm's happy
phrase is 'psychologically mediated.'³ See PROPHETCY.

The ancient Greeks, Romans, Arabs, etc., had
modes of divining that apparently were unknown to the
Hebrews of the OT—e.g., by observa-
tion of the flights and cries of birds,
inspection of the entrails of animals, etc. (see Freytag,
Einl. 159 ff.); but there are mentioned in the OT
many signs or omens that resemble or are identical
with those in use among other nations.

1. *Rhabdromancy* (divination by rods) appears to be
referred to in Hos. 4:12, 'My people ask counsel at
their "wood," and their "staff" declares unto them' (cp
Herod. 467). The higher prophets of course forbade
this; but we may perhaps assume that it was uncon-
demned in earlier times.

ii. *Belomancy* (divination by arrows), a development
of rhabdromancy, is mentioned in Ezek. 21:21 ff. [19 ff.],
where the Babylonian king is said to have stood 'at the

¹ The word is no doubt the Ass. *palug(g)u, pilku, pulukku*,
'border,' 'district'; cp probably Phen. דִּשְׁטִיק, 'district of
Laodicea,' *CIS* 1, n. v. 7. On the Heb. דִּשְׁטִיק see also Dr. on
2 S. 3:29.

² Cp דִּשְׁטִיק, Judg. 5:16 (if correct, see Meade), דִּשְׁטִיק-
מִשְׁכָּן, 2 Ch. 35:12.

³ *Assianic Prophecy*, 45 et passim.

DIVINATION

parting of the way,' and to have 'shaken the arrows to
and fro.' The doubtful point was whether he was to
march from Babylon to Egypt by Jerusalem or by
Rabbath-Ammon. As Pocock (quoted by Rosenmüller)
long ago pointed out, *belomancy* was much in use
among the Arabs (see also We. *Hist.* 2:132). For
the Babylonian practice, see LEBRON, *La Divination*,
chap. 2; as this able though sometimes uncritical writer
truly points out, *belomancy* had but a secondary im-
portance. Nebuchadnezzar had certainly consulted the
stars and the regular omens in order to ascertain
whether the right time had come for the campaign
against Egypt. Arab tradition tells how Hurai al-Kais
practised *belomancy* before setting out against Asad.
He did so 'by shuffling before the image of the god a
set of arrows. These were here three in number, called
respectively, "the Commanding," "the Forbidding,"
and "the Warning." He drew the second, and there-
upon broke the arrows, and flung them in the face of
the idol.' Mohammed forbade the use of arrows, as 'an
abomination of Satan's work' (Koran, Sur. 592). The
arrows were special, pointless arrows (originally rods).

iii. The Babylonian king, however, did more than
shake the sacred arrows; the passage continues, 'he
looked in the liver' (*hepatomancy*). (We omit the refer-
ence to the teraphim because no new point is indicated
by it; the king consulted the teraphim [*teraphim*], by
shaking the arrows *before it*, as was always done also by
the heathen Arabs.) The liver, which was regarded as
the chief seat of life (Prov. 7:24), was supposed to give
warning of the future by its convulsive motions, when
taken from the sacrificed victim (see LIVER). That an
application for oracles was accompanied by sacrifices
we know from the story of Laban. Lenormant (*op.*
cit. 58 f.) refers to two Babylonian fragments relative
to the inspection of the entrails, giving some of the
features which had to be watched for. The Greeks,
too, practised *hepatomancy*.

iv. The objects used for *lots* in Arabia were, as
we have seen, pointless arrows. Among the Israelites,
however, the principal objects employed were probably
stones of different colours, one of which gave the
affirmative, the other the negative answer to the question
put (so Wellh., *Bibl.* H. P. Smith, in connection with the
classical passage, 1 S. 14:41). Other passages in the
historical books in which the phrase *לִּשְׁאֹל* ('to inquire
of') occurs show, I probably be explained on the analogy
of this passage. Cp EPHOD, URM AND THUMMIM,
TERAPHIM.

v. Passing over such omens as Gideon's in Judg. 6:36
and Jonathan's in 1 S. 11:3 ff., and reserving astrology
for subsequent consideration (see STARS), we pause
next at the most important of all the modes of divi-
nation that linked the Hebrews with other peoples—

(vi.) The method of *dreams* (*oneiromancy*). Jacob may
have sufficient reason for making good his escape from
Laban; but he will not take the decisive step without a
direct revelation (Gen. 31:10-13). In other cases the divine
communication is such as exceeds the power of human
reason to discover; instances are the dreams of Abime-
lech (Gen. 20:3 ff.), and especially those of Joseph (Gen.
37:5 cp 40:8 41:1 ff.). Other noteworthy instances of
divinely sent dreams are Gen. 28:12 ff. 31:24 Judg. 7:13
1 K. 3:5 Mt. 1:25 2:12 ff. 27:19. Notice 1's fondness
for relating dreams. The author of the speeches of
Lilith also attaches great importance to dreams as a
channel of divine communications (Job 33:14-16). It
would almost seem as if the belief in the symbolic
character of dreams should be reckoned among other
revivals of primitive beliefs in the period of early
Judaism (cp the dream-vision in Enoch chap. 8:53, 50, and
the dreams in the Book of Daniel; also Jos. *BJ* ii. 74
iii. 8-11). Men were oppressed by constant anxiety as to
the future, and there was no prophet in the great old
style to assuage this. They looked about, therefore, for
artificial means of satisfying their curiosity. Prophets

DIVINATION

like alah, however, never refer to their dreams, and it is a question how far the visions of which they speak are to be taken literally (see PROPHECY).

vii. On a possible divination by means of sacred garments, see DRESS, § 8.

We must now consider briefly the various terms applied to divination and diviners, and endeavour to define their application.

1. **כֹּהֵן** (*kohen*), a general term for divination of all kinds (cp the Ar. *kahin*, and see PRIESTS), on the derivation of which see MAGIC, § 3 (1). Thus RV renders

3. **Terms.** **כֹּהֵן**, 'divination' (once 'witchcraft', 1 S. 13.2; RV),

כֹּהֵן, 'diviner' (1 S. 6.2 Zech. 10.3), also 'soothsayer' (Josh. 13.2; RV) and 'prophet' (Is. 32. AV); and **כֹּהֵן** gives the more general terms **מַחְשֵׁב**, **מַחְשֵׁבִים**, **מַחְשֵׁבִים**, **מַחְשֵׁבִים**. Ezek. 21.6, 11, however, shows plainly enough that the word had the distinct sense of obtaining an oracle by casting lots by means of arrows (see above, § 2 (2)). The one selected by chance was supposed to represent the divine decision; on the other hand, in 1 S. 28.8, Saul is made to ask the witch to divine for him by means of the 'ob' (28.8); see below, § 4 (ii.); and cp MAGIC.

2. **כֹּהֵן** (*on'um*). The etymology of this word is much disputed (cp Del., on 1 S. 28). Two interpretations deserve mention: (a) *on'um* is one who divines by observing the clouds (denom. from **כֹּהֵן**), a mode of divination well known among the ancients; or perhaps, one who brings clouds, or causes storms (*apomancy*). In the passages in which the word occurs, however, there is nothing to suggest that the *on'um* has anything to do with the 'v'. (b) One who smites with the 'evil eye' (denom. from **כֹּהֵן**), at apart from other considerations, the

Term rendering **כֹּהֵן** appears to be decidedly against this view. In the absence of further evidence it is best to follow Ewald (*Bibl. Theol.* 1.234) and WRS (*ibid.* 1.234; cp also Dr.), who compare the Arabic *ganna*, 'to emit a hoarse, nasal sound.' The fact that so many of the words connected with magic and divination denote low-subdued mournful speaking, favours this last surmise, though there must ever remain much doubt about the exact origin and meaning. **כֹּהֵן** renders by a word which means primarily to take an omen from the flight of birds, examples of which practice may be found in Arabic (cp We. *Hebr.* 2.22 f.). The word is usually rendered by 'observers' (once Judg. 9.17 AVing 'regard-ers' of times' (AV), or 'singers' (RV) (Dt. 18.10-14 Lev. 19.26 2 K. 21.6), in 1 S. 26 Mt. 3.12 (11) RV 'soothsayers' (so also Jer. 27.9 RV, where AV 'enchanter'); once (Gen.) 'sorceress' (Is. 57.3). An oak near Shechem, famous in divination, bears the name 'Oak of MEROZIM' (Judg. 9.37). For other examples of sacred trees cp *Isot. Arab.* § 2, and see NAT. MAG. § 1.

3. **כֹּהֵן** (*uif*), 'to use enchantment' (2 K. 21.6=2 Ch. 33.6 Lev. 19.26; cp **כֹּהֵן**, 'enchantment' Nu. 23.23 24.1), or 'to divine' (Gen. 41.5 15 RV; and Gen. 30.27 RV, where AV 'to learn by experience'; cp 1 K. 20.3, 'diligently observe', RVing 'take as an omen'), is probably used to include any kind of divination (WRS). In Gen. 41.5 15 the same word is used for divination by a conj. *i.e.*, probably by *hydromancy*, where a vessel is filled with water and the rings formed by the liquid are observed. Was **כֹּהֵן** originally used in a special sense, and connected with **כֹּהֵן**, 'a serpent'? So at least Bochart, Lenormant, and Baudouin (*Etude sur sem. Rel. gesch.* 1.267); see SERPENT, § 1, 3. MAGIC, § 3, 3.

4. **כֹּהֵן** (*gizvun*), is found only in Daniel (2.27 4.17 5.7 11, EV 'soothsayers'), and may be rendered 'prognosticators,' properly 'those who determine [what is doubtful]'; cp Rev. 1.6. The root means 'to cut'; but whether the 'cutting of the heavens' by Babylonian astrologers is meant, is uncertain (see STARS, § 5). Perhaps (cp Ar. *jazara*, 'to slaughter') the *gizvun* originally offered a sacrifice in connection with the art (cp Vg. *haruspices*). See § 2, iii.

5. **כֹּהֵן** (*ashaph*) and **כֹּהֵן** (*shafan*) occur in the Heb. (1.20 2.2) and the Aram. (2.10 4.7 [4], etc.) parts of Daniel respectively, and are rendered 'astrologer', RV 'enchanter.' The word is of Assyrian origin (STARS, § 5). It is difficult to say whether **כֹּהֵן** and the other terms found were meant to represent a separate class, or whether the writer employed these terms indiscriminately (lex. Dan. 63).

6. **כֹּהֵן** (*chashdim*) in Dan. 1.20 (5.7 11) means the caste of wise men. This usage (well known from classical writers) arose after the fall of the Babylonian empire, when the only Chaldeans known were astrologers and soothsayers.

1 Possibly the Teraphim were similarly employed; see TERAPHIM.

2 The so-called *καλικομαγεία*. Cp Joseph's divining-cup with the Euboean goblet of Jemshid, and see Lenormant, *La Divination*, 73-80. For a parallel French superstition, see B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions* 2, Paris, 1697, 1.187 ff.

DIVINATION

7. For **כֹּהֵן** (*Gad*) and **כֹּהֵן** (*Meni*) in 1 S. 6.11, see AND DESTINY. See also other terms under MAGIC.

Necromancy, to which we turn next, is, as the etymology of the word implies, divination by resort to the spirits of the deceased.

Three terms or expressions fall to be noticed which are met with in Dt. 18.11.

i. We shall begin with that which occurs in the verse, viz. **כֹּהֵן** (*one who consults with a dead*), rendered by EV 'necromancer' clear from 1 S. 8.10 that this is a general term embracing the kinds of necromancy indicated by the two words next to be considered and other kinds (Dt. on Dt. 18.11); the conjunction with which it is introduced is simply the explanatory 'etiam,' to the Gk. epexegetic *καὶ*.

ii. **כֹּהֵן** (*ob'el*), one who consults an 'ob' word 'ob' is generally found with *ob'el'oni* (see below), like which, from meaning the spirit of a departed person, it came to stand for the person who possessed the spirit and divined by its aid. The full phrase **כֹּהֵן** (the possessor of an 'ob') is found in 1 S. 28.11 it is applied to the 'witch of Endor.'

כֹּהֵן explains the expression by *ἐγγαστριμύθοι*, 'quint' (*i.e.*, in the OF passages, one who 'by his voice into the ground, where the spirit was supposed to be, made *psychopompe* that a ghost spoke him'), and Lenormant (*Div.* 101 ff.), Renan (*ET*, 1.47), and others so explain the phenomenon the writer of Samuel, and other biblical writers speak of this species of divination, evidently not as being really what it claimed to be. Lev. 20.27 only possible exception.

The etymology of the word is very uncertain. Suggestions may be passed by, for the field seems to be very large, H. P. Smith's view (*Sam.* 239), not very probable. (a) *ob'el* has been connected with *ob'el*, and explained 'a soul which returns (from the dead)'. So Hitz and Kö. (on 1 S. 8.10), 1.504, and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 69). It also suggests a connection with **כֹּהֵן** 'father' (note phn. in *ob'el*). Van Hoonacker (*ET*, 7.157 ff.) objects that in 1 S. 11 the *ob'el* is distinguished from the dead (*necromancy*), the latter clause of the verse is simply a generalisation of the two foregoing clauses, this objection fails.

(b) The other view (Gies., Del., Di.) connects the word with *ob'el*, literally 'something hollow.' A similar Arabic (*wa'at*) means 'a hole in a rock,' a large and deep hollow.

On the assumption that the fundamental idea of *ob'el* is hollowness, many explanations have been suggested. Van Hoonacker, as above. Of these, two may be probably approximating most nearly to the truth. 1. Böcher (*De inferis*, 101), Kan. (Richm., *HT* 182), 'beschwärer'), and Di. (on Lev. 19.31) hold that the spirit *ob'el*, on account of the hollow tone of the voice—such a voice might be expected to issue from any empty phn. Other for practising magic and divination lend some support to this view.

2. The idea of hollowness has been held to apply in place to the cave or opening in the ground out of which the spirit speaks. Among the Greeks and the Romans, oracles on necromancy were situated among large deep caves which were supposed to communicate with the spirit. If the Hebrew *ob'el* is parallel to the Greek chthonic deity to the Arabian *ahd al-ard* or 'earth-folk,' with whom have intercourse, it is conceivable that, by a metonymy, the hollow cave, and *vice versa*—the hollow cave have come to be used for the spirit that spoke out of it (WRS *Rel. Sem.* 2.193).

iii. **כֹּהֵן** (*videl'uni*). The English word 'witness' by which this Hebrew term is rendered, means 'to rise one,' and agrees with **כֹּהֵן** (*videl'uni*) in Dt. 18.11 (*τῆς ἀνάστασης*), Arabic *videl'uni*, and Ewald's rendering 'videl-wisserisch.'

Like *ob'el*, *videl'uni* is used, in the first instance, for the spirit of a deceased person; then it came to mean

1 Namely, that the *ob'el* was originally a skull prepared for superstitious rites for magical purposes; H. A. Redpath the other hand, suggests that the *ob'el* was one who spoke a hollow mark or domino.

2 In Job 32.19 **כֹּהֵן** seems to mean 'bellows' (**כֹּהֵן** *φουσητήρ* [τῆς *κῆ*] *χαλκῆος*).

Is. 63:11, see FORTUNE under MAGIC.

text, is, as the etymology implies, divination by means of deceased persons, to be noticed, all of

which occurs last in the texts with an inquiry necromancer.

It is a general description of the necromancer indicated by the and other kinds (see on with which it is necromancy, answering

consults an 'ob. The necromancer (see below, iii.), of a departed one, who possessed such a full phrase נִחְיֵה in 1 S. 28:7, where

שִׁפְטִיָּהוּ, 'ventriloquist who, by throwing a spirit was supposed to speak through the dead' (see below, iii.). Reman (*Heb. Phenomenon*), but biblical writers who evidently regard it as necromancy.

Lev. 20:27 is the

uncertain. Other suggestions seem to be held by (Sam. 28:7) being necromancy with Arab. *ahā* returns (from *shānā*); (on Is. 5:9), St. (*Gr. ἡ ψυχή*), Schwally (note phi. of both) objects that in Dr. *ahā* (*necromancy*); but if generalisation of the

effects the word with 'ob. A similar word in large and deep pit—

idea of the word been suggested (see below) may be noted as truth.

to apply in the first necromancy, *Heb. ἡ ψυχή*, 'Tolden' that the spirit is called voice—such a tone as place. Other terms some support to this

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word 'wizard,' means 'a very' (on Dt. 18:11) 'arrif, and with

instance, for the name to mean him

a skill prepared by H. A. Redpath, on who spoke out of

bellows' (ὁ σφύρις)

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or her that divines by such a spirit. Robertson Smith (*J. Phil.* 14:17), followed by Driver (on Dt. 18:11), distinguishes the two terms thus:—

'*Yidd'oni* is a familiar spirit, one known to him that consults it. The 'ob is any ghost that is called up from the grave to answer questions put to it (cp 1 S. 28). The *yidd'oni* speaks through a personal medium; that is, through the person whom it possesses. The 'ob speaks directly, as for example out of the grave (cp 1 S. 28). Rashi (on Dt. 18:11) says that *yidd'oni* differs from אֵשׁ בְּרִי' (אֵשׁ בְּרִי' 'ob) in that he held in his mouth a bone which uttered the oracle. It is hard to establish these distinctions, the data for forming a judgment being so slight.

Is it quite certain, however, that the words are to be held as standing for distinct things? Why may we not have in them different aspects of the same spirit? So regarded, 'ob would convey the notion that the spirit has returned from the other world, while *yidd'oni* would suggest that the spirit so returned is knowing, and therefore able to answer the questions of the inquirer. The fact that in all the eleven instances of its occurrence *yidd'oni* is invariably preceded by 'ob is in favour of its being a mere interpretation of it. 'Ob, on the other hand, is often found by itself (1 S. 28:7 1 Ch. 10:13 etc.). It is probable, therefore, that these two characters are at bottom one, the 'and' in Dt. 18:11 joining 'ob and *yidd'oni* in the way of a kenosis: 'he who seeks a departed spirit that is knowing, just as the remaining part of the verse is, as we have seen already (§ 3, i.), simply a repetition in different words of the same thought. This is in complete harmony with the usages of Hebrew parallelism. The whole compound expression might be rendered as follows:—He who inquires of the departed spirit that is knowing, even he who seeks unto the dead.'

iv. To the expressions considered already may be added אֵשׁ בְּרִי', *ifim*, Is. 19:3, EV 'charmers.' RV 'whisperers'; cp Ar. *afāf*, 'to emit a moaning or creaking sound'; or perhaps rather Ass. *afā*, 'darkness.' Apparently renders by ῥά ἀγάνυατα ἀνῶν.

Though condemned in the OT (1 S. 28:7; Is. 8:19; cp Lev. 19:31 20:27 Dt. 18:11), necromancy among the Israelites held its own till a late period. The leaders of religions thought were opposed to both witchcraft and necromancy; but the influence of habit and of intercourse with people around was too strong to be wholly overcome. See Schultz, *OT Theology*, 2:322 (ET). Wiener (*KHB* 5:7; 'Totenbeschwörer'; see references) shows that in the ancient world divination by calling back the spirits of the dead was very widespread among the Greeks, the Romans, and the other ancient nations. Cp BABYLONIA, § 37 f. See MARRIAGE, § 6.

For the literature see MAGIC.

DIVORCE, DIVORCEMENT (נִשְׁאָר; אִסּוּר־נִשְׁאָר [BNAQ]), Jer. 38 Is. 50:1. See MARRIAGE, § 6.

DIZAHAB (דִּזְחָב; καταρχυρεα BAFI), *ubi auri est plurimum*—i.e., 'Dizahab' (Vg.), in the topographical description Dt. 1:1. 'If it be the name of a place in the "steppes of Moab" the situation is unknown' (Dr. in Hastings' *DB*, s.v.); on the identifications, cp Dillmann. The explanation 'place of gold' is difficult to justify (see Dr. *Deut.*, ad loc.). The name corresponds to 'Me-zahab' in Gen. 36:39 (as Sayce, *Arab.* Oct. 22, 1892, and Marq. *Fund.* 10, have observed), and like Me-zahab [γ. v.] is no doubt a corruption of מִצְרַיִם (came from מִצְרַיִם—i.e., the N. Arabian land of Musri or Musri, which adjoined Edom (see MIZRAIM, § 26, and cp Che. *Or. L.*, May 15, 1899). It was perhaps premature to identify 'Dizahab,' before the correctness of the reading had been investigated. T. K. C.

DOCUS, RV *Dok* (Δῶκ [ANV]), called by Josephus *Dogon* (Δῶγον; *Ant.* viii. 81; *BJ* i. 2), a small fortress near Jericho, in which Simon the Maccabee was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy his son-in-law (1 Macc. 16:15). The name, doubtless, still survives in the mod. *Tin ed-Duk*, 2½ m. N. of Jericho, where there are traces of ancient substructions and remains of a

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fine aqueduct (Rob. *BR* 2:4; *PEF Mem.* 3:171; Baed. 1:152; v. Kasteren, *Kort. Bibl.* 1897, p. 93 ff.).

DOD, NAMES WITH. This group of compound names comprises with certainty only Dodayah and Dodiel (see DANIEL, 11, and virtually David, Doda, Doda. To these Gray (*Heb.* 60-63) would add דָּדָה (Eldad), דָּדָה (Beldad). In all these names he interprets דָּד as meaning 'uncle on the father's side,' which is no doubt a perfectly legitimate sense of דָּד or דָּדָה (see 2 K. 21:17). (a) First, as to Eldad and Beldad. The objection to admitting that these names are compounded with the divine name Dad is obviously provisional. The god Rammān was so well known in Canaan that we may expect to find at any rate isolated names compounded with Dad, which was one of the names of this deity (W. *AT Untersuch.* 19, n. 1). In the Amarna letters, it is true, the form we find in compound proper names is Addu; but the equivalence of Addu and Dad is admitted. (b) Next, as to the other names. That Dad is not the name of some one special deity, is admitted; but whether it is, or is not, a term designating some degree of kinship, is disputed. It is undeniable that דָּד (=Ass. *dada*) means 'beloved,' and also, by a natural transition, 'divine patron' (cp דָּדָה, used of God, Job 16:21). The present writer contends that it is more natural to give this second sense to Dad in the few Hebrew names compounded with it than to adopt the theory (Gray, *Heb.* 60) that דָּד as well as דָּדָה in proper names has the sense of 'uncle' or 'kinsman.'

This is not affected by the discovery that there are some S. Arabian names compounded with *Admā*, and some others with *Kāhā*, both meaning 'uncle.' Nor need we enter into the question whether the S. Arabian name Dāhī-karāh (so Hommel gives the name) really means 'My cousin hath blessed' (Hommel, *ATF* 85). See DOD, DODAYAH. T. K. C.

DODAI (דָּדַי, דָּדָי, § 52; but Ginsb. in 2 S. 23:9 points Kt. דָּדַי), another form of Dodo [γ. v.], presumably shortened from a form דָּדוּיָה; see under DODAYAH: 'Yahwē is patron' (Marquart, *Fund.* 16), 2 S. 23:9 (RV following Kt.; but AV Dodo; εὐχετο [B*], εὐχο. [A], δοῦναι [B*], and 1 Ch. 27:4 (AV and RV; δαδαια [B*], δαδαι [B*], δαδαι [A], δαδαι [L]), where the words 'Eleazar, son of,' found in 1 Ch. 11:2 are wanting, but are supplied by Kittel (*SBOT*) from 1 Ch. 11:2; see Dodo (2), ELEAZAR.

DODANIM (דָּדָנִים), or **RODANIM** (רֹדָנִים).

דָּד, Gen. 10:4, Vg. *RODANIM* (cp Pesh.), so RV, AVmg. Rodanim, after *rodan* (דָּדָנִים), and Sam.; דָּדָנִים, 1 Ch. 17: AVmg. RV 'Rodanim' after *rodan* (דָּדָנִים), but many MSS דָּדָנִים, cp *δωδανει* [L] *RODANIM* [G. v.], whence AV 'Dodanim.' In Is. 21:13 Aq. Sym. *δωδανει* for *δωδανει*.

A son of JAVAN [γ. v.], son of Japheth, Gen. 10:4 = 1 Ch. 1:7. The same name—i.e., either Dōdan (דָּדָנִים) or Rōdān (רֹדָנִים)—should possibly be restored for 'Deilan' (דָּלָן) in Ezek. 27:15 (*ποδίων* [BQ]; adnot. *ποδίων ορασις κρισεως* [Qm.], *απαδίων* [A]; so Pesh., but Aq. Sym. Theod. *δωδαν*). The merchants there referred to brought to Tyre the ivory and ebony which they had themselves procured from Africa or India. Two views are held.

(a) Stade, Cornill, Bertholet are strongly for 'Rōdān,' and naturally hold a similar opinion as to the reading in Gen. 10:4. It is, however, by no means certain that MT is not right in reading דָּדָנִים, 'sons of Dedan,' in Ezek. i.e.; Edom (so all [except Aq.] read for 'Aram') follows in 1:16. As to Gen. 10:4, the most prevalent opinion certainly is that Rōdānim is the better reading, and that this term designates not only the Rhodians properly so-called (on whom cp. Hom. *Il.* 2:634 ff.), but also ('many islands' being also mentioned) the people of other Aegean islands. (So Di., Hal., Kau., Holzinger, Ball, G. Sm. *IG* 135.) This view is geographically plausible, but the short o in Pōdōs must not be overlooked.

(b) Another view, so far as the name goes, is more satisfactory. The Rodanim of the text of Chronicles (if we follow most MSS and 6) may be as inaccurate as the 'Diphath' which it gives for 'Riphat' (1 Ch. 16), and Rodanim itself may be incorrectly given for Dardanim (Tg. Jon., Luzzatto, Ges., Knob., Friesz Del.). The name Dardani, as inscriptions of Rameses II. show, comes down from early times; it designates properly a people of Asia Minor, not far from the Lycians (see WMM, *Is. n. Eur.* 354 f.). It is not impossible that for דודנים (Ch. reads 5) the original source of P's information read דודנים (cp. Targumim), and it would be natural for writers and scholars of the Greek period (6 and perhaps Ch.) to convert Dardanim into Rodanim, and to understand the Rhodians. It has been proposed elsewhere to identify another son of Javan (Tarshish, or rather Thrus) with another people mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions (see TIRAS). The author of the list used by P may have known Dardani as well as Thrus. If דוד is the correct reading in Ezek. we should perhaps pronounce it Rodani, not Rodim. Recent critics may, however, have been too hasty in rejecting MT's reading Dedan. The 'islands' are not necessarily those in which the merchants spoken of resided; they may very well be the coast-lands with which Dedan had commercial dealings. Cp. DEDAN, and, on Ezek. 27:15, see EROSY.

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DODAVAH, as AV, or rather DODAVAH as RV (דודָוָה), perhaps for דודָוָה, 'Yahwē is friend or patron,' § 47—whence come the abbreviated forms Dodo, DODAI [דודאי]—דודאי [BA], ΔΟΥΔΑΙΟΥ [L]; Dodoi; Pesh. implies the reading 'Dodo', the father of a prophet called Eliezer (2 Ch. 20:37).

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DODO (דודו), § 52, with which דודָי, DODAI, and דודָו, DODU. The fuller form is probably דודָוָה [cp. DODAVAH], which means 'Yahwē is friend or patron' [so Marq. *Fund.* 16]. דוד, *genius loci*, is rightly restored by W. in Am. 8:14, and there appears to be an allusion to the 'divine friend' in Is. 51 (where note that דודָי and דודָו are parallel). The Dodoth (דודות) of Ahiroth is mentioned in the Mesha inscription l. 12. May we also compare Duda, the name of a high Egyptian official in the Amarna tablets (*Am. Tab.* 44:45 52:15, cp. W. *AF* 104)?

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1. A Bethlehemite, father of the renowned hero ECHANAN (ג. 7); 2 S. 23:24 (דודָה [BL], *Adv.* [AL], 1 Ch. 11:26 (דודָה [BL], *Adv.* [AL], *Adv.* [L]).

2. (AV following K²; but see DODAI.) An ACHITE (ג. 7), father of David's warrior Eleazar, 2 S. 23:9 (ὁ υἱὸς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ [BA], see ACHITE, *Adv.* [L]); 1 Ch. 11:12 (δωδαι [BAL], *Adv.* [L]; *patris ejus*).

3. An ancestor of Tola of Issachar, one of the Judges, Judg. 10:1, if we should not rather follow eight cursive MSS of 6 and read, for 'son of Dodo', 'son of his (Ahimelech's) uncle Kacah.' See Hollenberg, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 194 f. 6BAL has υἱὸς πατρίδος αὐτοῦ (so Pesh. Vg.). See TOLA.

DOE (דֹּעַ), Pr. 5:19 f, RV. See GOAT.

DOEG (דֹּעַ), 1 S. 21:7 [3] 22:9, but דֹּעַ, 1 S. 22:18 22 [Kt.], דֹּעַ, Ps. 52:2; ΔΩΗΓ [BNAETL], but ΔΩΗΓ, 1 S. 22:9 [A]; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 121, ΔΩΗΓΟC. An Edomite (for the reading דֹּעַ, 'Syrian,' presupposed [except in Ps. 52:2] by 6BA [but not L.] and Jos., is certainly wrong) who filled some minor post among the servants of Saul; most probably he was 'keeper of the saddle asses' (cp. Judg. 10:4 1 S. 9:3 2 S. 16:2 1 Ch. 27:30), 1 S. 21:7 [3] 22:9. He had been detained (so one tradition tells us) 'before Yahwē'—i.e., in the sacred precincts at Nob (or Gibeon; see Nob)—by some obscure religious prescription (see RS² 456), and had cunningly watched David in his intercourse with the priest Ahimelech (see DAVID, § 3). Soon after, he denounced the latter to the suspicious Saul, and when the king commanded his 'runners' to put Ahimelech and the other priests to

1 See also under DANIEL, 4.

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death, and they refused, it was this foreman up his hand against them (1 S. 22:9-18).

The two passages in which Doeg's office is longer in their original form in MT. In 21:8 [A] 'the mightiest of the shepherds' (דֹּעַ, *Adv.* [L]), a title of a shepherd, and still stranger when 22:9 occurs nowhere else in Hebrew narratives. 'the mightiest of the runners' (דֹּעַ, *Adv.* [L]), an easier but still not a natural phrase, and rendering of 6BAL in 21:7 [3], *Adv.* [L] can be little doubt that Lagarde (*Method.* 3) reading דֹּעַ, which he renders 'driver' a less natural rendering than that given above, but words like דֹּעַ and דֹּעַ are flexible. For Lagarde (*Adv.* [L]); for the latter, see *Adv.* [L]. We should also read דֹּעַ for דֹּעַ in 22:9 (see section to following 6 here (*Adv.* [L]) falls as soon as it is recognised that 21:7 [3] is a correction).

The reference to Doeg in the title of 1 to the thirst of later Jewish readers for biblical of their idealising view of David. The written for use in the temple (see v. 8).

DOG (כֹּלֵב), a name, of unknown origin, all Semitic dialects; KYON, *canis* [but M.

1. References. Mk. 7:27 f. KYNAPION, *cat.*

dogs of any noble type are in the Bible. The Israelitish kings were the Assyrian, great hunters, and even the legend of Nimrod the hunter (but is 'hunter' literally? see NIMROD) in Gen. 10:9 says no dogs. According to RV the greyhound is in Prov. 30:11 as one of the four things 'stately in going'; but this is doubtful (see C. TOWN). The shepherd's dog is mentioned and dogs which guard the house may be in Is. 56:10; but neither passage vouchsafes friendly words. The OT references are entirely to the pariah dog, such as may be seen of the 'Bible lands' to-day. They seem to be careering in packs round the city at night (14 f.); it was dangerous to stop one of them (26:17). Doubtless, however, they were scavengers. They were ready to devour even bodies (1 K. 14:11 16:4 21:23 f. 2 K. 9:10 30 and Jer. 15:3 cp. 1 K. 21:19 22:38 Ps. 68:24 [24], and flesh that men might not eat was thrown (contrast Mt. 7:6). From Mk. 7:28 (Mt. 15:15) have inferred a sympathy between men and dog of Christ; but this is hazardous. Pariah such sympathy (Phil. 3:2), and a certain Rabbi from keeping fierce dogs in the house, a because they would frighten away the poor (63:7). Most dogs, then, were fierce. Y according to the Greek text, makes a companion dog on his journeys (Tob. 5:16 11:4); see TIRAS.

The pariah dog referred to above is a variety cosmopolitan dog (*Canis familiaris*), though

2. Pariah dog. has probably been intermixed with jackals or wolves.

live in companies, each dog having its own times two), to which it returns for rest during. Those that frequent the towns act as scavengers on offal; but in the country they are trained shepherds and farmers to act as sheep-dogs (cp. f.). Not much good, however, can be said of the they are 'a mean, sinister, ill-conditioned genus whose use consists in barking at intruders and the shepherds of any possible danger.' In appearance they resemble the Scotch collie, and are said

1 On the breeds of hunting dogs known in Assyria, Houghton, *TSBA* 5:52-62 177.

2 On the four 'dogs' of Marduk (Merodach) see below in some legends the Tyrian Heracles (or Melkart) is accompanied by a dog (*Rel. Sem.* 2:292).

3 Thomson, *LB* (ed. '94), 202; cp. Doughty, *Ar. I.* 337 f. 202.

DOG

is this foreigner who lifted
i. 229-18).

g's office is referred to are no
In 218 (AV 7) he is called
אֲדָמָה (228), a strange descrip-
tional when we observe that
narratives. The conjecture
Gratz, Dr., Ki., Bu.) gives
phrase, and disregards the
אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה. There
(Matthew 3:30) is right in
ders 'driver of the mules,'—
given above, but still possible.
sible. For the former see
Apt. Almost as certainly
in 229 (see 2). We's ob-
s 123) falls to the ground
(3) is a 5. or insertion in the

e title of Ps. 52 is due
ders for biblical justifica-
David. The Psalm was
e v. 8). T. K. C.

own origin, common to
[but Mt. 15:26 f =
apion: *catellus*]. No
ble type are mentioned
kings were not, like
and even the Hebrew
09 says 'hunter' meant
109 says nothing of his
eyhound is referred to
our things which are
tful (see Cock, *Gkky*;
mentioned in Job 30:1
e may be intended in
ouchsafes the dog any-
ees are in fact almost
as may be seen in any
ry seem to have gone
ity at night (Is. 59:6
o one of them (Prov.
they were useful as
a devour even human
K. 9:10 and similarly
8:24; 24). and to them
is thrown (Ex. 22:31;
28 (Mt. 15:27) some
men and dogs in the
rdons. Paul has no
tain Rabbi dissuades
e house, apparently
y the poor (*Shabb.*
ferce. Yet Tobit,
s a companion of his
) ; see Tobit.

re is a variety of the
s), though the breed
intermixed by cross-
wolves. The dogs
s own hair (some-
rest during the day.
as scavengers, living
are trained by the
p-dogs (cp Job 30:1).
said of the latter:
ditioned generation,
ruders and warning
r. In appearance
ud are said to be

own in Assyria, see
adach) see below. So
elkart) is accompanied

ighly, *Ar. Des.* 1303

intelligent, and sagacious when trained. Rabies is
almost, or entirely, unknown among them.

The ass and in Judg. 7:57 on the way in which
Gilead's three hundred drank 'lapping with their
tongues, like dogs' probably indicates
that they were fierce uncivilised men
(Moore, *Judg.* 202).

3. **Exegetical details.** The mention of
'dogs' in company with 'hounds' in Ps. 22 as typical of
the fierce enemies of pious Israel, is surprising. There
is no OT parallel for the use of the pariah dogs of
Eastern cities as symbolic of the enemies of Israel. In
later times the Gentiles were called 'dogs' (*Yerush.*
77 a; *Raba Kama*, 49 a, etc.), but the Talmudic use
has no biblical authority; Mk. 7:27 surely does not
express what may be called *hounds* doctrine. More-
over in Ps. 22:1 only lions and wild oxen are re-
ferred to. Apt., Theod., and Jer. evidently read קָנִים
'hunters'; this is a clever attempt to get over a real
difficulty. In v. 17 (L.V. 16) we should certainly read
קָנִים וְרִמָּה, and רִמָּה. The sense then becomes,
Greedy lions in their strength surround me,
A troop of wild oxen encircles me.

Similarly in v. 21 (L.V. 20) we should read קָנִים וְרִמָּה,
and render (reading קָנִים for קָנִים),
Smash my soul from the young lion,
My life from the clutch of the greedy lion.

We now pass on to a group of five passages which
have been much misunderstood.

1. 2 K. 8:13 'What is thy servant, the dog (שָׁלֵה) has the dead
dog (שָׁלֵה) do this great thing?' RV, paraphrasing,
'which is but a dog.' AV incorrectly, 'Is thy servant a dog?'

2. 2 S. 10:9 'Why should this dead dog (שָׁלֵה) curse me?'

3. 2 S. 9:4 'What is thy servant? that thou shouldst look upon
a dead dog like me?'

4. 1 S. 24:15 'After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead
dog?'

5. 2 S. 38: 'Am I a dog's head that belongeth to Judah?'

As to (1) AV is quite wrong. Hazael does not revolt in horror
from the description of Elisha, but only affects to think too great
an achievement for him. 'Dog' is here an expression of servile
humility towards Elisha, as in Assyrian ('we are the king's
dogs, i.e. his humble servants'). In (2) 'dead dog' (שָׁלֵה) is
cannot be right, as שָׁלֵה indicates by the substituted epithet (see
above). The text must be incorrect. We want some word
which will be equally suitable in (3) (4) and (5); and if possible
some word which will make better sense than 'dead' (שָׁלֵה) even
in (2) and (4), where it has hitherto been plausibly taken as an
Oriental exaggeration. The word which we seek is קָנִים
'unclean'; 'dead dog' should be 'unclean, despised, pariah
dog.' To explain this see Donahy's striking description of the
treatment of their hounds by the Bedouin, who 'with blows
cast out these profane creatures from the best.'² As to (5) the
text is evidently not quite correct (see Klv.); there seems to
be a play on the name of Caleb the dog-tribe (see 205, n. 1;
NABAL). To read 'Am I a dog's head' (omitting the next
words), with Prof. H. P. Smith, can hardly be called satisfactory.

This idiom may cast light upon Dt. 23:18 where 'dog'
appears to be applied to the class of persons elsewhere called
kēdīm. It was natural to explain the word as a term of con-
tempt (see IDOLATRY, § 6). If, however, 'unclean dog' or some
similar phrase was a common circumlocution indicative of
humble deference used in addressing superiors, as *kalbu* is in
Assyrian (especially in the Amarna letters), *keleb* need not, as
applied to these temple servants, have been a term of contempt;
it may have been their ordinary name (so *RS²* 202). The word
appears in fact in Phoenician, applied to a class of servants
(כְּלָבִים) attached to a temple of Ashtoreth in Cyprus (*CIS* 1 no. 86
B, l. 10).

There are not wanting indications that the dog was
held in religious veneration. A river running into the

4. **The dog in religion.** sea a few miles N. of Beirut is called the
Dog river (*Nahr-el-Kalb, Lycus flumen*),
and al-Nadim informs us that the dog
was sacred among the Harranians. 'They offered
sacrificial gifts to it, and in certain mysteries dogs were
solemnly declared to be the brothers of the mystic.'³
This seems to be connected with primitive Babylonian
mythology; 'my lord with the dogs' (a divine title at

¹ The explanation of RV, therefore, is not quite correct
² *Ar. Des.* 1337.
³ *RS²* 201, referring to *Phrist*, 326, and other passages.

DOR

Hittite poets to Marduk and his four dogs. It is
possible that the dog may have been among the animals
worshipped by the earliest Semites as a deity (see, e.g.,
among some N. American Indians and in Java).
Robertson Smith refers to Ishtar (1870), who states
that Urinus forbade the Carthaginians to sacrifice human
victims and to eat the flesh of dogs in a religious meal,
it is implied. There seems also to be an allusion to
something of this kind in post-exilic Palestine to a
custom, chiefly prevalent perhaps among the mixed
Samarian population, of sacrificing the dog on certain
occasions (Is. 66:3).

1. K. C. § 3.
DOLEFUL CREATURES (דֹּרִים), Is. 13:21; see
JACKAL.

DOMINIONS (ΚΥΡΗΤΗΤΕΣ), or rather 'lordships,'
Col. 1:16, cp 1 Pt. 1:12 Jude 2 2 Pet. 2:1. See ANGEL, § 1.

DOOR (דֶּלֶת, θύρα, θύρα, etc. [BALE], per-
haps from דָּלַת, 'to swing, or up Ass. *catlu*, 'to
beat, ban').

The Hebrew *delath* is used of the doors of a chamber (Judg.
3:23), or of a gate (1 S. 21:13 [14]), and even of the gate itself
(Dt. 35:1 V. 20b). The difference between *petah*, which
may be any opening or entrance (e.g., of the ark, Gen. 6:16;
Ezekiel, § 417), and *delath*, is clearly illustrated by Gen. 12:10,
where Lot stands in the *petah* to keep back the men of Sodom
from approaching the *delath* (p also 1 K. 6:31). For דֶּלֶת
(door Ex. 35:17 Job 38:17 V.) see GATE.

However necessary for ventilation doorways were in
the East (see LATHE, § 1), the doors themselves were
not employed so much as in less tropical regions.
The lock was doubtless like those now in use in
the East, so constructed that the bolt (דִּבְרִית, Cant. 5:5
Neh. 3: etc., RV; 'lock,' AV) was shot by the hand
or by a thong; the key (מַנִּיחַ, 'opening') was only
used for unlocking the door' (Moore, *SBOT* [Eng.],
Judges, 601. For descriptions of keys and locks, see
Wilks, *Enc. Eg.* 1353; Moore, *Judg.* 99; Che. *Is. SBOT*,
ET, 159 f.

The Hebrew terms for the component parts of the doorway
are (1) שֹׁפֵר, *saph*, the threshold (προσθυσος, πηλὸν, etc., *αὐλή*
[BALE], Jer. 35:4, *ὄδὸς* [BALE], *σπασμὸς* Ap. Sym. Theod., also
דֶּלֶת 1 S. 34 f.; see THRESHOLD, and cp THRESHOLD, (2) מַנִּיחַ,
manich, door post, 1 Pt. 2:12; on derivation cp Schwally,
ZDMG 32:16 f.; see FROTTLETS. (3) מַנִּיחַ, *manich*, lintel,
Ex. 12:7, 22 f. (פְּלִיטָה [BALE]; cp MH מַנִּיחַ, (4) מַנִּיחַ, *manich*, hinge,
Prov. 26:14 *σπασμὸς* [BALE]; cp also מַנִּיחַ 1 K. 7:50 (if correct, *θυρα-*
ματα [BALE]). See GATE.

DOPHKAH (דֹּפְקָה; דֹּפְקָה [BALE], -AN [A
after *eis* in v. 12], one of the stages in the wandering in
the wilderness (Nu. 33:12 f.). See WANDERING, § 12.

DOR (דֹּר, Δωρ [BALE]; Josh. 12:23. εἰς Δωρ [B],
αὐτὸς [A]; Judg. 1:27 and 1 Ch. 7:29 Δωρ [B]; also written דֹּר,
cp Ph. דֹּר below, Josh. 17:11, Δωρ [Heb mg.]).

1. **Name.** more fully *Naphath dor* (1 K. 4:11 RVmg; מִנִּיחַ
דֹּר; נֶפֶת דֹּר [A], represented by *ana phath dor*
[B], and *Batharān o nethath dor* [L]; Josh. 12:23 RVmg דֹּר 3
του φερεδδωρ [B], for variants see Sw. 1. *rafedδωρ* [A], 1.
[Naphathdor [L]], and *Naphoth Dor* [Josh. 11:2 RVmg, דֹּר 3
φενεδδωρ [B], *rafedδωρ* [A], -88. [AFL]), the modern
Tanturah,⁵ lay on the Mediterranean coast about mid-

¹ There is still, however, some obscurity. Compare also such
proper names as דֹּרִים (Phoen.) and דֹּרִים (Nab. and Sin. inser.),
דֹּרִים (Nab. and Sin. inser.), דֹּרִים (Cur. *Ant. Syr. Doc.*
156), *Kalb*, plur. *Kilub Akub*, and *din. Kulais* among Ar-
rabian names, and the Heb. דֹּרִים (cp *Ain. 200, Journ. Phil.*
1909; though Nöld. *ZDMG*, 1386, 164, n. 1, throws doubt on the
identification of Caleb and דֹּרִים; see NAMES, § 88).

² See Che. *Int. Is.* 367, and cp *RS²* 357, and (on breaking
the neck, 1. 300 f.

³ Note that both the Sam. text and the Sam. Targum of Ex.
22:31 omit the contemptuous reference to the dog, and speak
simply of *eis* 22:31.

⁴ *Dura* is the usual word in NT; cp Acts 5:19 23 etc.
⁵ On the origin of the name cp Ges. *Thea.* 331.

DOR

way between the promontory of Carmel and Caesarea, at a distance of about eight miles from the latter.

The fuller form of the name is explained by Sym. as the *παρὰ τὴν* of Dor, or as *Δωρ ἢ παρὰ τὴν* (cp 115² 250 v, *dor nath, δωρ τοῦ παρὰ*, 112¹ 283 i, *netedhor, rap nath*) it probably includes the undulating plain of Sharon (king's land). The exact meaning of *Δωρ* (RV height, AV 'region, coast, border, country') as well as that of 'Dor' is very uncertain. Outside the OT the shorter form of the name is usual. It is frequently mentioned by Greek writers and appears as *Δωρ*, *Δωρα* (*Δωρα* in 1 Macc 15:11 13:23 AV, **Dora**), also *Δωρα* (Polyb.), *Dorion* (Pliny), and *Dora* (Tab. Pent.). In Ass. *Dura* (by the side of Megiddo) occurs only once, in a geographical list (2 R. 5:3, no. 4, l. 57). The meaning of the name is obscure (see EN-DOR, and for HAMMATH-DOR see HAMMATH).

Dor is first mentioned in the Psp. Golenischeff (temp. 11th cent., circa 1050 B.C.), where *Dura* belongs to the *Takara*, a race which entered Palestine along with the *Philistini*, and occupied the sea-coast (cp WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 388, and see CAPITOL, §§ 2, 4; PUTHESSES).² Then prince bears the name *Ki-dara*, which appears to represent a theophorous name (*Ki-d*, 'servant of El' or *Ki-d*).

That Dor continued to remain in the hands of a non-Israelite people seems highly probable. Later writers, with Deuteronomian sympathies, supposed that Dor joined the northern coalition against Joshua (Josh. 11:2), and they include its king among those who fell (ib. 12:23). In the same spirit Dor is assigned to Manasseh (Josh. 17:11; cp 1 Ch. 7:29).³ A more historical view is presented in Judg. 1:27, where Beth-shean, Bechem, Megiddo, and Dor (in MT the order is disturbed) form a belt of Canaanite towns stretching from E. to W., which must have separated Ephraim from the more northerly tribes. In the time of Solomon, it is true, the 'heights of Dor' was under one of his commissaries; but it is hardly probable that the town of Dor was itself included (1 K. 4:11; see EN-ABIN ADAM).

For the next few centuries Dor drops out of Jewish history. It was well known, however, to the Greeks, the earliest authority in which the name occurs being Hecataeus of Miletus (circa 500 B.C.). It is not improbable that it ought to be identified with the *Δωρ* which, in the fifth century, was tributary to the Athenians (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Δωρ*), and this agrees with the view that the *Takara* (the earliest known occupants of Dor) were from Asia Minor, and, therefore, might have been in close touch with Greece. At the beginning of the fourth century Esmunazar relates that Dor (*Δωρ*) and Joppa (*Γόππα*), rich corn-lands (*ἀμπελῶν*) in the held of Sharon (*ἐν τῇ Σαρὼν*), were handed over to Sidon by the king of Persia (Artaxerxes Mnemon?), probably (as Schlottmann conjectured) in return for their help in the battles of Cnidus (394) and Cymus (386).⁴ Hence perhaps arose the belief of later Greek geographers that Dor was originally a Phoenician colony. It successfully resisted two sieges, one by Antiochus the Great (ANTI-CHUS, 1) during his war with Ptolemy Philopator in 219 B.C. (Polyb. 5:66), and the second by Antiochus Sidetes (ANTI-CHUS, 5) in 130-8 B.C., when the siege was raised in consequence of the flight of Trypho (1 Macc. 15:11 ff.). It was afterwards held along with Strato's tower (CAESAREA, § 1) by a tyrant named Zoilus, on whose subjugation by Ptolemy Lathyrus it became part of the Hasmonaean dominions (Jos. Ant.

¹ Wholly obscure is *דור* Josh. 17:11 which *ⲉ* (*τὸ* *τρίτον τῆς μαθεῖα* [B], ... *μαθεῖα* [A], ... *τὸ* *τρίτον* [L]) treats as a place-name (note that *ⲉ* gives only three names). Sym. here again has *at τῆς παραλίας*. Slav. Ostragoth adds the gloss *τρία κλίτη*.

² On the identification of the *Takara* town Dor with the Ass. *Zakkalu* (4 R. 34 no. 2, l. 45); see Hommel, *PSB* 17:203 (95); *ATL* 236.

³ The passage in Josh. is hardly sound; Addis corrects after Judg. 1:27. See also ASHER, § 3.

⁴ For Esmunazar's inscription, cp Schlottmann, *Die Inschrift Esmunazar's* (68), and see *CIS* 1, no. 3. Skylax assigns Dor to Sidon and Ashkelon to Tyre during the Persian period.

DOTHAN

AD. 1244). From Pompey's time it was Roman. Tiberius restored the town (50 B.C.), and it enjoyed autonomy under (ib. xv 44 xv 54). It possessed a synagogue (ib. xiv 64). At a comparatively early date its prosperity declined, and in the (OS² 115² 112¹) it was already deserted. scarcely anything was left but its ruins—still an object of admiration—and the former greatness (cp Plin. 5:17, *memoria* *us* to at least the seventh century it continued name to an episcopal see.¹ Its prosperity due to the abundance of the purple yielding its rocky coast, and to its favourable position (ib. xv 64). The modern village consists of a few hovels.

The ancient remains which lie to the modern village are inconsiderable (*Plin. PEF Mem.* 26 ff.), the most conspicuous former travellers, being the ruins of a tower of the Crusaders which crowns a rock. The tower of Burg; cp Bughl [*πυργος*] de Chartres has since collapsed (*PEFQ*, 1860).

DORCAS (*Δορκας* [T. VII], i.e., 'gazelle', the Greek name of the Christian disciple (Lk. 10:38), whom Peter, by prayer, raised from (Acts 9:40). She was manifestly a Jewess, name being simply a translation of that by which she was known in Aramaic, *Tabitha* (*תבת*, i.e., = Heb. *תבת*; see GAZELLE). A landman Gamaliel was called *Tabitha* (*Ταβιθά* R.).

In the so-called *Acts of Pionchus*, dating from the middle of the fifth century, *Tabitha* figures as the John and Pionchus during their three days' stay on their way to Egypt.

DORYMENES (*Δορυμένης* [ANV], in *Δορυμένης* [V], father of Ptolemy M. [PROTEMY]; 1 Macc. 3:8 2 Macc. 4:45).

DOSITHEUS (*Δωσιθεός* [B²AV], *Δωσιθ.* [I], a captain under Judas the Maccabee; he and officer Sosipater had Timotheus in their power after before Carion, but allowed themselves to be persuaded him off (2 Macc. 12:19-24).

2. A mounted soldier who distinguished himself in a brave though unsuccessful attempt to take Gorgias (2 Macc. 12:35).

3. A renegade Jew in the camp of Ptolemy Philopator (1:3).

4. Said to be a priest and Levite, who, with his son, carried to Egypt the (translated) letter of Mordecai the feast of Purim (Esth. 11:1, 5; *Δωσιθεός* [A], *Δωσιθ.* [I]).

DOTEA (*Δωτεα* [A]), Judith. 39 AV¹⁰⁰; AV RV *DOTEA*. See DOTHAN.

DOTHAN (*Δωθαν*, Gen. 37:17 2 K. 6:13, and [I] 37:17 [NAMES, § 107]; Di. (*in loc.*) thinks the latter modification of the former. This is doubtful (cp Bae. 1:1); but in any case the termination *-an* is very ancient, in the Palestine lists of Tholmes III., sixteenth century *tracyana* (WMM, *Is. u. Eur.* 82). It is possible, that [*an*] is merely a defective form of [*an*] *Δωθαίμ* [B] in Judith 39, *Δωταία* [B]; *Δωτα* [A]; Eusebius has Jerome *Dothan*).

Eusebius placed it 12 R. m. N. of Sebasté (Saba). The site was identified by Van de Velde² (1364). Tell *Dothan* to m. N. of Sebastiyeh. It is a mound lying on the S. of a plain, sometimes called (Judith 15:6), *τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πλησίον Δωθαίμ*, *Dot* and sometimes called *Sabbat*, which lies 500 feet above sea-level, and drains to the Mediterranean by the Wady Sebha, afterwards Wady 'Abd Nār, connected with Esdraelon by the wide descending of Bel'anneh, the ancient *Bel'ann* [*γ. 1*]. Thus it

¹ Βασιλειος *Δωρων ἐπισκοπος* is mentioned in the Act. Council of Constantinople (321 A.D.).

² See, further, for coinage, etc., Schür. *GIT*, § 23, i. 1.

³ Also, independently, a few days later, by Robinson (122). Rabbi Pardi had noted it in the fourteenth century (see Aslers *Benj. of Tudela*, 2414).

me it was directly under
ed the town and harbor
omy under the emperors
of a synagogue in 42 A.D.
atively early date after
in the time of Jerome
sly deserted, and soon
its ruins which were
and the memory of its
memoria urbis). Down
it continued to give its
prosperity was largely
ruple yielding murex on
rrible position (but see
lage consists merely of

he to the N. of the
able (*Bibl.* 271 f.).
conspicuous object, to
ins of a tower (of the
was a rocky eminence,
αργυροί in 1 oulcher
P.F.F.Q. 1895, p. 113.)²
S. A. C.

l. c., 'gazelle,' § 68),
disciple (μαθητής) at
raised from the dead
ly a Jewess, her Greek
of that by which she
(καμήλο, i.e., 'gazelle,'
A handmaid of R.

gazing K. 19),
dating from about the
figures as the hostess of
e days' stay at Joppa on

[ARV] in 2 Macc.
tolenay Macon [see
445.

[AV], ΔΟC, [ἰσχυρῶς]),
see; he and his fellow-
power after the action
to be persuaded to let

ed himself in battle by a
take Georgias prisoner
emy Philopator (3 Macc.

a, with his son Ptolemy,
of Mordacel respecting
ros [A], Δωσσε, [R],
AV^{mg}; AV JUDEA,

611, and דתין, Gen.
ks the latter a vocalic
ful (cp Bar. AB, § 194

very ancient, occurring
ixteenth century B.C.,
is possible, therefore,
[Δωδακα] [DODEKA],
Eusebius has Δωδακα,

Selasté (Samaria),
de² (1364 f.) with
eh. It is a green
times called after it

ωδακα, *Dotthalm*,
which lies some
the Mediterranean
y Abū Nār, and is
a descending valley
Thus it carries

ed in the Acts of the

17, § 23, l. 10,
by Robinson (*LBR*
fourteenth century;

DOUGH

the great caravan road from Damascus and Gilead to Egypt, which is still in use, as it was when the story of Joseph and the company of Ishmaelite traders passing Dothan with spices from Gilead for Egypt was written (*GAStm. II* 151 f. 358). Van de Velde found the remains of a Jewish road crossing from Hadraclon to Sharon. At the S. foot of the Tell is a fountain called El-Hafreh; there is a second fountain and two large cisterns (cp the cistern into which Joseph's brethren are said to have lowered him). There is very fine pasturage on the surrounding plain, which the present writer found covered with flocks, some of them belonging to a camp of nomad Arabs. From its site on so ancient a road through the country, and near the mouth of the main pass from the N. into the hills of Samaria, the Tell must always have been a military position of importance; note the description in 2 K. 183 ff., and the frequent mention of it in the Book of Judith (advance of Holofernes). Cp *P.F.F.Mem.* 246, 245; Thomson, *L.B.*, ed. 1877, p. 466 f.; Buhl, *Pal.* 24 f., 102, 107.

DOUGH. For Nu. 154 f. Neh. 10 17 [18] (שִׂירָה; R.V.Mg. 'course meal'), see Ffoulx, § 1, and for 2 S. 139 R.V. (שִׂירָה), cp Birkat, § 1.

DOVE. The word dove is somewhat loosely applied to certain members of the suborder *Columba* or pigeons; and, as no sharp distinction can be drawn, it is proposed to treat the doves and pigeons together in this article.

Three Heb. words come under consideration: (1) דֹּבָה, *dobah*, probably derived from its mournful note (שִׁירָה *shirah* [18]), (2) תִּירָה, *tirah*, for (probably) monotonous, cp Lat. *turtur*; טַרְטוּר *tarthur* [18], i.e. 'turtle-dove'; and (3) צִיפור, *tsifur*, EV 'young pigeon' (Gen. 159, טַרְטוּר *tarthur* [AD.], properly any young bird; cp Dt. 32 11 (with reference to the צִיפור)).

Apart from its occurrence in P and Gen. 159 (see below), דֹּבָה is found only in Cant. 2 12 (where allusion is made to its 'voice'), in Jer. 87 (a migratory bird; cp § 4 [v.] below; EV in both 'turtle'), and in Ps. 74 19 (not 18). In the latter-quoted passage דֹּבָה, as the harmless, timid dove (cp Hos. 7 11 or Mt. 10 16), is usually thought to be symbolical of Israel. The text reading, however, is doubtful.¹ Elsewhere it is to the צִיפור ('dove') that Israel is compared (see Jos. vii. ii. § 3). This is the most common term, which appears notably in the Deluge-story, Gen. 8 1-12 (*Deluge*, § 17). Allusion is made in Ps. 55 6 [7] to its plumage, in Ps. 38 14 59 11 to its mournful note.² Its gentle nature makes the dove a favourite simile or term of endearment in love poems (Cant. 1 15 4 5 5 12 13 9). That doves were domesticated among the Hebrews may be inferred from Ps. 60 3 (see Fowls, § 5), and it is of interest to recall that carrier-pigeons were well known in Egypt, and that at the coronation ceremony four virelets fly to carry the tidings of the newly-made king to the four corners of the earth (*Wilk. Anc. Eg.* 332-3).

Are there reasons for supposing that among the Hebrews the dove ever enjoyed a reputation for sanctity? Conclusive evidence in support of this view is absent; but it is remarkable that the dove, although a 'clean' bird, is never mentioned in the O.T. as an article of diet. It was a favourite food of the Egyptians, and is commonly eaten in Palestine at the present day. Moreover, we have to note that the דֹּבָה and צִיפור are mentioned in an old covenant ceremony by E. (Gen. 159), and that in P's legislation 'turtle-doves' (תִּירָה) and 'young pigeons' (צִיפור) are frequent sacrificial victims in ceremonies which,

3. Sacred character.

'Deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove' is a strange expression. Sym. Ig. Jer. find an allusion to the Law (Ex. 13 10) the souls of the teachers of thy Law'; but S. Pesh. read דֹּבָה; so Gunkel, Ch. 1: 'Deliver not the soul which praises thee, because the dove.'
² Cp also Nah. 2 7 [8]; in the text of Ezek. 7 10 see Co.

DOVE'S DUNG

however do not involve a sacrificial meal (Lev. 37 12 etc., in N.T. 1 K. 224). This exceptional treatment of the dove suggests that originally the Hebrews were wont to ascribe to the bird a sacrosanct character, similar to that which it has obtained among other families of the Semites. In Palestine the dove was sacred with the Phoenicians and Philistines, and on this superstition is based the common Jewish accusations against the Samaritans that they were worshippers of the dove. There were holy doves at Mecca (the custom is hardly indigenous), and according to Laman (*Des. Syria*, § 1, cp 14) doves were taboo to the Syrians, he who touched them remaining unclean a whole day. On the symbolism of the dove in N.T. (Mt. 3 16 etc.) and in early Christian times, see Smith's *Int. Christ. Ant.*, i. 1.

The following species occur in Palestine:

(1) *Columba palumbus*, the rock-dove or wood-pigeon, common in England and throughout most of Europe. Large flocks of these assemble in the winter months and do much damage by feeding on the young leaves of cultivated plants; some migrate in the autumn, but many pass the winter in Palestine. (2) *C. oenas*, the stock-dove, smaller and darker than the above and rarer in Palestine; unlike *C. palumbus* it does not build on branches of trees, but lays its eggs in holes or in hollows, in the ground. (3) *C. rock-dove*, is abundant on the coast and uplands; it is the parent stock from which the domesticated varieties have been derived. (4) *C. a. himpan*, closely allied to the preceding, which it takes the place of in the interior and along the Jordan valley. It is elsewhere found in Egypt and in Abyssinia. It nests in rocks and fissures of the rock (p. Jer. 48 20). (5) *Turtur communis*, the turtle-dove, which probably represents דֹּבָה (see § 2, Cant. 2 12) about the beginning of April, when they become very plentiful and are to be found in every tree and shrub. This species is the most abundant of all the *Columba* in Palestine. (6) *T. montana*, the Barlary or collared dove, which extends from Constantinople to India. Around the Dead Sea this species is a permanent resident, being found as a rule in small flocks of eight or ten. (7) *T. sinensis*, the palm turtle-dove, has been regarded by Tristram as the turtle-dove of the Bible. It lives amongst the courtyards of houses in Jerusalem and seems to be half tame; it especially frequents palm groves.

A. L. S., 1888, A. C.

DOVE'S DUNG דְּבִינִים or חֲרִיטִים Kt [חֲרִיטִים]. In a graphic account of the siege of Samaria, side by side with 'an ass's head' appears 'the fourth part of a kab of dove's dung' (*ḥaritim*) as a food only to be bought at a very high price (2 K. 6 25). Much has been written to account for this strange-sounding detail; Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 44) even suggested that the dung was a substitute for salt! The reference to it, however, is doubtless due to an error of an ancient scribe, which is precisely analogous to one in Ps. 123 4 (MT).

In that passage a questionable word (rendered in LXX 'the proud') is represented in the mg. as being really two words, one of which is דְּבִינִים. It is more than probable that 'an ass's head' (רֹאשׁ אֶשְׂתִּי) should be דְּבִינִים, 'a homer of lentils,' and 'doves' dung' (חֲרִיטִים) should be קִיטִים, 'pods of the carob tree' (see Hubsch.). That the ancients agreed with MT and that the correctness of the reading can be defended (see Post in Hastings' *BD*, 2. 22) by observation of the habits of pigeons is no reason why we should acquiesce in it; similarly we might defend the painful figure of the 'snail' in Ps. 124 4 (see S. 124, 2). For the attempts of modern writers to mitigate the unpleasantness of the expression 'dove's dung' by finding some plant which might have been so called, see articles in Smith's and Hastings' dictionaries. Two illustrative passages (2 K. 18 27 Is. 1 20) have, we may believe, been recovered by similar corrections of the text, one certain, the other highly probable. See Hubsch.

F. V. C.

¹ In NT times doves for such purposes were sold in the temple itself (Mt. 21 12 Mk. 11 15 Jn. 2 14 17).

² On the whole subject see Huchart, *Hibos*, ii. 11 and WRS *Kin.* 100 f.; *RS* 219 n. 2, 204, etc. Cp also for 'dove' oracles, Frazer, *Paus.* 4 140 f. The white dove was especially venerated; Tibullus, 17: 'alba Palestinae sancta columba syrae'.

³ This is a euphemistic substitute. Some authorities recognise דְּבִינִים, 'doves,' as an element in the phrase (so Kün. *Leheng.* 2 102); others take it to be simply a termination (Ginsb. *Introd.* 346, 'decayed leaves').

⁴ Such 'unclean' food was not likely to be exposed for sale even during a siege. And why specially the head?

DOWRY

DOWRY. For Gen. 34:11 Ex 22:17 [16] 1 S. 18:24 (22), *mal'at*; *ḥuppa*; *dot* (in S. *apocrypha*), see MARITAL, § 1. For Gen. 30:21 (22), *uḥel*, see ZEMIR.

DRACHM. RV *Drachma* (ΔΡΑΧΜΗ). Job 5:14 2 Macc. 1:10 12:11. See MONEY.

DRAG (דָּרַג), Hab 1:13. See FISH, § 3.

DRAGON (נָחָשׁ, ΔΡΑΚΩΝ)

For De. 32:11 EV Ps. 91:13 (RV 'serpent') see SERPENT, § 1 (1), and for Ps. 147 (RV 'serpents' or 'waterspouts'), SERPENT, § 3 (C) n. For the 'dragons' (נָחָשׁ, נָחָשׁ, נָחָשׁ) [sing. 17] in Lam. 4:1 W 'sea-monsters', W 'sea-monsters' (of Mal. 1:1), see TALKERS (to RV).

In addition to the passages in which the term *dragon* is used of a natural species of animals (such as Gen. 1:21

RV 'sea-monsters', AV WHART. 1:21; Ex. 7:2 f. EV SERPENT [2:7]) there are various longer or shorter passages in which a mythological or semi-mythological explanation of the term may be reasonably supposed. Some of these have been, with more or less fulness, treated elsewhere, and may therefore be here considered more briefly.

The passages are as follows (not discussion, see § 1/2)-(6): 14:27 (see B. *Midrash* and *Leviticus*, § 1/2); (6) Is. 51:9 (see RAHAB); (6) Jer. 51:34 (see JEREMIAH, ii. § 4); (6) Ezek. 29:2, 'I will attack thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, thou great dragon, which hast in the midst of thy streams, which hast said, Mine are the streams, I have made them. I will put hooks in thy jaws, and cause the fish of thy streams to stick to thy scales. I will bring thee up out of thy streams, and I will hurl thee into the desert, thou and all the fish of thy streams; upon the open country shalt thou fall; thou shalt not be taken up nor gathered. . . . (6) Ezek. 32:2, 'as for thee, thou wast like the dragon in the sea, thou didst break forth with thy streams, didst trouble the water with thy feet, and didst foil its streams. Thus saith Yahweh, I will spread my net over thee, and bring thee up into my snare. I will spread my net upon the mountains, and fill the valley with thy corruption. . . . I will cover the heavens at thy setting, and clothe its stars in mourning. . . . (7) Job 7:12, 'Am I the sea or the dragon, that thou settest watch against me?' (8) Neh. 2:13, 'believe the dragon-well.' These are probably all the passages in the Hebrew OT; for Ps. 41:19 [20], referred to by Gunkel in this connection, is certainly corrupt; but (2) Esth. 10:7 (1 H6 [5], (2) Bel and the Dragon, and (8) Ps. Sol. 2:24 have to be grouped with them (see § 3).

The NT references are all in Revelation, viz. in (m) 12:3-17, (n) 13:2-11, (o) 16:13, (p) 20:2; cp 12:9. These last require to be treated separately, but with due cognisance of that old Babylonian dragon-myth, uncomprehended fragments of which circulated in the eschatological tradition of ANTICHRIST (7 f.). The dragon which sought to devour the child of the woman is the very same development of Babylonian mythology which lies at the base of Jer. 51:34. From a Jewish point of view the woman (cp Mic. 4:10) is either the earthly or the heavenly Zion, and the dragon (originally Tiamat) with its seven heads¹ is Armilos, or רָשָׁע ('the wicked one'; cp 2 Thess. 2:18), i.e., Rome, the new Babylon, which is identified with 'the ancient serpent,' נָחָשׁ אָדָמָה (cp Rev. 12:9, and see Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 218). The storming of heaven by the dragon is also Babylonian; it is the primeval rebellion of Tiamat (see CREATION, § 2) transferred to the latter days² (cp Eph. 6:12, the spiritual hosts of wickedness *ἐν τοῖς ἀποκρυφοῖς*). The additions of the apocalyptic writer do not concern us here.³ On the affinities of Rev. 12:1 to a Greek myth see HELLENISM, § 8.

2. NT references.

1 Reading נָחָשׁ for נָחָשׁ of MT.
2 Reading נָחָשׁ (Gunkel).
3 Reading נָחָשׁ (Synm., Pesh., Rödiger, Gunkel).
4 Cp the 'great serpent of seven heads' in a primitive Sumerian poem (Sayce, *Monist* 1885).
5 Cp Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, 9 (note on chap. 1). Brandt, *Mandäische Schr.* Gen. 1:7 ff. (the latter cited by Bousset).
6 Cp Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, 7:173, and the same writer's commentary on the Apocalypse; see also APOCALYPSE, § 41.

DRAGON

We pass on to (4) Esth. 10:7 (1 H6). Two dragons fight against a 'righteous people,' i.e., the Jews.

3. In OT Apocryph. These are interpreted as Maccabees and Amas, and of this is that they fight together.

a late modification of an uncomprehended. The connection of the dragons with water is of the Tiamat myth. The writer, however, does it, and explained the 'much water' of Esther. Dragon strikes us at once by its Babylonian origin. It is Daniel, not a god, who kills the Dragon, natural to Haggadic stories, to which, as full story belongs. No trace remains of the old myth is found in Jer. 51:34. (4) Ps. Sol. 2:24 (1) is a Pompey, the profane of the people, hyperbolical if it were not obviously coloured by tradition.

Resuming the consideration of (a) = 1 notice that the two Leviathans and the 1 set are distinctly mythical.

4. OT allusions considered. Two former, differentiation the latter, King, Tiamat they are identified by the apocalyptic (see with the three great powers hostile to Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. The reference continues the mythological origin of the for Tiamat is the personification of the primeval chaos.

On Yahweh's sword see Gen. 3:24, and a weapon, called in Creation tablet iv. 2, 'storm' (cp 1/2 30:39). As to (b), note a conquered monsters (Rahab) and the Dragon connection with the sea in 1/2. The old myth to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea; but the application would have been in the destruction of Rahab and the 1 equivalent to the subjugation of the sea. does not say, but obviously supposes, that Pharaoh are in some sense identical, just 12 the mythical power of Rome is identified Dragon. The 'shattering' of Rahab is referred to the Babylonian myth.

Of (c) nothing more need now be said, but (d) and (e) require to be clearly interpreted not to an ordinary crocodile that Pharaoh is 'the hyperbolical' language would, in the intolerable. It is the despot and blasphemy Tiamat. The blasphemy is at once explained by the reminder that Tiamat was originally a divinity older in fact than the gods. The denial of Pharaoh is of course explicable out of mere necessity; but it is a worthy supposition that we have a somewhat pale reflection of the outrages of the body of Tiamat by the young sun-god Marduk 'hook' reminds us of Job 41:1 [10:25] (Leviathan's hook) a striking detail in Creation tablet iv. 112. The 'setting' of the dragon implies that a constellation identified with the dragon (cp *Parson of Astronomy*, 137, 146). In (f) the notion of 'sea' and 'dragon,' and the occurrence references elsewhere in Job to Rahab and 1 sufficiently prove the mythological affinity passage. The Dragon was, according to our version of the old myth, not destroyed, but confinement (cp Job 38:41). Cp the stress 1 38:11 Ps. 104:29 336 [7] 657 f. on the long-passage of the sea by Yahweh.

One passage only remains (g). The term 'well' suggests a different class of myths, in which the supernatural serpent is a friend. Primitive sanctuaries were often at wells (Ex. and serpents love moist places.³ Serpents, too

1 Rashi, on Is. 27:1, remarks that the 'coiled' encompasses the earth (נָחָשׁ אֶרֶץ כְּסִי). Cp (2) *2P46* 31:27. The 'coils' of the Egyptian Leviathan were in heaven (Book of Hades, *RP* 12:13). Apocryphal myth identical with Tiamat, but the details of the Egyptian.

2 Cp Lyon, *JRL* 14:132.
3 Schick and Hildesheimer (*PEFQ* [1896], p. 23; F. state that long worms and serpents abound in and

ling (ep. Nu. 21:9), and sacred wells along wells. The intermittent character of the well (connected with the lower pool) is attested for in folklore by the story that a hole there makes the water gush forth. Also the dragon myth connected with serpent's pool, *see* *Nil* 32, and the *see* the ancient *Arabs* (WRS *Ref. Sum.*) *see* *Zam* 1411.

as a friendly and a hostile being. Into the wider subject suggested by this result we cannot enter now (cf. SEPTENTRION, p. 1).

question, How came these only half and misused myths represented by Behemoth, Leviathan, Rahab, and the inclusive appellation Dragon, to be so prominent? We have already seen that they are not of native Palestinian growth but (apart from the myth of the Dragon's Well) of Babylonian origin. Not that every important Dragon myth in Asiatic countries must necessarily be derived ultimately from Babylon (this would be a unscientific theory—but that for the myths now under consideration the evidence points unmistakably to a Babylonian origin. If we ask how these myths came to be so prominent, the answer is that a great revival of mythology took place among the Jews, under Babylonian influences, in exile and post-exile times. Jewish folk-lore became more assimilated to that of the other nations, and the leaders of religion permitted what they could not prevent, with the object of impressing a catholic stamp on popular beliefs. This has long since been noticed, especially by the present writer in a series of works (see also *Crit. ATION* § 23), where it is pointed out that the Dragon-myth comes from pre-Semitic (Babylonian) times, and where several explanations are indicated.

be . . . (see JOSH. 1), early interpreted. It is Pharaoh is compared. could, in this case, be and blasphemous dragon-ness explained when we finally a divine being — the denial of burial to out of mere vindictive-ness that we have here — outrages inflicted on un-god Marduk. The d[iv] (Levathan); the (tablets iv., ff. 95, implies that there was a dragon (cp Lockyer, In (f) the contamina- and the occurrence of, and Levathan, and affinities of the rding to one current destroyed, but placed in the stress laid in Job the long-past subju-

The term "dragon" of myths—those in which it is a friendly being, as in the wells (EN-ROGAT), and serpents, too, are the

the 'coiled' Leviathan (p. 72). Cp Granbaum, *Leviathan* (Apōpi) (p. 13). Apōpi seems u.t. details of the myth are

'66], p. 23; ['69], p. 57)
found in and near the

methodology will account for all the details of the biblical descriptions which an accurate exegesis will admit. We need not suppose a reference to the myth of the daily struggle between the Light god and the serpent. The Tiamat story, as known to the Jews, was fairly thin. At the commencement of creation, Tiamat was, according to some, destroyed—according to others, completely subdued and confined in the ocean which encompasses the earth. At that time God's permission began her forth-doing. Truly the angelic powers, commissioned by God to keep watch over Elysium, our 'mouse' Tiamat, even they 'shudder as they do so' (see BILIMON AND LITVINSKY). This form of the story became popular in later biblical times, because it met the requirements of apocalyptic writing. It was a necessity of biblical wisdom to anticipate a return of the 'lost things' of Paradise, and its glory. Evil seemed to have been intended; the reign of Tiamat was renewed, as it were, upon the earth. A deliverance as great as that wrought by Yahweh to greater Marduk of old must therefore be anticipated, and the struggle which would precede it would be as severe as that which took place at the creation. Then would the old things pass away, and all things become new. It is not improbable, as Budge long ago pointed out (*ANU*, 86, n), that Tiamat in course of time acquired a symbolic meaning, certainly the serpent of Egyptian, and not less of Jewish, belief acquired one. The identification of the old dragon myth is needed in the mysterious but fascinating story of ANTIKHREST [?]. In the twofold representation of Tiamat (dragon and serpent), see STRONG, § 37.

And the degeneration of non-Semitic peoples frequently added to illustrate the fact, it is not necessary to enter. The Semitic material has been glowing from a considerable mass, but it is well to restrict ourselves at present to this. Otherwise we might discuss a striking passage in *De Homine*, Jan. 24, 1908, in the very fact that in China quarters for the recovery of the rays of the sun in the law of the sun, Jan. 24, 1908, was the day of the sun's eclipse. (p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893,

The fullest English investigation of the different forms taken by the mythical dragon is to be found in W. H. Watt's article 'Bel and the Dragon' (*Am. Journal of*

In early Babylonian art the dragon does not represent the chaotic dragon, but a destructive demon of pestilence or famine. The sign of the dragon is not as a rule indicated in the primitive representations, even when the dragon is given together with a god (e.g. *Ishtar*); an exception however is figured by Ward, in which the dragon appears to be made. In the Assyrian period, to which the representations of the conflict between Marduk and the Dragon belong, the dragon is of the male sex, which reminds us that the evil serpent Abrimam in Persian mythology is male. It is very possible that in the oldest Babylonian representations the dragon was female (cp. *Dr. H. J. G.*). With regard to the view (indicated in parts of the *Light*), that the chaos-dragon was not slain, but only subdued by the Light-god, we may compare some Babylonian cylinders, older than Hammurabi, which represent the dragon as harnessed in a chariot and driven by Bel while a goddess stands on his back and wields the thunderbolt; or else the god stands on the back of the dragon. The Assyrian representations do not, it is true, show that the dragon was slain; but the natural supposition is that the conflict ended in his destruction.

See also Gunkel, *Schoof*, n. Chan; Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 165, 220 (n. 375); Maupert, *Struggle of the Nations*; Brugsch, *Religion u. Mythologie der alten Ägypter*; Wiedemann, *Ägypten*; Bousset, *Der Antichrist* (pp. 44, 97; and, for a popular summary of facts on the Dragon myth, A. Smythe Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible*, (1972).

DRAGON WELL (TUNNUN) ΠΗΓΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΚΩΝ [BNA]. π. τοῦ Δρακοντός [L]; *fons draconis*; حِم الدَّيْمَن, Noh. 21st. For topography see GILSON, JERUSALEM, and for folklore see DRAGON, § 4 (v).

DRAM. RV DARIC. 'The rendering of two late Hebrew words: (a) דַּרְכִּים, 1 Ch. 29:7 *darim* *sagt* i.e., apparently ΔΑΡΕΙΟΚ (Syr. ܕܪܝܚܐ, MH דרמון, pl. דרמנים [darmān]), in cp. Ass. *dariku* (pl. *darikānu*) 'piece of money' Muss-Arnolt; and (b) דַּרְמָנוֹתִים

DREAMS

dark-mōnim, Ezra 260 Neh 77 off. + apparently *δραχμή*.¹ Possibly a loan-word (Assyric) in both Heb. and Gr., see Ew. *GLA*, 1855, 1392 ff.; 1856, 798; and cp RDB, s.v.

The Vss. give *δραχμα* [L], *derkhma* [Pesh. except 1 Ch.], *solitus* [Vg.], in Neh. *drachma*. But in 1 Ch. *ἀργαίος* [BA], *δραχμα* [HIP 50th, 1771, Lang. (see Lag. *Illeg.* 20), Pesh. apparently connected with *דָּרַח* 'lead'. In Ezra 827 *עֵץ הַנָּחַל* *ḥanachal* [B] . . . *δραχμας* [AL] agree in presupposing *עֵץ הַנָּחַל* *ḥanachal*, i.e., *ḥ*; 1 Esd. 857 [56] BAI om. Ezra 269 *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* [BA] 1 Esd. 545 [44] *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* [BA], Neh 770-772 BBA om., but *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* [Sist.] 71, and *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* [R^{ab}] 71, 72.

According to the commonly accepted view *a* and *b* are identical and mean 'dates'.² Against this two objections may be urged: (1) the *ḥ* in *b* is left unexplained, and (2) the form *a*, which alone supports this meaning, is untrustworthy. In 1 Ch. it is doubtful (*עֵץ הַנָּחַל* may be a gloss; the amount of gold has been already mentioned), and in Ezra 827 the better reading is *עֵץ הַנָּחַל* (see above). The form *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* (*δραχμα*) is preferable, not for this reason alone, but also on account of its identity with the Phoen. *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* (pl.),³ which, as the analogy from Gk. inscriptions shows, must represent *δραχμα*. The occurrence of this Gk. (or Asiatic) word in Ezra-Neh. is due perhaps to repeated glosses. cp Ezra 827 with 1 Esd. 857 and likewise that in some of the passages (above) BA om. See further MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.⁴ S. A. C.

DREAMS (הַלְלוֹת), Zech. 102, etc.; see DIVINATION, § 2 (VL).

DRESS A complete discussion of the subject of ancient Israelish dress (including toilet and ornaments) is impossible with our present limited knowledge. It is true, the Assyrian and Egyptian artists had keen eyes for costume; but trustworthy representations of Israelites are unfortunately few. It might be tempting to fill up this lacuna by noting the usages of dress in the modern East. This, however, would be an uncritical procedure. We might presume on obtaining more than analogies from the customs of the present; but common sense shows that to look for a Hebrew equivalent to every modern garment would be unnatural. Consequently, in spite of the scantiness of detail in the OT, we must base our conceptions upon OT evidence (viewed in the light of criticism) treated by the comparative method.

There are several general terms in Hebrew for 'dress,' 'garments,' 'attire.' It is needful to give details, as there are distinctions of some importance which could not be brought out otherwise.

1. General terms.

1. *כִּתְיָה*, *keṭiyyā* (cp perh. Ar. *keṭā*; we cannot assume a root meaning 'to cover', the verb *כָּסַף* known to us means 'to deal treacherously'; it is perhaps a verb denom.)¹ may be used for a garment of any kind 'from the filthy clothing of the leper to the holy robes of the priest,' for 'the simplest covering of the poor as well as the costly raiment of the rich and noble' [RDB]; for women's dress (Dt. 2167; cp Gen. 3814), for royal robes (1 K. 2240), and apparently once for the outer robe or MANTLE (2 K. 911); also for the coverlet of a bed (1 S. 1911 1 K. 11), and for the covering of the tabernacle furniture (Neh. 1011 P.).

2. *לְבוּשׁ*, *leḇuṣ*, Ezek. 2724, AV 'clothes,' RV 'wrappings,' mg. 'hales.' Prof. Cheyne writes: 'The existence of an old Hebrew root *לָבַשׁ* "to roll together" is not proved by 2 K. 23 Ps. 13916; both passages are very doubtful, and can be emended with much advantage.

¹ Cp. e.g., Turvey, *Camp. Ess.* Neh. 13: 'the one obviously corresponding to *δραχμα*, the other to *δραχμα*.'
² A Phoenician inscription of the first century B.C. from the Pireus; see Lidbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsem. Epogr.* 160.
³ See also Meyer, *Entz.* 196 f., Prince, *Daniel*, 205 (99). From Ezra 269 (Neh. 77072) [see B] compared with 1 Esd. 545 it would seem that *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* 1 *מִנֶּחֱסֵי* (cp the royal mantle of 60 shekels). In B, however, the Heb. *לְבוּשׁ* is represented by *διδραχμα*, and *δραχμα* represents the *לְבוּשׁ* or half-shekel; cp Gen. 2422 Ex. 3820.

⁴ S. Clerlier, *Hebr. Verb. Denom.* 2 f. The verb *לָבַשׁ* is found only in E, and later. See, e.g., Ex. 217 Judg. 923; 1 S. 1433 is probably no exception.

DRESS

ḥab plainly = *ḥab* in Is. 321, which Peiser identifies with *gubnu*, a kind of garment' (Z. L. H. 107) Cp CHESE.

3. *כִּתְיָה*, *keṭiyyā*, a word of the widest signification (the German *Zug*) used of garments in Dt. 22 Lev. 1349 (קִיץ).

4. *כִּתְיָה*, *keṭiyyā*, 'covering,' Ex. 2110 22 restored by Gratz, Bill, and Cheyne in Gen. 49 כִּתְיָה *keṭiyyā*, *peṭiyyā*, *fallium*, and by Cheyne in Prov. 710 (MT כִּתְיָה, EV 'garment,' 'attire' Prov. 18. 2313 (EV 'clothing'); see AWING.

5. *לְבוּשׁ*, *leḇuṣ* (the root *לָבַשׁ* 'to wear, put found in all the Semitic languages), a general term so frequent as 11; used of the dress of (2 S. 124 Prov. 3122), etc. Cognates are *לְבוּשׁ* 1022 (1A 'vestment') etc., and *לְבוּשׁ* Is. 'clothing.'

We turn now to the Hebrew terms denoting particular articles of dress. It is one of the defects of the

2. Special terms.

that the same English word is often used to represent several distinct Hebrew words, and that, *vice versa*, the same Hebrew is rendered by different English words (promiscuously). This is due partly to the difficulty of finding an equivalent for many of the Hebrew terms, partly to ignorance of their precise meaning, and the uncertainty of tradition as represented by the versions, Rabbis, exegesis, etc.

Of the numerous Hebrew terms denoting articles of dress, those referring to the feet are discussed under SHOES. For the various head-dresses (כִּתְיָה, etc.) TURBAN. One of the special terms for garments about the body is *כִּתְיָה*, 'kilt' or 'loin-cloth' (GIRLE).¹ Out of this an evolutionary process brought breeches (cp Ar. *miṣṣar*), which, however, among the Hebrews appear first as a loin garment (*כִּתְיָה*, see BRECKEN. For the ordinary under-garment worn next the skin (*כִּתְיָה*, see TR. The over-garment (corresponding roughly to the *quadron* and Roman *lega*) varied in size, in shape, in richness, and had several distinct names (*שָׂרָב*, etc.), for which see MANTLE.

Certain classes and certain occasions required special dresses. The clothing of ambassadors is called

3. Special garments.

(*meditron*), 2 S. 104 1 Ch. 194. 'garments.' A kindred word 'mad' (*מַד*), if the text of Ps. 1332 is correct is used of the priestly garb in Lev. 610 [1], Ps. (*ḥōdā*); of the outer garment of the warrior (1 only) in Judg. 316 (EV 'raiment'), 1 S. 412 'clothes'), 173 (AV 'armour,' RV 'apparel'), (AV 'garments,' RV 'apparel'), and 2 S. 203 'garment' RV 'apparel of war';² *מַד* in passages *מַדְיָה*, except 1 S. 112, where *quāra*, 'mail' of the warrior was perhaps some stiff garment which was a (poor) substitute for a coat of mail. Ps. 10913 *mad* is used of the dress of the wicked tyrant.

¹ Others cp Ph. כִּתְיָה and Heb. כִּתְיָה (Ex. 3433 where C reads כִּתְיָה).

² Others vocalise מַד (ZDMG 37 535; properly 'that which is set upon one').

³ So for the obscure Aram. כִּתְיָה (Dan. 321 Kri) see find some remarkable variant renderings as 'hosen' (AV), 'unicus' (RV) and 'trunks' (RVmg).

⁴ We may compare the *ḥab* of camels or goat's hair which like other primitive garments, long continued to be worn in the morning. The *ḥab* was perhaps identical with the kilt of ancient Egyptians, for which see Wilk., *Enc. Egyp.* 2322.

⁵ Che. (Ps. 2) reads *עָלָה עַל הָרֶגֶל*, 'on the surface of the desert.'

⁶ On 2 S. 203 see next note.

⁷ In 2 S. 203 *מַד* should probably be cancelled; note the Pass. so often placed in doubtful passages. Read *עָלָה עַל הָרֶגֶל*, s. Lühr and cp We. ad loc. For other views see Klu., H. P. S.

DRESS

her identity with
[17] (17, 17, 17).

signification, is (like
in Dt. 225 (כִּתְיָוָה)

21 to 226 etc.,
in Gen. 1914 (מִלְּ
Cheyne in Ps. 736
nt. 'attire'). Cp
AWNIN.

wear, put on' is
a general term (not
dress or women
s are כִּתְיָוָה, 2 K.
תְּכָנִים Is. 5917

denoting particular
defects of the EV
ord is often used
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of finding an exact
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noting articles of
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כִּתְיָוָה, etc.) see
garments with
'loin-cloth' (see
ary process has
which, however,
a late priestly
For ordinary
כִּתְיָוָה, see TINTO,
ghly to the Gr.
e, in shape, and
names (*simlah*).

required special
S is called כִּתְיָוָה
1 Ch. 194, EV
ord 'mad' (tem-
332 is correct)
to [1], Ps. 16
warrior (pha-
1 S. 412 (EV
apparel'), 1 S.
2 S. 203 (AV
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t of mail. In
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341) where Che.
erly 'that which

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s hair which,
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note the Pask.
כִּתְיָוָה. See
Klo., H. P. Sin.

who is cursed (but the whole passage is in disorder;
see Che. 176). In the Lahn כִּתְיָוָה is a robe distinctive
of the *Avot* or prince. In the priestly head dress,
see MITRE; the priests in later times indulged in
sumptuous apparel.¹ In Talmudic times Rabbis wore
a special dress, and were crowned until the death of
Eliezer b. Azaiya (*Levita, Sotah*, 15). In Babylonia
a golden ordination robe was used at the crowning
of the Rabbinical dignity. A festive garb was worn
at the creation of an Elder (*zaken*); cp. No. 1 has a
special mantle, the Exarch a girdle.² For the king's
regalia see CROWNATION, CROWN. For the
warrior's dress we can add very little. In 88 heeds
the military boot (כִּנְיָוָה) in Is. 94 (1) and is related to
the distinctive outer garment (*maddim*) of the warrior,
and to his shoes, has been compared in Nah. 212
[17].³ See also HEMET. For bridal attire (cp. Is.
4918 6110, *ἔνδυμα γάμου* Mt. 2214) see MARRIAGE, § 3,
and for the garb of mourning (כִּתְיָוָה Is. 6131, אֲדָמָה
2 S. 141), see MORNING CUSTOMS.

With the exception of the swaddling clothes of the new-
born babe (*hithallah*, Job 386; cp. verb in Ezek. 1611,
σπαργανον, Wisd. 711; cp. Lk. 2712), children seem to
have had no distinctive dress. The boy Samuel wore a
small *me'il* (see MANTLE), and if the lad Joseph
possessed a special *kuttaneth* (see TINTO), it was
regarded by the narrator in Genesis as exceptional. In
Talmudic times boys wore a peculiar shirt (כִּתְיָוָה
Shabb. 1341).⁴

In ancient times, dress depended to a large extent
on climatic considerations. The simplest and most
primitive covering was the loin-cloth (see
GIRTHE), a valuable safeguard in tropical
climates, adopted perhaps for this reason rather than
from the feeling of shame to which its origin was after-
wards traced (Gen. 37). The use of sandals in early
times was not looked upon as an absolute necessity (see
STOPI), and although the PERSIAN in some form or
other may be old, the custom of wearing the hair long
was for very many a sufficient protection for the head.

It is impossible to say how early the ordinary Israelite
assumed the two garments (tunic and mantle) which
became the common attire of both sexes. The
garments of the women probably differed in length and
in colour from those of the men. Dt. 225 leaves no
doubt as to the fact that there was some distinction.
Several terms are common to the dress of both sexes
(*beged*, *kuttaneth*, *simlah*, etc.); for some distinctive
terms see VAIL, and cp. TINTO, MANTLE. The Jewish
prisoners pictured on the marble-reliefs of Sennacherib
are bareheaded and wear short sleeved tunics reaching
to the ankles. This costume differs so markedly from
the Assyrian, that the artist seems to have been drawing
from life. Jehoi's tribute-bearers on Shalmaneser's
obelisk wear Assyrian dress and headgear, due probably
to the conventionality of the artist. The Syrian envoy
in a wall painting in the tomb of Hui at el Kab wears
a dress so unlike the Egyptian that we seem once
more in presence of an authentic record. The over-
garment of this envoy, which is long and narrow, and
is folded close to the body, is of blue and dark red
material richly ornamented; he has yellow underclothes
with narrow sleeves and wears tight breeches. In the
OT, however, there is no indication that such a costume

¹ The exact meaning of כִּתְיָוָה Ex. 3110 3519 3614
(AV 'cloths of service', RV 'finely wrought garments') is
very uncertain; see Che. 176, Ges. 136. It is possible that
the words are a gloss to כִּתְיָוָה (RV), for which cp. Ex.
2814 Lev. 1613, and the emendation in Lev. 164.
² Cp. Brill, *Die Fächten des Talmud* (Einleitung).

³ Che. 176 106 (17), where כִּתְיָוָה or כִּתְיָוָה is detected
in the obscure אֲדָמָה, כִּתְיָוָה, 'put on their shoes' in
כִּתְיָוָה.

⁴ Possibly the Israelite boys shaved their hair and only left
curls hanging over the ear. This was done in ancient Egypt,
and the custom prevails at the present time among the Jewish
boys of Yemen.

DRESS

was ever prevalent among the Israelites. For simplicity
of attire it would not be easy to surpass the dress of the
Semitic Bedawin (see WMM, *J. A. S.* 1900, and
this simplicity once doubtless marked the garb of the
Hebrew). Later, life in cities and contact with foreign
influences paved the way to luxury. The more elab-
orate dress of the Canaanite would soon be imitated.
Several signs of increasing sumptuousness in dress are
met with in the later writings. The dress at the court
of Solomon (cp. 1 K. 1018) is represented as an object of ad-
miration to an Arabian queen (1 K. 1018). One
notes that it is in the later writings that several of the
names for articles of dress appear for the first time.

Early garments and ornaments were added and then
materials used. The traditional materials of garments
were wool and flax woven by the women; but now
trade brought purple from Phoenicia, byssus from
Egypt, and figured embroideries from Babylon (see
TINTO). That silk was known in the time of
Ezekiel (Ezek. 1613) is doubtful (see COTTON,
LINEN, SILK, WOOL). New luxurious costumes (cp.
כִּתְיָוָה, Ezek. 2312 3841; כִּתְיָוָה, 2717) are a

frequent subject of denunciation in the later prophets,
partly because of the oppression of the poor involved
in the effort to extort the means of providing them, and
partly because of the introduction of alien rites and
customs encouraged by contact with foreign merchants.

In later times intercourse with other peoples led to the
introduction of fresh articles of apparel and new terms.
Such for example is the essentially Grecian *perizoma* (if
correct) of 2 Mac. 112 (see CAP). These obscure
words denoting articles of dress, most probably of foreign
origin, are mentioned in the description of the three
who were cast into the fiery furnace (Dan. 312). For
Talmudic times Schürer (*1/1* 207) notes the mention
of כִּתְיָוָה worn by laborers and soldiers, אֲדָמָה
(*shab*), כִּתְיָוָה (*garbapant*); see NAKIN, כִּתְיָוָה (παιδα),
אֲדָמָה (*himation*). Among under garments are the
כִּתְיָוָה (*dalmatica*), according to Pappianus (*Heb.* 111)
worn by slaves, and the כִּתְיָוָה (*perizoma*), of which
the equivalent *perizoma* is used in the Aramaic Vers. for
χίτων. To these may be added כִּתְיָוָה (*mantica*) an
outer garment, כִּתְיָוָה (*akachora*), כִּתְיָוָה a fringed garment
of fine linen (see FRIING), Gloves are mentioned
כִּתְיָוָה (*chitin*, 1610, etc.); but they were worn by
workmen to protect their hands (cp. also כִּתְיָוָה Targ. on
Ruth 47).⁵

Increased luxury of dress among the Israelites was
accompanied by an excess of ornaments. Ornaments

of many kinds were worn by both sexes
primarily for protective purposes (as

AMULETS), at a later time (when their
original purpose was forgotten) to beautify and adorn
the person. The elaborate enumeration of the fine
lady's attire in Is. 3, though not from the hand of
Isaiah (see ISAAH, n. § 5), is archaeologically im-
portant. Here the Hebrew women (of the post-exilic
period?), following foreign customs, wear arm-chains,
nose-rings, step-chains, etc., in great profusion. For
these cp. SAMENTS, and see the separate articles.

On the manner of treating the hair, see BEARD,
CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, § 3; HAIR, MORNING
CUSTOMS. Women curled their hair, bound it with
veils (see VAIL) and GARMENTS 1911, etc. Later, the
Roman habit of curling was introduced (Jos. *Ant.* 1910).

Washing the body with water was usual on festival
occasions, at weddings (Ezek. 1610), at meals (Gen. 251
1910 Lk. 711), before formal visits (Rn. 31), before

¹ In the Roman period simplicity of attire (almost amounting
to nakedness; Lahn, *Sabb.* 414) was observed in the case of
criminals, whilst persons on trial were expected to dress very
specially (Jos. *Ant.* xiv 92).

² For a discussion of the terms see Che. 176, 106 (17).

³ On these points see Brill, *op. cit.*, and LXX, *Mt.* 16, under
the various terms. For later Jewish dress see *Verulamius*,
Hebrew Dress in the Middle Ages, chap. xv, and entries in
Index, 44.

DRESS

officiating in the temple, in ritual purifications, and so forth. Rubbing the body with sand or sherds was also practised. Unguents prepared by female slaves (1 S. 813) or by male professionals (מְשִׁימָה) were used after washing (Ru. 3; Amos 66 etc.)¹; see ANOINTING, § 2, CONFECTIONARIES. After the Hellenistic period such festal customs became more and more elaborate.

The eye-lids of women were painted to make the eyes larger, *kohl* being used for the purpose (see PAINT). It is doubtful whether *henna* dye was placed on nails and toes.

The references in the EV to dress are so frequent and the syncretical usages so familiar that a passing glance at them may suffice. Food and clothing

6. OT are naturally regarded as the two great necessities of life (e.g., Gen. 2820 1 Tim. 68).

An outfit is called *בְּרִיחַ* (Judg. 1710). In Talmudic times it consisted of eighteen pieces (Jer. *Shabb.* 13). Clothes were made by the women (Prov. 3122 Acts 939), but references to sewing are few (מְשִׁימָה, Gen. 37 Job 1615 Eccles. 37 Ezek. 1318, ἐπιπλάττω Mk. 221).

Clothes were presented in token of friendship (1 S. 184; see WRS *Rel. Sem.* (2) 335), as a proof of affection (Gen. 4521), and as a gift of honour (1 K. 1023; cp Am. Tab. 270). Garments were rent (קָרַע, קָרַע) as a sign of grief, of despair, of indignation, etc. (see MOURNING CUSTOMS). Shaking the clothes was a sign of renunciation and abhorrence (Acts 186; cp Neh. 513). Promotion was often accompanied by the assumption of robes of dignity (cp Is. 2221). So Eleazar takes the robes of Aaron (Nu. 2028), and Elisha the mantle of Elijah (2 K. 2); see also CORONATION. Conversely, disrobing might be equivalent to dismissal (2 Macc. 433). Rich people doubtless had large wardrobes; the royal wardrobe (or was it the wardrobe of the temple?) had a special 'keeper' (1 K. 2214). The danger to such collections from moths (see MOTH) and from the so-called 'plague of leprosy' (see LEPROSY) was no doubt an urgent one. The simile of a worn-out garment (בְּרִיחַ, cp Dt. 84) is often employed (cp Is. 509 516 Ps. 10226 [27]). Rags are called *קָרַע* (Prov. 2321 EV); cp also *בְּרִיחַ קָרַע* (Jer. 3811 f. RV), 'old cast clouts and old rotten rags'. The EV, alt apparently containing the idea of something rent (cp *πάρος* Mt. 916 Mk. 221).

To cast a garment over a woman was in Arabia equivalent to claiming her.² Robertson Smith (*K'in.* 87) cites a case from Talari where the heir by throwing his dress over the widow claimed the right to marry her under the dowry paid by her husband, or to give her in marriage and take the dowry. This explains Ruth's words (Ruth 39) and the use of 'garment' to designate a woman or wife in Mal. 216 (*K'in.* 87, 269). A benevolent law, found already in the Book of the Covenant, enacts that every garment retained by a creditor in pledge shall be returned before sunset (Ex. 2226); the necessity of this law appears from Am. 28 Ezek. 18716; see PLEDGE.

D's injunction 'a man shall not put on the *simlah* of a woman,' 'a woman shall not wear the appurtenances (בְּרִיחַ) of a man' (Dt. 225) may have been designed as a safeguard against impropriety; but more probably it was directed against the simulated changes of sex which were so prevalent and demoralising in Syrian heathenism.³ Quite obscure, on the other hand, is the law prohibiting the layman from wearing garments made of a mixture of linen and wool (שַׁמְשֵׁן, Dt. 2211).

¹ Amos 66, see Dr. *ad loc.* speaks of 'the chief ointments' (EV), or rather 'the best of oils.'

² Hence some explain *בְּרִיחַ* in Ex. 218 to mean that the master could not sell his female slave 'seeing that (he had placed) his garment (*qagat*) over her.' See SLAVERY.

³ See Dr. *ad loc.*, Frazer, *Paus.* 3197, ANTIQUITY, § 2. It may be doubted whether in ancient times dressing boys as girls was due, as among later Orientals, to a desire to avert the evil eye.

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Lev. 1919; see LINEN, 7, n. 1). Such garments worn by the priests;¹ and the law, which is the term itself, be of foreign origin, is at a later than Ezek. 4418. Another law, which laymen to wear tassels or twisted threads skirt of their *simlah*, seems to go back to a sacred custom (see FRINGES). See, further, ST.

Garments had to be changed or purified on occasion of a religious observance (cp Gen. 1910) or before a feast (cp

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'changes,' *תַּחֲבִישָׁה*, 'festal robes' (see MANTLE). Primarily, however, all festive occasions are sacred occasions, and there is therefore no real difference between best cloth and holy clothes. When a garment comes in contact with anything partaking of a sacred nature it becomes 'holy,' it must never be worn save on occasions.² This is why in early Arabia certain were performed naked or in garments borrowed from the sanctuary (We. *Heid.* (2) 56, 110). The same principle illustrates the command of Jehu to 'bring vestments for all the worshippers of Baal'; the vestments were in the custody of the keeper of the *melkashim* (1022; text perhaps corrupt; see VESTRY). That rites among the Hebrews were performed in a naked condition seems not improbable. The

itself was once perhaps nothing more than a loi (cp 2 S. 614 1620, and see EPIROT, § 13).
Elijah's kilt (*ḥizor*) of skin and the prophet's 'cushy' 'hair mantle' (see MANTLE)—in later times falsely assumed (Zech. 134)—remind us of the of the Palmætum who were dressed in skins (Strabo 418; for other analogies see *RS* (2) 437 f.);⁴ but there is always a tendency in cults to return to ancient customs in the performance of sacred rites, and, as Robertson Smith has shown, later priestly ritual is only a development of what was originally observed by all worshippers when every man was his own priest. The dress of worshippers in skins of the sacred kind (cp 1 S. 1910) implies that they have come to worship as kinsmen of the victim and of the god, and in this connection suggestive to remember that the eponyms of the Levites and Joseph tribes are the 'wild-cow' (Leah) and 'ewe' (Rachel) respectively. See LEAH, RACHEL.

Again, we note that clothing may be looked upon as forming so far part of a man as to serve as a vehicle of personal connection. The clothes thus tend to be identified with the owner, as in the custom alluded to in Ruth 39 above. The Arab seizes hold of the garment of the man whose protection he seeks, and 'pluck a my garments from thine' in the older literature means 'put an end to our attachment.' So a man deposits with a god a garment or merely a shred of cloth and even to the present day rag-offerings are to be seen upon the sacred trees of Syria and on the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They are not gifts in the ordinary sense, but pledges of the connection between worshipper and object or person worshipped (*RS* (2) 335 f.).⁵ Garments are offered to sacred objects, to wells (cp 1 S. 177), but more particularly to trees and idols (cp NATURE WORSHIP).⁶ So 2 K. 237 speaks of the woman who wove tunics (so Kto.) for the asherah. The custom is not confined to the Semitic world, and instances

¹ This is distinctly asserted by Jos. *Ant.* iv. 811. 'To put on for a blessing on the flax and sheep,' says Maimonides. The prohibition in the case of laymen was re-enacted under Frankish emperors (*Capitulare*, 646). It is just possible that the law aimed at marking more distinctly the priest from the layman.

² Cp Lev. 627 Hag. 212, and, on the contagion of holiness, cp Ezek. 4419 and see CLEAN, § 2. On Is. 655 (where *pe* the Piel) see *RS* (2) 451, n. 1.

³ Verse 146, however, may be an addition. For Ex. 2026 BIRCHES, 3.

⁴ In Zeph. 18 the wearing of 'strange garments' (*בְּרִיחַ*) is associated with foreign worship (cp 7. 9).

⁵ Cp Bertholet, *Israel. Vorstellungen v. Zustand nach Tode* (99).

DRINK OFFERING

draped images in Greece are collected by Frazer (*Paus.* 257 f.). 'The Greek images,' he observes, 'which are historically known to have worn real clothes seem generally to have been remarkable for their great antiquity.' The custom does not seem to be indigenous; it was probably borrowed from the East.¹ The counterpart of the custom of offering a garment to the sanctified object is the wearing of something which has been in contact with it. At the present day in Palestine the man who hangs a rag upon a sacred tree takes away, as a preservative against evil, one of the rags that have been sanctified by hanging there for some time (see *PEEF*, 1893, p. 204). The custom of wearing sacred relics as charms is clearly parallel. Now, just as the priests had their special garments, so particular vestments were used for purposes of divination. Thus a magician wears the clothes of Er-ti—i.e., Eridu, a town mentioned often in Babylonian incantations (*Del. Ass. III B 371b*). Another instance of the wearing of special dress is cited by Friedrich Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezek.* p. xiii. An important parallel to this custom appears in Ezekiel's denunciation of the false prophetesses² and the divination to which they resorted (*Ezek.* 13:17-23). Two special articles are mentioned: (a) *ḥathōth*, 'hands' or 'fingers'³ worn upon the arms (cp the use of *FRONTLETS* [p. 11]), and (b) *ḥathōth*, 'long mantles' (*ἐπιβάτια* [BAQ], *πεπλ.* [A. 21], Pesh. *takithi*, *ma'na*, EV incorrectly *KIRKIROTHS*), which were placed over the head of the diviner.⁴ It becomes very tempting to conjecture that these garments were not merely special garments, but the garments actually worn by the deity or sacred object itself, since it is plausible to infer that they would be held to be permeated with the sanctity of the deified object and that supernatural power might be thus imparted to the wearer.⁵ It is true, the link is still missing to connect the diviner's garb with that of the clothed image; but such a conjecture as this would seem to explain how the use of 'Ephod,' as an article of divination, in its twofold sense of image and garment (in which it has been clothed), might have arisen (cp Bertholet on *Ezek.* 13:18); see *EPHOD*.

See Weiss, *Kostümkunde*, i. ch. 5; Nowak, *H. A.*, § 20; Benzinger, *H. A.*, § 10; and the special articles referred to in the course of this summary.

I. A. — S. A. C.

DRINK OFFERING (נִסְכֵּי), Gen. 35:14; see **SACRIFICE**; cp **RITUAL**, § 1.

DROMEDARY. The word *קִרְכִּירוֹת*, *kirkīroth*, is rendered 'dromedaries' in Is. 66:2, RVmg. (so Bochart, Ges., Che., Di., Dulmi., cp *כִּרְכִּיר* 'to whirl about' and EV 'swift beasts'). The rendering 'pauers' (cp *μετὰ σκευῶν* [BAQ]; Sym. *ἐν φορείοις*) has little in its favour. For Jer. 23 (כִּרְכִּירָה) and Is. 60 (*id.* plur.)—EV 'dromedary,' RVmg. correctly 'young camel'—see *CAMEL*, § 1, n. For 1 K. 4:29 (כִּרְכִּירָה) and Esch. 5:10 (כִּרְכִּירָה) see *HORSE*, § 1 (4).

DRUSILLA (Δρουσίλλα [Ti. WH]), Acts 21:24. See **HERODIAN FAMILY**, 10.

DUKE had not yet become a title when the AV was made, but was still employed in its literal sense of any *dux* or chief: cp *Hen.* I. iii. 2:23; 'Be merciful, great duke (viz., Fluellen), to men of mould.' With but two

¹ The brazen statue in Elis bears the title of Sairap and seems to be of Eastern origin (Frazer, 2575).

² The importance of women in divination will not be overlooked. One notes how frequently the Grecian images, above referred to, represent goddesses.

³ See CUTTING, § 7, n.; but כִּי might also mean garments, cp *Ass. Kusti*.

⁴ It is surely wrong to suppose that the mantles were worn by the *enquirers*. We have to read the fem. suffix in כִּרְכִּירָה (p. 214; cp the fem. suffix in כִּרְכִּירָה p. 202); there is a similar error in עֹבֵדָה p. 196. כִּרְכִּירָה (p. 18) should probably be emended to כִּרְכִּירָה, 'every diviner.'

⁵ Cp *RS* 2438 and see **SACRIFICE**. This may have given rise to the figure 'robe of righteousness' and other well-known usages, cp also Joh 29:14; 'I put on truth and it clothed me (יִתְבָּשֵׁת)'—i.e., became, as it were, incarnate in me.

DURA

exceptions (see 1, below) this now misleading term has given place in RV to a more modern equivalent.

1. *דִּירָא* (*dyra* [B.M.]), a title applied to the Edomite 'chiefs' (so RVmg. only) in Gen. 36:15 ff., 1 Ch. 15:1 ff. (cp Ex. 15:15 EV, and see *KNOW*, § 4); but also (rarely) to the 'chieftains' (so RV) of Judah (*Zech.* 9:12 ff., *צִיָּאִים*, AV 'governors'). The tribal subdivision of which the *dyra* is the head is called *ḥeleph*.

2. *דִּירָא*, in pl., of the 'dukes' (RV 'princes') of Sihon (*Josh.* 13:21). Elsewhere the word is always translated 'princes' or 'principal men' (*Ps.* 88:11 [12] *Ezek.* 32:30 *Mic.* 6:4 [5]).

DULCIMER (כִּנֹּרִים), Dan. 3:5 10 15; see **MUSIC**, § 4 (c).

DUMAH (דִּמְיָה). 1. In Gen. 25:14 (*דִּמְיָה* [ADE], *δωμια* [L.]) and 1 Ch. 1:30 (*δωμια* [B.M.]) Dumah appears as a son of Ishmael. The form *δωμια* suggests comparison with Adumu, the 'fortress of the land of Arbi' (*AB* 2:11), which, as Esar-haddon tells us, Sennacherib had conquered.

2. If the Dumah of Gen. is the same as Adumu, it may be tempting to suppose with Winkler (*AT Unt.* 37) that the heading 'Oracle of Dumah' (Is. 21:11) also refers to this 'fortress.' The prophecy itself, however, seems to forbid this; it begins 'One calleth to me out of Seir.' More probably not Adumu but Udumu, i.e., Edom, is meant (Cf. *Proph.* I. 1:10); in other words, 'Dumah' is a corruption of 'Edom' (*τῆς Ἰδουμαίας* [BAQ]; see Sw. [p. 11], facilitated perhaps by the neighbourhood of Massa (*ματτα*, p. 11), being misunderstood and Temar (p. 14); see Gen. 25:14 f. This is a less probable view than 'Dumah' ('silence'—i.e., desolation) is a mystical name for Edom (*τῆς Ἰδουμαίας*). See also ISHMAEL, § 4 (4). EDOM (footnote on name of Edom).

3. There is another (apparently) enigmatical heading in Is. 21:1 ('Oracle of the wilderness of the sea'), which should probably be emended into 'Oracle of Chald.' (כַּלְדָּיָה) (see *SROT*). Both headings are undoubtedly late.

4. In *Josh.* 15:24 the reading followed by EV is found in some MSS and edd. (see Ginsb.), and being supported by the OS (*δωμια*; see below) is very probably more correct than the RVmg. of MT (*דִּמְיָה* [Ba. p. 80, Gi.]; so Pesh. and *Σ*, *δωμια* [B] *δωμια* [A.]). In favour of this is the fact that the name is assigned to a town in the hill country of Judah, mentioned in the same group with Hebron and Beth-tappuah. For there is still a place called *ed-Dōmeh*, 2190 ft. above the sea-level, 10 m. SW. from Hebron and 12 SE. from Beit-Jibrin, a position which coincides nearly with the definition of Jer. and Eus. (*OS* 1164 25058), 'a very large village now in the Daroma,' 17 m. southward from Eleutheropolis.

T. K. C.

DUNGEON (הַבּוֹר), Gen. 40:15 41:14; **Dungeon House** (בֵּית הַבּוֹר), Jer. 37:16; see **PRISON**.

DUNG-GATE (שַׁעַר הַדִּשְׁפֹּת) [Ba. Gi.]; Neh. 3:13 הַדִּשְׁפֹּת [Ba.], Neh. 2:13 3:13 f. 12:31. See **JERUSALEM**.

DURA (דִּירָא, τοῦ περιβολοῦ [Σ], περιβολοῦ [Syr. mg.], Δεεῖρα [Theod.]=*דִּירָא*), the name of a plain 'in the province of Babylon' where Nebuchadnezzar's golden image was set up (*Dan.* 3:1). If the word is Aram., it should mean 'dwelling-place' or 'village'; but Σ's rendering, even if a guess, may suggest that the name had come down from old Babylonian times and means 'wall.' In fact, three localities are mentioned in the tablets as bearing the name *Dūru*,

¹ In all the passages quoted there may have been a confusion between *דִּירָא* and *דִּירָא*.

² In *Zech.* written defectively *דִּירָא*. The St. Petersburg MS, however, points *דִּירָא*.

³ Uduma, as Wi. now reads (but cp *U* 1:189), was the name of a city in the land of Gar, which may be identical with the Adumu of Esar-haddon, and from this city the land of Uduma may have derived its name. Still the remark in the text appears to be sound.

DUST

'wall' or 'walled town' (Del. *Par.* 216), and several Babylonian cities had names compounded with Dur.¹ That the writer of the narrative knew any of these places, appears improbable. Possibly the old name Dûru had attached itself in his time to the plain adjacent to the remains of the walls of Babylon. At any rate, the scene of the dedication of the image must in the writer's mind have been close to Babylon.

T. K. C.

DUST (דֶּפֶד), Gen. 27 18 27 etc. See ASHES.

DWARF, mentioned among those who were forbidden access to the temple (Lev. 21 20), is the EV

¹ Oppert finds an echo of Dura in the *Nahr Dur* and the *l'elul Dûrî* (*Expl. en Mesop.* [62] 123).

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DYSENTERY

for דֶּפֶד, which has been variously rendered (εφθαλός [ἑφθαλ], *appas*, 'blear-eyed' [Vg. sighted, 'weak-eyed,' 'affected with a cataract' ep Targ. Jer.]). The literal meaning of the 'shrunk,' 'withered' (Ges., Kn., Ke.), see natural.

DYED ATTIRE (טְבוּלִים), Ezek. 23 15 EV 'dyed turbans'; see TURBAN.

DYED GARMENTS. For Judg. 5 17 RVm see COLOURS, col. 866, n. 2; and for Is. 63 1 AV (ib., § 10).

DYES. See COLOURS, § 13 ff.

DYSENTERY (ΔΥΣΕΝΤΕΡΙΩΝ), Acts 28 3 'bloody flux.' See DISEASES, 9, and ep EMER

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rendered 'free-led' 'eyed' [Vg.], 'short-th' a cataract (Rabb., 'ing of the word, viz. , Ke.), seems most

Is. 631 AV (קמץ) sec

Acts 288 RV; AV
and cp EMERODS.

